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Surtees society

MISCELLANEA:

COMPRISING

I. THE WORKS AND LETTERS OF DENNIS GRANVILLE, D.D., DEAN OF DURHAM.

II. NATHAN DRAKE'S ACCOUNT OF THE SIEGE OF PONTEFRACT CASTLE.

III. A BRIEF MEMOIR OF MR. JUSTICE ROKEBY.

Published for the Society
BY GEORGE ANDREWS, DURHAM;
WHITTAKER & Co. 13, AVE MARIA LANE; T. & W. BOONE,
29, NEW BOND STREET, LONDON;
BLACKWOOD AND SONS, EDINBURGH.
1861.

C

At a General Meeting of the Surtees Society, held in the Castle of Durham on the twenty-fourth of June, 1859, it was

Resolved, "That a Volume of Miscellanies be prepared for this Society," to consist of the following articles:—

1. The works and letters of Dennis Granville, D.D., Dean of Durham, to be edited by the Rev. George Ornsby.

2. Nathan Drake's account of the siege of Pontefract Castle, to be edited by Mr. W. H. D. Longstaffe.

3. The letters, &c., of Mr. Justice Rokeby, to be edited by the Secretary.

JAMES RAINE,
Secretary.

THE REMAINS

OF

Grenville

DENIS GRANVILLE, D.D.

DEAN AND ARCHDEACON OF DURHAM, &c.

COMPRISING HIS

FAREWELL SERMONS,

LETTERS TO THE EARL OF BATH, &c.

AND

MISCELLANEOUS CORRESPONDENCE.

Published for the Society
BY GEORGE ANDREWS, DURHAM;
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INTRODUCTION.

AMONGST the Manuscripts in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of Durham is a book labelled "DEANE GRANVILLE," comprising a number of letters and other documents, partly written by the Dean, partly addressed to him, or otherwise having a direct reference to him, which were collected and bound up together by Dr. Hunter, the well known Durham Antiquary. The most considerable portion of the volume consists of a manuscript copy of two sermons, delivered by Dean Granville in the Cathedral of Durham, previous to his abandonment of his several dignities and preferments on the descent of the Prince of Orange upon the shores of England, and of five letters which he shortly afterwards addressed respectively to his brother the Earl of Bath, the Bishop of Durham, the Prebendaries of the Cathedral, the Clergy of his Archdeaconry, and his Curates at Easington and Sedgefield. To the latter is subjoined a copy of the "Directions" which he had formerly (in the year 1669) given in charge to his Curates in those two parishes. These sermons and letters were printed by the Dean in the year 1689 at Rouen, where he first took refuge after his departure from this country, but only twenty copies saw the light *. It is consequently

* There is a copy in the British Museum and one in the Bodleian Library. The former belonged to Dr. Jos. Smith, Provost of Queen's

of excessive rarity, and its contents have therefore been judged by the Council of the SURTEES SOCIETY not unworthy of republication, connected as it is with a very interesting period of the history of our Church and Nation, and embodying also, as it does, the sentiments of one of those high-minded men who chose rather to sacrifice the highest preferment than swear allegiance to one whom they regarded both as an invader and usurper. Another manuscript copy of the Dean's publication forms a portion of the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian Library. It is however not so perfect as that preserved by Dr. Hunter. Both have evidently been transcripts from the Rouen imprint, for both reproduce, almost invariably, the typographical errors into which his ignorance of the English language had caused the foreign printer to fall. It is probable that copies were circulated in manuscript amongst the Non-jurors, to supply the deficiency of so small an issue from the press. Dr. Granville occupied a position of some eminence, social as well as ecclesiastical, and a perusal of his published reasons for withdrawal from England and the relinquishment of his great preferments would be sought for by many with considerable eagerness. The present

College, Oxford; "*ex dono Authoris*," as we learn from the title page. Dr. Rawlinson, one of the Non-juring Bishops, was the owner of the latter, which contains several notes in his handwriting.

On one of the fly leaves of the copy in the British Museum is the following note:—"This Booke was wrote by Dr. Granville, Dean of Durham and printed at Rouen in France by speciall grace and particular favour, a book very scarce and so hard to be met with, yt. there was not above twenty of them printed off, and Lord Carteret, a relation of the author's, gave ten guineas for one of them, as is certify'd by, Thos. Baker, Coll. Jo. Socius ejectus." This note is not in Baker's writing, but was no doubt transcribed from one which he had made in his own copy.

reprint is the result of a collation of Dr. Hunter's manuscript with the printed copy and the Rawlinson MS. The Editor has followed Dr. Hunter in placing the Farewell-Sermons and the Five Letters first in order of arrangement, though they are later in point of date than, with one or two exceptions, the letters and papers which follow. These, being of a miscellaneous character, and, as regards many of them, of inferior importance, more fitly form the second portion of that part of the Society's publications which is devoted to Dean Granville's Remains.

This latter series of letters and papers is arranged in chronological order, the first bearing date 1665, the last written in 1702. The collection made by Dr. Hunter has been enriched by the addition of some other original matter, chiefly gathered from the Tanner Collection and Dr. Rawlinson's MSS. in the Bodleian Library. The source from which each of these additional letters or papers is derived is indicated as they severally occur. Those which are undistinguished by any mark or reference will be understood to be portions of the volume collected by Dr. Hunter.

Much of the correspondence is of a domestic and personal character, relating to the Dean's private affairs, and to the embarrassments with respect to pecuniary matters in which what he calls "his bad husbandry" involved him. In connexion with this portion will be found particulars of the value of his Deanery, and the Rectories of Easington and Sedgefield, and accounts of receipts and disbursements of various kinds. These are placed together at the end of the correspondence *.

* The Editor has not given the whole of the papers of this description preserved by Dr. Hunter. Some are duplicates, and others

Amongst these documents will be found, however, many letters and papers of more general interest, bearing upon Church matters, at a period of which little, comparatively speaking, is known. Some papers illustrative of this part of the text will be found in the Appendix. They have been obtained principally from other volumes of Dr. Hunter's Collections in the Durham Cathedral Library.

The family of GRANVILLE *, or Grenville, lays claim to great antiquity and distinction. Richard de Grenville, who came over into this country with William the Conqueror, is said to have been a younger brother of Robert Fitz-Hamon, Earl of Carboil, lord of Thurigny and Granville, in France and Normandy, and to have been lineally descended from Rollo, Duke of Normandy. He was the common ancestor of the Grenvilles of Devonshire and Cornwall. It is supposed that he obtained after the conquest a grant of the Manor of Kilkhampton; but however this may be, Dugdale mentions it as one of the possessions of the family as early as the time of William Rufus, and it is on record that a Richard de Grenville held certain knights' fees at Bideford in Devon, in the 2nd of Henry II. This appears to have been the place where the family was originally settled. From a

mere formal acquittances, or documents of little or no importance. He has therefore exercised his judgment in selecting for publication those only which record the value of the Dean's preferments, or from which any statistical information, of more or less interest, may be gleaned.

* The Dean in his earlier life commonly wrote his name Grenville; but as both he and other members of his family appear eventually to have preferred signing themselves Granville, the Editor adopts that mode of spelling the name in this Introduction and the notes which illustrate the text.

very early period, however, they had a seat at Stowe, in the parish of Kilkhampton, which, for many generations, was the chief residence of the successive representatives of the family. Like the bearers of many others of the historic names of England the Granvilles for centuries sought no higher precedence than their knightly degree could give them, but their antiquity of descent and the extent of their domains gave them an influence and a power far superior to that which any new patent of nobility could either secure or confer. Popular acclamation assigned to them, moreover, an hereditary characteristic which they regarded with a justifiable pride. While wit was said to be never wanting to a Godolphin, or courage to a Trelawney, loyalty was equally held to be the indefeasible inheritance of all who bore the name of Granville.

In the breast of no member of this antient house was the spirit of loyalty more inherent than in that of the high spirited and gallant Sir Bevil Granville, one of the bravest of that devoted band who shed their life blood in the cause of their Sovereign during the unhappy wars which cast so deep a shadow over the 17th century. He was slain on the field of Lansdowne, near Bath, after having distinguished himself greatly as Commander of the forces for Charles I. in the West of England.

Sir Bevil Granville married Grace, daughter of Sir George Smith, of Exeter, Knt., by whom he had a numerous family, several of whom died young. Three sons survived him: John, the eldest, who was, on the Restoration, created Earl of Bath, Bernard, one of the Grooms of the Bedchamber to Charles II., and Denis, afterwards Dean and Archdeacon of Durham, the subject of the biographical notices which follow. He also left three daughters: Elizabeth, married to Peter Prideaux,

Esq.; Bridget, the wife of Sir Thos. Higgons, Knt.; and Joan, or Joanna, who married Col. Richard Thornhill, and died at a great age in 1739.

Denis Granville was born on the 13th Feb. 1636-7 *. Of his early years we have no account †. He was admitted a fellow-commoner of Exeter College, Oxford, on the 22nd of Sept. 1657, and on Sept. 28th, 1660, was, amongst others, created Master of Arts in that University, an honour which he is said to have owed to the "favour of his great relations;" and to which Old Anthony à Wood seems to have thought he was scarcely then entitled, inasmuch as "he had been no sufferer for the King's cause, nor ejected his college, because entered therein after the Parliament visitors had turned out all the Royalists."

It would appear that he had been designed for the Church from his earliest years. In his letter to the Earl of Bath he mentions the intention of his parents to devote one of their sons to the especial service of God in his Church. The lot, as he expresses it, fell upon him, and he fulfilled their pious intention by "devoting himself thereto, honestly, with good will to God's service, and without designe,"—"in a time of adversity and rebellion, when there was small hopes of being Dean of Durham ‡." His actual ordination, however, did not

* "1636. Denis ye. son of ye. worll. Bevill Grenvile Esqr. and Grace his wife, was borne the 13 Febry. and Baptized the 26 Feby."

For the courteous communication of this extract from the Kilkhampton Parish Register, and for some other information, the Editor has to thank the Rev. A. C. Thynne, the Rector of that parish.

† Eton was probably the place of his education. He is stated, on the authority of Sancroft, to have been a fellow of Eton College. See Athenæ Oxon. ed Bliss. iv. 497.

‡ An interesting letter from the future Dean of Durham, ex-

take place until after the Restoration, for we learn from a letter addressed to his friend Beveridge that they re-

pressive of his feelings with reference to undertaking the office and work of the ministry, is given in the Life of Mr. George Trosse.

"Cadleigh, July 28, 1660.

"Dear friend! I had according to my promise, written to you before this time, had I gotten into Devonshire as soon as I imagin'd I should. I met with an obstacle in my journey down, which oblig'd me to go towards London; where I tarried near a month's space, and was hasten'd thence upon the sad occasion which I believe you have heard of long ere this, I mean the loss of my brother Leache, who is as much lamented in these parts, as any man hath been these many years. And truly, I think, very justly, having great ground to conclude that God hath sanctified his dispensations towards him unto his soul, by several passages before and since his death, and that he would have prov'd a great instrument of God's glory, and of good unto his country, had it been the will of God to have granted him a long life. But, blessed be God, howsoever he disposeth of us: for his dealings with us are for the best, tho' they appear to us otherwise.

"I do yet, I bless God, hold my resolutions, by his assistance, of undertaking the ministry; and hope, that by his grace I shall continue in them; which that I may do, I beg your prayers, and the prayers of all good Christians: for I am not insensible of the many difficulties which I have to struggle with; but, I praise God, where I feared I might have met with some, I have not yet met with any, I mean amongst my own relations; for I'll assure you that not one of them hath us'd any argument to dissuade me from being a minister. I confess some others have occasionally done it; but I trust in God that the devil and his instruments shall never, in this particular, prevail against me: though reflecting upon mine own infirmities, I might justly fear it, did I not also look to my Saviour at the right hand of God, making intercession for me, who hath promised not to suffer his servants to be tempted above what they are able, but will also with the temptation make a way to escape.

"Dear friend, pray let me hear from you; for I value nothing more than conference with God's children by letters, if not by personal discourse: and I hope we have a Christian love for each other, though perchance we differ in opinion in some trivial circumstances. But it

ceived Holy Orders together, from the hands of Bishop Sanderson, in the year 1661 *.

Denis Granville's first preferment was the Rectory of Kilkhampton. It was in the gift of his brother Sir John, afterwards Earl of Bath, and had been bestowed by him on Nicholas Monk, brother to the celebrated General George Monk. Sir John induced Nicholas Monk to exercise his influence with his brother in favour of the exiled monarch. Monk's good offices were rewarded by promotion to the See of Hereford, of which he was consecrated Bishop on the 13th Jan. 1661. Granville was no doubt preferred to Kilkhampton when it became vacant by Monk's elevation †.

is my principle (and I hope ever will be) that difference in judgment, when not in fundamentals, is not a sufficient ground (as now it daily is) for breach of charity, where there is hope of sincerity. But no more of this at present. I do heartily pray, that God by his Holy Spirit would give us both a right judgment in all things, and shew us the truth in whatsoever we err or are deceived.

I do once more desire your prayers in a particular manner; (you shall not want mine) being often something startled at the difficulties I discern in a Christian course of life; especially in undertaking that weighty calling which makes the Apostle cry out, Who is sufficient for these things? Well, friend, farewell. I beseech God to preserve you. I intended once to discourse further with you but I am prevented. I shall ever be, your friend and servant in the Lord, Dennis Grenville. For Mr. George Trosse, at his chamber in Pembroke College in Oxford."—Life of Mr. George Trosse, late Minister of the Gospel in Exon, by Isaac Gilling. Lond. 1715, p. 123.

* Miscellaneous Correspondence, p. 235.

† Granville never, probably, resided at Kilkhampton, for the Editor is informed by the present Rector that no record of his incumbency appears in the church books of that parish. But a letter from Bishop Cosin's domestic chaplain, Davenport, to Sancroft, dated Auckland, Oct. 4, 1662, sufficiently proves that he was at that time Rector. Sancroft appears to have wished the Bishop to allow him to exchange Houghton-le-Spring for Cottenham. His friend tells him in

His marriage about this time with Anne daughter of Bishop Cosin, gave him no doubt a claim to future patronage which was scarcely likely to be overlooked. But there is no reason to suppose that he was a man who received preferment simply on the ground of family connexion. There is abundant evidence that he threw himself gallantly into the work of re-construction which was so much needed in the diocese over which Cosin was called to preside when the Church and the Monarchy were re-established. And Cosin was a man of far too high administrative power to select unfit instruments as his coadjutors in the task which he so resolutely took in hand.

The work which the Bishops of the Church of England had then to accomplish was, in truth, one of no small difficulty. The correspondence of many of the occupants of the episcopal bench at that period sufficiently shews in how disorganized a state, as regarded ecclesiastical matters, their dioceses were found when episcopal rule was once more established *. The diocese of Durham was no exception. In Northumberland the

reply that the Bishop says that "the Rectory of Kilkhampton, formerly Bishop Monk's and now Mr. Grenvil's, he conceives is better than Cottenham, for Mr. Grenvile saith it is worth £300 and sometimes £400, and if Dr. Manby would take that instead of Houghton in exchange, and you accept of Cottenham, it would please him so much the better." "I had rather a great deal," adds Mr. Davenport, "see Mr. Grenvil at Houghton than Dr. Manby."—Tanner MSS. xlviii. 55.

* Even as late as 1670 we find Bishop Hacket complaining to Archbishop Sheldon that "Nothing is a more common trespass then omitting or curtailing Divine service." Tanner MSS. xliv. 206. The reports which the Primate received from other dioceses were not more cheering.

only appearance of spiritual life which manifested itself seems to have been shewn in the boldness with which the Roman Catholics ventured upon the public exercise of their religion. "In severall places of that Archdeaconrie masses are openly and publiquely saide, and warning given to the people to come thereto." And where Popery did not prevail Puritanism had done little. Many of the Churches are described as being "altogether unprovided of ministers;" whilst their fabrics are represented as being "altogether ruinous and in great decay." In many "there be neyther bibles, books of common prayer, surplisses, fonts, communion-tables, nor any thing that is necessarie for the service of God." And there is no reason to think that the County Palatine was in a very much better state than the more remote and wilder region of Northumberland. When we read of the inattention to rubrics, and the slovenly behaviour of minor-canons * and singing-men, which Granville complained of as prevailing in the Cathedral itself †, and of the sluttish and disorderly habits which, as we learn from Cosin ‡, characterized many of its highest dignitaries even when attending the service of God within the walls of its choir, we can scarcely suppose that the offices of the Church would be solemnized with much rubrical order in the secluded corners of the Bishopric, or that there would be much decency either in the con-

* Education moreover seems to have been at a very low ebb amongst the Minor-Canons. In Dr. Basire's Answer to Bishop Cosin's Articles of Inquiry in 1665, his report of them is, that "some reade not so distinctly, but have been admonished to read, privately, the lessons aforehand, according to queen Elizabeth's Injunctions."—Hunter MSS. xi. 86.

† Breaches of Rubricks in the Cathedral, p. 143.

‡ Comperta and Considerations, &c. p. 267. See also p. 269.

duct or appearance of those who there ministered at her altars.

That such irregularities and disorders should exist, need occasion no surprise, even when we find them prevailing after Cosin had for some years occupied the see of Durham. The Act of Uniformity was no doubt the means of ridding the Church of England of a vast number of those who opposed her doctrine and disliked her discipline. But those who withdrew themselves, or who were turned out of the benefices they occupied, on the day of St. Bartholomew, 1662, were, for the most part, the best and most conscientious of the Puritan party. There was a residuum left for whom we cannot entertain the same respect. Some, without any one fixed principle except hatred of the Church, had intruded themselves into benefices during the unsettled times of the Commonwealth ; others also were in possession of preferments, whose affections and sympathies were with the ejected ministers, but over whose minds conscience exercised less power than the solid advantages of glebe and tythe. Those who belonged to either class, yielded but a reluctant assent, when yielded at all, to the Episcopal and Archidiaconal injunctions of men like Cosin, Basire, and Granville, who both taught in words and exemplified by action the most entire and implicit obedience to the Rubrics and Canons of the Church of England.

These semi-conformists were indeed a great thorn in the side of Cosin and his co-adjutors ; and they were not confined to the ranks of the less important clergy who occupied the rural livings of the Diocese. They were to be found also in the high places of the Church. When Cosin came to the see he had little opportunity

of filling the stalls of the Cathedral with his own friends. In six of them their old occupants were reinstated, while five at least of the remainder had been filled up by Charles II. before the Bishop had received the temporalities of the See. And though such men as Basire, Wrench *, and perhaps Neile, were like-minded with himself, yet the presence in Chapter of a man like Wood, who was a thorough Puritan †, added to indiffer-

* Formerly a fellow of St. John's, Cambridge. He was ejected by the Earl of Manchester in 1644, and at the Restoration finding a worthy man in his place, he would not disturb him. He was afterwards preferred to the sixth prebend in the Church of Durham. Mr. Thomas Baker characterizes him as an excellent and good man, an encourager of learning, who would often come into the school at Durham, and examine the scholars.—Life of Dr. Barwick, p. 306. See also Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy.

† Wood became also Dean of Lichfield in 1663. Bishop Hacket complains frequently and in no measured terms of his obnoxious conduct there. The Editor subjoins two specimens out of many which might be gathered from the Bishop's correspondence with the Primate. The first extract is curious also as giving some account of what was then doing at Lichfield in the way of Church decoration. It bears date December 12, 1668. "Your Grace's Church of Lichfield under the care of your devoted suffragan wants nothing (except the dispatch of the organ, through the negligence of the undertaker) but a few ornaments, which I doubt not to accompass. And for ornaments I have had more sent to mee, and unsought, then I could have expected. In vellet, purple and azure, fiftie pounds worth from the excellent Ladie Levison, to serve for a paraphront, a suffront, and carpet for the Altar. From my Ladie Bagot, most rich pieces of gold and silke, and exquisite imagery for two quishions, whose making up being added from a devout aged widow, and a poore one, Mrs. Hulkes, they are as beautifull as ever I saw. Add to these the most curious piece that I have seen, of purple vellet, flowry gold and silke, to bee placed in the paraphront above the quishion, presented to mee from the religious wife of Mr. William Talbot. My noble Lord, I must not omit that my Ladie Wolsy's daughters putt together all these ornaments with their cost, industry, and needle.

ence and carelessness on the part of others, would neutralize many of Cosin's endeavours to make his Cathedral Church a model for the rest of the Diocese. To the determination and vigour with which he prosecuted his purpose to make it such, his Articles of Visitation bear ample testimony; as do also his Comperts and Considerations on the Answers of the Dean and Prebendaries, and a curious paper on the Privileges of the Church of Durham. These papers, as far as the Editor is aware, have never been printed. They do not, at any rate, occur in

The honest residentiaries deserve a Church thus beautified, *so doth not the phrentique Dean*, who sides all together with Puritans, and told mee to my face, I did more harm then good, in reedifying this Church. God remove him from us." Tanner MSS. xliv. 66.

Two days after the Bishop again writes:—"My most humble request (and in great earnest) to your Grace, is, to entreat with my Lord Bishop of Durham to call of our most untractable and filthy natur'd Dean from hence, and to command him to his benefice, or his prebend at Durham. He is a professt favourer of non conformists. His wife comes sometimes to sermons (as to Dr. Boilston) but not above twice in 3 months to Cathedral praiers. I rebuke the Dean for keeping companie with Puritans alltogether. He answer'd mee scornfully, he did so, and he would do so. For the sake of the welfare of a poore church, and for God's sake, at least carie him away hence to Durham. He hath kept his residence to his full daies. And his bretheren the residentiaries will praise God for his absence."—Tanner MSS. xliv. 69.

Dr. Wood nevertheless became eventually Bishop Hacket's successor at Lichfield, through the unworthy intervention of the Duchess of Cleveland, whose favour he gained by contriving that his niece, a wealthy heiress, to whom he was guardian, should marry the Duke of Southampton, the Duchess' son by Charles II. His subsequent gross and flagrant neglect of his episcopal duties led to a remarkable and unusual exercise of discipline on the part of Archbishop Sancroft, namely, the suspension of Bishop Wood from his episcopal dignity and functions, which took place in April, 1684.—See D'Oyly's Life of Sancroft, i. 193.

the collection of Cosin's works published by the Editors of the Anglo Catholic Library. He has therefore given them in his Appendix, as an illustration of the state of the Cathedral of Durham during the earlier part of Dean Granville's connexion with it.

Of the manner in which Bishop Cosin proceeded to restore order and uniformity in the ministrations of the parochial Clergy, we gain information from a similar source. His Articles of Inquiry addressed to the Clergy and Churchwardens are exceedingly minute and curious. They have been printed in the collection of his works just mentioned *. It is therefore unnecessary to do more than allude to them here, except in connexion with the Queries put forth by Granville, when he afterwards held his Visitations of the Clergy as Archdeacon of Durham. The similarity between the two documents is obvious, and it shews how fully the Archdeacon carried out the views and principles of his early patron, and how thoroughly each document was grounded upon the Rubrics and canons, the *lex scripta* of the Church in which the writers respectively filled such high and responsible office.

For Cosin, in the appointments he made to the more important preferments which fell vacant during his episcopate, was careful to fill them with men of his own school, who gave the best proof of their conformity to the rules and orders of the Church of England, viz. a ready obedience to them in their own persons; men, in short, whose practice did not contradict their theory.

* Vol. iv. p. 505, from a copy printed by T. Garthwaite, in 1662. His Latin Injunctions to the Dean and Prebendaries are given in the same volume, p. 381.

Such was Sancroft, an old and tried friend, with whom he had maintained a constant correspondence during the time of the Commonwealth, when Cosin took refuge in France and Sancroft found a home at Utrecht. After the Restoration he made him his chaplain, and bestowed upon him the valuable rectory of Houghton-le-Spring, and facilitated an exchange of prebendal stalls which placed him in the Cathedral of Durham. Another of the same school was Davenport, who succeeded Sancroft at Houghton when the latter was promoted to the Deanery of St. Paul's, a man of most blameless and apostolic life, and of munificence which is even yet remembered *. A third was his son-in-law, Denis Granville, whose birth and connexions would, no doubt, have secured him preferment in any diocese he might have entered, independent of any family connexion with the prelate who presided over it. Whose zeal and activity in his several characters of Parish-priest, Pre-

* He used to say that "he feared to die with any of the Church's goods in his hands." A danger, says Surtees, which he probably avoided, for he rebuilt the rectory from the ground, added a domestic chapel, and endowed one-half of the alms-house.—Hist. Durham, i. 171. What his own feelings were with respect to the "good works and almsdeeds which he did," we have an interesting indication in the following extract of a letter to his friend Sancroft.—"I love a man that loveth the Church as well as his own flesh and blood. And I am of opinion that we priests that have no wives, ought to look upon the Church and poor as our next heires. And truly I could think well of myselfe, if I could be assured that I have profited the living Church as much as I have bettered the materiall and dead church, by my means or money. But when I think of that burden that was laid on me when I was made priest [till no place be left either for viciousness of life or error in doctrine] fearfulness and trembling take hold upon me; and in this thing God be mercyfull to me, and to all priests."—Tanner MSS. xliv. 281.

bendary, and Archdeacon went far to justify his munificent patron's selection, in spite of failings which often caused the Bishop much vexation.

The earliest preferments which Granville received from Bishop Cosin were the first stall in the Cathedral, his installation to which bears date Sept. 24, 1662, and the Archdeaconry of Durham, with the Rectory of Easington annexed, to which he was collated in the same year. To these was added in 1664 the Rectory of Elwick, which he resigned in 1667, on obtaining Sedgefield. The death of Dr. Naylor, who was Rector of Sedgefield, occasioned also a vacancy in the second, or Golden, stall in the Cathedral, to which Granville was removed on the 16th April, 1668.

These were assuredly great preferments, too great indeed, in some respects, to be given to so young a man as Denis Granville then was; for the possession of a splendid income, without the previous discipline of that early struggle with the world which most men have to undergo, produced the not very unusual result of lavish expenditure and consequent embarrassment. We soon find that he was frequently absent from his benefices. In Oxford he could have the advantage of literary society; in London his noble birth and great connexions, and his position as Chaplain-in-ordinary to the King, gave him a ready access to the very highest society. And these two places, not unnaturally, offered far higher attractions to a man of his time of life than any thing which either Durham or his country parsonages could afford. On the 20th of December, 1670, he took his Doctor of Divinity's degree at Oxford. When he left the north for this purpose he seems to have contemplated a long absence; for Dean Sudbury says in a

letter dated Nov. 18th in that year, "We expect a letter" (viz. a Royal dispensation) "in behalf of Mr. Greenvill, who intends to continue with his wife at London not onely this winter, but another spring and fall, if not longer." His father-in-law writes about the same time with his accustomed acrimony: "I know not what to do with Mr. Grenvyle, who is still at Oxford, idling away his time, and suffering his Curates to be non-resident at Easington and Sedgefield, as hee himselfe is, under colour of his wife's taking physick, who for ought I see never needed any, for, from her coming to Durham to this day, she was never better in all her life, though she be now thrust up into a coop, and a strait close place, which may much endanger her health. But hee is a wilful man, and will order her as he lists. In the meanwhile, though I went to visit both him and her a month since, I never saw either of them at my lodgings here, for she dares not go forth of her own without his leave, which leave, it seems, hee left not behind him *."

* Letter from Bishop Cosin to Mr. Stapylton, Dec. 13, 1670.—Surtees' Hist. Durham, vol. i. cxliii. On the 30th April previous the Bishop had written an equally characteristic epistle, of which the following is an extract:—"Mr. Grenvyle's priviledge is now out of doors, for his privilege lasteth no longer than 20 dayes after the adjournment of the Parliament. I told you in my last that he had carried his wife from Bigglesworth to Oxford, and now I can tell you that he hath left her there (where she is not acquainted at all) with a kinswoman of his there whom I know not; being himselfe come up hither to London to see the funerall of the late Generall [1], which is this day to pass from Sommerset House to Westminster. Hee tells me his wife is very well, and that the waters were so much

[1] Monk, earl of Albemarle.

His imprudent expenditure at length resulted in a most humiliating and public exposure of his pecuniary difficulties. On the 8th of July, 1674, as he was "coming from publick prayers, and a funerall (where the cheifest of the gentry of the country were assembled) and being in his habitt he was openly arrested within the cloysters at the door of the cathedrall by three bailiffs." By a high-spirited man like Granville, "with a strong dash of the cavalier about him" (as Surtees happily expresses it), this must have been felt as a most galling affront; for the pride of the high-bred gentleman as well as the dignity of the churchman must alike have been most bitterly wounded. The manner in which he more than once refers in his correspondence to his "odious arrest," sufficiently proves that this

out as they journyed about Newarke that they were forct to stay 12 dayes by the way, which I thinke was no way to *cure her from the lightnes of her head*, but rather a certaine way to augment her old, or else to get her a new and a worse disorder. And when I found fault with him for mis timing their journey, and bringing up his wife in that manner as he did, and before the weather and the way were well settled, hee answered mee that Dr. Tonstall and Dr. Willson[1] gave him order so to doe, and by no meanes would let him stay till May began, which I can hardly believe; and therefore I pray commend me to Dr. Willson, and tell him if he gave that advice, as I beleive he did not, it is not approved here by any of our friends, or by the Colledge of Physitians, whereunto her husband pretends to bring her from Oxford the next time he can say or find she ailes any thing, and I pray let me have both Dr. Tonstall and Dr. Willson's answer whether they gave advice or no to this hurrying of her up to London at the beginning of Aprill, when the wayes and the weather were so ill that no woman though ever so well would have ventured a journey hither."

[1] Probably the author of the *Spadacrene Dunelmensis*.

was the case. It was in vain that he pleaded his privilege as Chaplain-in-ordinary to the King. The bailiffs were inexorable, an appeal to Mr. Richard Neile, the under-sheriff, was equally unsuccessful, and Dr. Granville was carried off to gaol, "with many aggravating circumstances."

The matter, however, was not allowed to rest there. The appeal which was made in vain to the Under-sheriff and his bailiffs was brought before the King in council without much delay. On the 17th of the same month of July Dr. Granville's petition was read at the Council-board at Hampton Court *, and all parties concerned † in making the arrest were ordered to appear within ten days before the Council-board. The result was, that "the King was pleased very much to reprehend Mr. Carnabie, a person concerned in it, and to direct his Attorney-General to prosecute him and Mr. Neile. But on the submission of Mr. Carnabie a pardon was granted to him, and also to Mr. Richard Neile, on

* At which were "present the King's most excellent Majesty; his Highness Prince Rupert; Lord Archbishop of Canterbury; Lord Keeper; Lord Treasurer; Lord Privy Seal; Duke of Monmouth; Marquis of Dorchester; Lord Chamberlain; Earl of Bridgwater; Earl of Peterborough; Earl of Bath; Earl of Craven; Earl of Arlington; Earl of Carbery; Viscount Halifax; Lord Bishopp of London; Lord Barkeley; Mr. Vice-Chamberlain; Mr. Secretary Coventry; Mr. Mountague; Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr. Chancellor of the Dutchy; and Master of the Ordnance."—Mickleton's MSS.

† The parties summoned to attend before the Council-board, as we learn from the authority quoted in the last note, were, Mr. Neile, above named; Mr. Thomas Mascall, attorney; John Garth, his clerk; Thomas Brantingham; Ralph Westgarth and Christopher Balland, bailiffs; and Francis Forster, Thomas Carnaby, and Miles Stapilton, gentlemen.

the petition of his father, Sir Paul Neile, and on expressing his sorrow for his misdemeanour, who declared himself ignorant that Dr. Granville was his Majesty's Chaplain-in-ordinary *." Mr. Neile, however, as we learn from Mickleton, lost his office of Under-sheriff. On his submission he was probably reinstated.

It would appear from a letter, written soon after this occurrence, by Mr. Isaac Basire to the Earl of Bath, that the sharp lesson which this arrest taught him as to the results of imprudent management of financial matters was not altogether thrown away upon Dr. Granville. He appears to have circumscribed his expenditure within more prudent limits, but it is manifest also, from his brother-in-law's letter, that his thoughts had begun even then to turn in the direction of the dignity to which he afterwards attained. The postscript to this letter evidently shews that Dean Sudbury's health was supposed to be breaking, and it is no less clear from its commencement that the Earl of Bath's interest with the King had been sought in order that Dr. Granville might succeed him. His accession to it might free him, it was hoped, from the embarrassments which pressed upon him, and his fitness to fill a distinguished post is vouched for by Mr. Basire with the warm partiality of a devoted friend and near connexion. The instances which Mr. Basire gives of Dr. Granville's readiness and ability as a preacher shew him to have been a man of very considerable power.

With the exception of a congratulatory letter to Archbishop Sancroft on his accession to the primacy, written by Dr. Granville from Aix in Provence in 1678, there

* From the Act Book of the Dean and Chapter of Durham. (Quoted in Zouch's Life of Sudbury.)

is little in his correspondence at this particular period which possesses very peculiar interest. The letters which appear are few in number, and relate almost exclusively to his private concerns, which seem indeed to have been at all times in a very hampered state. "I cannot manage nor mind these money affairs," is his own candid confession. But, in justice to him, it must also be said, that an honourable readiness to discharge his obligations was never wanting, even at the cost of a ruinous discount. We find him telling Mr. Isaac Basire, whose brother appears to have advanced him money, and to have been put to some inconvenience by its non-payment, that "he is so far from being unconcerned for him that he would gladly betake himself to his old bad husbandry, and give 20*l.* per cent. rather than hee should longer want it."

But we need not dwell longer upon these results of thoughtless and profuse expenditure. It brought with it its own punishment, embittering many an hour of his after life, and occasioning much self-reproach and painful retrospection. Enough has been said to give truth to the portrait by the laying in of the shadows, let us proceed to the more pleasing task of giving prominence to the brighter parts of the picture, by recording some of those indications of character which drew forth from Barnabas Oley, the biographer of the saintly Herbert, and himself an eminently religious man, "the expression which he usually had when he mentioned him,"—"the title of the truly pious and devout good man, Dr. Granville;" and which, as we have seen, rendered him not unworthy, in the eyes of Bishop Cosin, to fill the responsible post of Archdeacon of Durham, at a time when no small amount of judgment and firmness was

required for the worthy discharge of its responsible duties.

It is at all times interesting to mark the *modus operandi* which has been adopted at periods of particular exigency by those whose position or character mark them out as leaders. The Restoration was such a period. Monarchy was again to resume its sway as the mode of civil government, and Episcopacy was once more established as the form of ecclesiastical rule. But the relations of society, both in its temporal and religious aspects, were greatly disorganized. As regards the latter, as has already been observed, the difficulties which beset the Bishops of the Church of England when they resumed their functions were many and multiplied.

Disorder and the abuse of private judgment were beyond all question the prominent excesses of those by whom the religious feelings of the people were directed during the period of the Commonwealth, and to repress this unscriptural and utopian licence was the great object of the leaders of the Church of England. With a view to this they sought above all things to obtain uniformity, and a thorough obedience to the rubricks and canons of the Church; more especially on the part of the clergy. Upon this leading principle they acted, and to this we owe the review of the Liturgy in 1661 and the consequent Act of Uniformity. The proceedings of the authorities of the Church at that time, and the passing of that Act, have been often censured as too unbending, and not sufficiently marked by prudent conciliation. But the accusation, if just, is one to which the state of the times and the history of the recent excesses furnish the best reply. Just as the prevalence of a particular heresy within the Church has ever caused

an exaggerated prominence, so to speak, to be given to the opposite truth by those who deeply feel the danger of the error; so, at the period in question, the passive obedience to rulers, and the rigid and unbending adherence to rubrick and canon which were sought to be so carefully enforced, might be said to be but an instinctive attempt to tighten the cords of discipline which had become so fatally relaxed when Rebellion was a war-cry and all reverent observance and decent ceremonial in the worship of God became the object of contempt and hatred. But it was more than this. There is a necessary connection between doctrine and discipline. And the rulers of the Church were too learned and sagacious not to accept this as an axiom. They knew full well that, to meet the necessities of man's complex nature, spiritual truth requires to be incorporated with forms, and ceremonies, and outward symbols, and that rule and order are necessary to its existence. The Puritan overlooked this. His was more a religion of feeling than of obedience; and technical creeds, and positive enactments as to seasons and ceremonies, were, in his eyes, only chains and fetters which destroyed the freedom of an enlightened worshipper. But excesses as gross as they were inconsistent in those who so loudly clamoured for the exercise of their own Christian liberty, had accompanied the ascendancy of such views, and were too recent to be either forgotten or overlooked.

The line therefore which every devout and pious churchman of that time might be expected to take would be more especially on the side of ritual order and observance. The hatred which the Puritans bore to forms and ceremonies, their impatience of rule, and their reluctance to subordination were neither extinct nor para-

lysed by the restoration of Monarchy and Episcopacy: and any thing which throws light upon the manner in which Church principles were carried out, and in which church-men went to work to counteract Puritanic influences can scarcely be regarded as either useless or uninteresting. The reader will be able to glean, in the course of the pages which follow, some information of this nature, in the diocese of which Cosin was Bishop, and Granville Archdeacon, and subsequently Dean. It is important, moreover, to bear in mind, that the principles and practices which they inculcated and carried out, with more or less success, were those of an older school, wherein had been trained such men as Wren, Bishop of Norwich, the saintly Herbert, Hammond, and many others, who, though thoroughly opposed to the spirit and practices of Puritanism, were yet unbending enemies of the corruptions of the Church of Rome.

The great strength of any Church must always lay in her parochial ministrations, and the manner in which they are carried out and discharged by those who serve at her altars; and no document or work is uninteresting which tends to throw light upon the manner in which the Clergy, at any period of the Church's history, have performed their ordinary but all important functions.

Of the manner in which parochial work was carried out in the 17th century we have been accustomed to form some notion from the ideal picture which the hand of George Herbert has traced in his "COUNTRY PARSON," a work of which the lapse of more than two centuries has neither destroyed the charm nor rendered obsolete the instructive lessons. But in the course of the pages which follow will be found a very curious and instructive document bearing upon this subject, and affording a

life-like picture, not imaginary but real, of what, in modern phrase, would be called *the working* of a parish. It is the paper of Directions already mentioned as having been issued by Granville in 1669 to his Curates at Easington and Sedgefield. The minuteness and particularity with which, in his double capacity of Rector and Archdeacon, he enjoins the observance of rubrics, the manner in which he enters into various details respecting the services of the Church and the intercourse of his Curates with the parishioners, the practical common sense and evident sincerity of its tone, render this a very valuable illustration, not only of the period to which it belongs, but of the religious feeling and character of the writer. Not one of the least interesting indications of the latter is the recommendation he gives his Curates to observe, "as far as they shall be able, the Venerable Mr. George Herbert's method and rule, prescribed in his 'COUNTRY PARSON, or character of an holy Priest,' which book," he goes on to say, "as I recommend to all the Clergy in my Jurisdiction, so do I more especially to my Curates, for their rule and direction in order to the exemplary discharge of their function, having always made it mine." A striking testimony to the value of Herbert's book, and to its popularity as a compendium of pastoral theology. It is worth remarking also, that high as were Granville's views and feelings on the subject of the passive obedience which some writers seem to imagine was the chief and almost only doctrine preached by the clergy of his school, we find little or no indication of any desire to give it prominence in his parochial teaching. The pulpit was, by his direction, to be "reserved for more

substantiall and essentiall truths, as the doctrines of Faith, Repentance, Love, Obedience, Temperance, &c."

At the time these Directions were issued Bishop Cosin was still living, and prosecuting the work of reconstruction in his Diocese. Some interesting testimonies to the success of his efforts are found in a diary kept by Granville in the year 1683, of which, unfortunately, only a small part has been preserved. He details, amongst other things, some conversations he had with the Lord Primate of Scotland, and that eminent person Sir William Dugdale. The latter appears to have entered into some particulars respecting his progress into the north, on his heraldic visitation in the year 1666, and "spake much in comendation of Bishop Cosins and Dr. Basiere, highly comending the conformity of the place." The Primate expresses himself to the same effect, taking occasion "to repeate his comendations of the good order and conformity of our Diocesse, saying that Bishopp Cosins was a great man, and an excellent governor."

At the time that Granville was recording these testimonies to the worth of that eminent prelate, twelve years had passed away since his removal (in 1671) from the scene of his labours. But his strong and vigorous mind had left its impress behind, and upon none more strongly than his son-in-law and Archdeacon, Denis Granville, who exemplified in his own person, and strove to impress upon all who came within the sphere of his influence, that strict conformity which Cosin had taken so much pains to enforce.

But it was evidently uphill work. "The exact conformity which Bishop Cosins set on foot" in his diocese was not easily maintained, and arguments were brought

against Dr. Granville's efforts to keep it up "from the practice of the generality of eminent clergy elsewhere, and sometimes from the practice of the very Cathedrals." So we find him complaining to Sir William Dugdale. Yet, in spite of all this, as compared with others the diocese of Durham maintained a high position. We find Granville telling his Sovereign that it was "without dispute the most exemplary county for good order and conformity of any in the nation."

His efforts were especially directed at this time to the general and permanent establishment of three things, viz. a strict observance of the 55th Canon with respect to the use of Bidding Prayer, Daily Prayer in Parish Churches, and Weekly Sacraments, at least, in Cathedrals. The first seems to have been a point of order on which he laid great stress, even to the extent of personally pressing the subject upon the attention of his Royal Master*. Bishop Cosin had attached, as we learn, considerable importance to it, for the obvious reason that the semi-conformists, or puritanical party of the Church of England, took advantage of the absence of any express rubric with respect to it, and prefaced their sermons with prayers of their own devising, which, as Sir William Dugdale observed, "was a shiboleth whereby to distinguish the fanatic party, and that if the liberty which ministers take, bee not seasonably check'd, it may ones more runne down the liturgy†." With regard to the second the reader will find some interesting observation in Granville's letter to Archbishop Sancroft of the 26th Sept. 1683, wherein is

* Miscellaneous Correspondence, &c., p. 169.
† Ibid. p. 167.

mentioned also a fact of some importance, namely, that through his instrumentality Daily Prayers and Monthly Sacraments were an established practice in the most considerable country parishes of his Archdeaconry *, and that many other places could be prevailed upon

* It is worthy of observation how much pains were taken to obtain obedience to the Rubric which enjoins Daily Prayer upon the Clergy. A series of Articles were sent by Archbishop Sancroft, in July 1688, to all the Bishops in his Province, for circulation amongst the Clergy. In one of these he recommends, "That they perform the daily office publicly in all market and other great towns, and even in villages and less populous places bring people to public prayers as frequently as may be: especially on such days and at such times as the Rubrics and Canons appoint, on *Holy Days*, and their *Eves*, on *Ember* and *Rogation Days*, on *Wednesdays* and *Fridays* in each week, and especially in *Advent* and *Lent*."

Nor was the desire for a general observance of this practice confined to those churchmen who afterwards became Non-jurors. Some, at any rate, amongst those who swore allegiance to William III. were likeminded with them as to this point, and indeed as to most other matters, with the sole exception of the subject of the Oath. A Pastoral Letter of Archbishop Sharp, who succeeded Lamplugh in the See of York, in 1691, contains a recommendation almost identical with the one just quoted from Sancroft's Articles. Bishop Patrick speaks even more strongly:—"The very first thing in the Book of Common Prayer deserves to be seriously considered: where you are enjoyned *to say daily the Morning and Evening Prayer either privately or openly, not being let by sickness, or some other urgent cause.* It is possible, I am sure, to observe one part of this injunction if you cannot observe the other. That is, if you cannot procure a congregation to meet daily in the Church; yet you may, and therefore ought, to read the service of the Church in your own families either *privately or openly, not being let by sickness, or some other urgent cause;* which cannot happen every day. This, if solemnly performed, would be a powerful means to preserve an awful sense of God continually upon your minds, and to make *yourselves and your families wholsome examples to the flock of Christ;* as you promised to endeavour at your ordination."—Letter to his Clergy by Simon Patrick, Bishop of Ely. London: printed for Ric. Chiswell. MDCXCII.

"to observe the like good order, if the Cathedral did not authorize the breach of law in having no weekly sacrament." To the restoration of the latter, therefore he devoted all his strength, evidently regarding it as a sort of main-spring upon which the orderly working of the rest of the diocese very greatly depended. It was a matter which for years he urged with the utmost perseverance, not only, as he tells Sir William Dugdale, "for the honour of God's service," but as being "the only considerable matter in our Cathedral or Diocess which Bishop Cosins left uncompleted." Of his anxiety on the subject there are many indications in the following pages, but it may not be out of place here to record also some extracts from his letters on the subject to his friend Dr. Comber, which are given in the Life of that Divine, now a very scarce book. He speaks of waiting upon the Archbishop of York concerning his "great affair about the weekly sacrament, which above all other matters oppresses his mind." He has Dr. Beveridge's warm sympathy. "I am told," he adds, "by Dr. Beveridge that it is intended to have one, when St. Paul's is rebuilt, in that Cathedrall; and by the Dean of Canterbury that they are likely soon to set one up in their church, which will have a great influence on all the cathedrals in the kingdom. Dr. Beveridge his devout practice and order in his church, doth exceedingly edify the city, and his congregation encreases every week: he hath seldom less than fourscore, sometime six or seven score communicants, and a great many young apprentices, who come there every Lord's day with great devotion. The doctor approves of my honest designes, and hath confirmed mee very much in my resolutions, and

will bee I promise myselfe a very useful friend to mee *." In another letter he urges on Dr. Comber to assist him, in the most strenuous terms. "To returne to my old topick of pushing on the *weekly sacrament*, you and I are more particularly concerned in this good worke than any other clergymen that I know of in the whole province, and I am certaine that it is the expectation of severall clergy and devout people in these parts that wee should doe more than others. You are looked upon to bee the greatest champion for the Common Prayer-Booke in the whole country, (nay, perchance in all England;) and I am considered as one of the more exact observers of the rubrick, and sticklers for conformity; and I dare without pride or vanity owne that I am an hearty lover of the booke, and have in mee some innate love of order. Really, Dr. Comber, this is a great and excellent worke, and will doe God more service than all your past labours or my past indeavours since our first coming into the ministry. It will have a wonderfull influence over all the north, and shame the other cathedralls into the like practice: which accompanied with such a circular letter as my Lord of Canterbury intends to send to the bishops of his owne province, would in a powerfull manner preach to all the inferior clergy, not only frequent communion, but exact conformity. Without doubt these means that are of Christ's owne institution, and the incomparable established order of our owne church (the most incomparable and unexceptionable institution in all Christendome,) are the most probable means to revive religion,

* Comber's Life of Comber, p. 179.

devotion, conformity and loyalty in the land*. The Editor of Dr. Comber's life does not give the dates of these letters, but from the place assigned them in his volume they were in all probability written in 1683, the year in which, as we learn from his Journal, and other sources, Granville was especially engaged in urging the necessity of this return to exact conformity, upon the highest authorities in the Church. His representations were not without their weight. Weekly Communion was soon afterwards established "in the Metropolitical Church of Canterbury, as appears from a letter of Dr. Tillotson, Dean of Canterbury, still extant†," and in 1685 "the Archbishop of York issued his commands to have the holy Sacrament administered every Lord's day in the cathedral at York, and on the 26th April this laudable practice first began‡." A letter from Dr. Granville to his friend Comber is written in the most enthusiastic terms on the receipt of this intelligence, declaring that "hee is ready to absolve him from all his sins for the comfortable news hee sends him of the weekly sacrament being set up in the cathedrall at Yorke." And in the Cathedral of Durham, also, his perseverance in the revival of "this long sleeping rubric," as Comber calls it, was at length successful§. From a letter addressed by Granville to Archbishop Sancroft in October, 1685, we find that an Injunction had recently been issued by the Bishop for its restoration. The position he had then attained as Dean of

* Comber's Life of Comber, p. 182. † Ibid. p. 184.

‡ Ib. p. 204. It fell into desuetude, however, in the course of the next century. Archbishop Harcourt ordered its resumption in 1841.

§ In this Cathedral, as far as the Editor is aware, its observance has never since been intermitted.

Durham no doubt added weight to his representations on the subject.

To this dignity he was promoted in December 1684, on the decease of Dr. John Sudbury, whose health had long been failing. The likelihood of a speedy vacancy occasioned somewhat of a struggle for the great preferment which he held. The powerful interest of the Earl of Bath had been exerted some time previously to secure the Deanery for his brother, in opposition to the scarcely less powerful interest of the Bishop of Durham, who was equally anxious to secure it for his nephew, Dr. Montague. The letters which the Bishop addressed on the subject to his Chancellor, Sir Richard Lloyd, are both curious and amusing. In these he dilates at some length upon the relative advantages and disadvantages of the Deanery of Durham and the Mastership of Sherburn Hospital, a preferment which Dr. Montague already held, and tries to induce Dr. Granville to content himself with Sherburn when his nephew should be advanced to the Deanery. Sherburn, however, presented its attractions in vain: the Bath interest prevailed over that of Crewe, in spite of some opposition on the part of Sancroft, and Denis Granville was installed Dean of Durham, retaining also his Archdeaconry, and the Rectories of Easington and Sedgefield. His accession to this dignity created a vacancy in his prebendal stall, which was filled up by the appointment of his nephew Sir George Wheler.

The restoration of Weekly Communion in the Cathedral of Durham was, as we have seen, the first act of importance which he accomplished after his accession to his new dignity. To this he soon added a further revival of antient practice:—the preaching of sermons

in the Cathedral on the Wednesdays and Fridays in Advent and Lent. The Dean himself preached the opening sermon on the 2d Dec. 1685, being the first Wednesday in Advent in that year. It was afterwards published. It would appear that a similar course of sermons during those seasons was at that time the practice of the Metropolitical Church of York, and had formerly been customary in the Cathedral of Durham.

Much of the subsequent miscellaneous correspondence at this period relates to arrangements which were made for the gradual liquidation of his incumbrances out of the revenues of the Deanery. Nevertheless from references which occur to subjects of more public interest we see how matters were then tending. In June 1687 we find that the Dean was in London, and he tells us of his having been "sorely attaqued at York, and all along the road by the voters for *non-addresses* to the King," but he can discern nothing substantial in the arguments by which they sought to bring him to their views *. In March of the following year the King was on the eve of issuing his second Declaration of Indulgence, that fatal measure which proved how wrongly he had estimated his own strength, and his subjects' submission and patience. In the midst of much censure the Dean of Durham had nevertheless prepared himself to follow out

* Amongst those who "attaqued" him Dr. Comber, no doubt, was one. Cartwright, Bishop of Chester, had urged the Dean of York to use his utmost endeavours to prevail upon his Chapter to send an Address of thanks to the King for his Declaration of Indulgence, (of the 4th April 1687) but Dr. Comber "so effectually opposed this attempt that not a single individual set his hand to the address."—See Comber's Life of Comber, p. 237. Dr. Comber appears to have accompanied Dean Granville on his journey to London.

the principles he had always professed and taught, viz. an implicit obedience to the commands of his Sovereign: —"if the King goes beyond his commission, he must answer for it to God, but I'le not deface one line thereof. Let my liege and dread Soveraign intend to do what he pleases to me or mine. Yet my hand shall never be upon him, so much as to cut off the skirt of his garment. In this Magna Charta aim'd at by the King for establishing his Declaration, our religion will be established in the first place, and others incapacitated to hurt us as much as we to hurt them. And if we can't be put into better circumstances without resisting the King in lawful commands, there is no remedy but Christian patience *." Consistently with these sentiments, which, in his case, were not those of a mere sycophantic time-server, like his Bishop (Crewe) the Dean was one of the few clergymen who obeyed the King's order, and read the Declaration.

In the autumn of 1688 the intelligence that the Prince of Orange was preparing an armament for the invasion of England reached the ears of the Dean of Durham. Anxious to vindicate the antient reputation for loyalty of the Bishoprick of Durham, the Dean's first care was to establish, if it were possible, the parishioners of his country cures in his own high principles of "subjection and allegiance to their Sovereign, shewing them that subjects were upon no consideration whatsoever, neither of religion, liberty, nor life, to resist or desert their lawful Sovereign, tho' he were no better than such a one St. Paul lived under, when he writ the Epistle to the Romans, not only a heathen, but a cruel persecutor,

* Miscellaneous Correspondence, p. 229.

a Nero, a Caligula, or a Dioclesian: and that subjects to a Christian Prince, and to a prince soe mercifull and gracious as ours, by consequence would be more guilty, if they should rebell against or resist him, merely because he professed a different religion *."

He then repaired to his Deanery at Durham, and "summoned his brethren the Prebendaryes together into their Chapterhouse," for the purpose of laying before them the duty which he conceived was incumbent on them all to assist the King in his present exigency "with their purses, as well as their prayers." All present complied with the Dean's proposition, and an Act in Chapter was passed granting 700*l.* for his Majesty's service; 100*l.* from the Dean and 50*l.* from each of the Prebendaries, to which all who were absent from Durham at the time, with one exception, gave their assent by letter. The Bishop being absent in London, Granville next called the Clergy of his Archdeaconry together, to confirm, if it might be, the loyalty of the wavering, and to do all that in him lay, as he somewhat pathetically expresses it, "to awaken those out of their sin whom he could not confirm in their duty." In the course of the Address he delivered to them he earnestly set before them the duty of assisting their Sovereign at the impending crisis, and of securing their flocks by every means in their power from being seduced by the arguments of his enemies.

The Dean was further anxious that his brethren of the Chapter and the Magistracy of the County should have united with him in a loyal address to the King, expressive of their horror of the invasion with which his dominions were threatened, but the pro-

* Letter to the Earl of Bath, p. 67.

position was coldly received, and he was obliged to satisfy himself by forwarding to his Majesty his own personal assurances of devoted allegiance. This address was intercepted at York, and fell into the hands of the Earl of Danby, and the other adherents of the Prince of Orange, who had already seized upon that city, and "were some of them advancing northwards to secure Durham and Newcastle." A fruitless attempt was made by Granville to induce the Magistrates and Deputy Lieutenants to take measures to check this advance, and Durham was entered by Lord Lumley with a small force on the 5th of December, whilst the Dean was preaching one of the Advent sermons in the Cathedral. No opposition was offered. The Dean was summoned to deliver up his arms and horses, and on refusal was confined within the walls of the Deanery during the occupation of the city by the friends of the invader. The Prince of Orange's Declaration having been publickly read by Lord Lumley at the Castle and the Market Cross, and sanctioned by the presence of most of the country gentry, he was encouraged to demand admittance into Newcastle, but meeting with opposition to this farther advance he withdrew to York. The Dean now stood alone, or nearly so, as an adherent of James, but mounted the Cathedral pulpit on the following Sunday, with unabated courage, to discharge his conscience by preaching another "seasonable, loyall sermon . . . . to persuade the members of that church and all the auditory, to stand firm to their allegiance in that day of temptation, and never to joyn in the least wayes with that horrid rebellion which was at that time sett on foot in the nation *." Matters however wore a

* See these two Sermons hereafter, pp. 9 and 23.

hopeless aspect as far as James' cause was concerned, and Granville began to despair of being of any further service to his Sovereign by remaining at his post. His personal liberty appears also to have been in some danger, and after much consideration he finally resolved upon flight.

Accordingly, at midnight of the 11th of December Dean Granville quitted the walls of the Deanery, never again, as it proved, to re-enter them. His journey to Carlisle, his reception there, and the hardships he underwent before he could pursue his way to Edinburgh, are graphically described by him in his letter to his brother, the Earl of Bath. Soon after his arrival in Edinburgh an opportunity offered of embarking for France, of which he readily availed himself, being anxious above all things to join his Sovereign. On the 19th of March he landed at Honfleur, where he had the mortification of learning that he had arrived the very day after James' departure from Brest for Ireland. His stay here was of short duration, for on the 25th of the same month he departed for Rouen, where he took up his abode with Mr. Thomas Hackett, an English merchant resident in that city, from whom he appears to have experienced no ordinary kindness and attention.

In this city he resided at intervals for several years, occupying himself during the earlier part of the time in committing to the press the Farewell Sermons and Letters which are now reprinted. In February 1689-90 he undertook "a hazardous journey into England," "whereby he got a small sum of money to subsist awhile abroad . . . . . tho' with much trouble and danger, occasioned him by an impertinent and malitious postmaster, who discover'd him in Canterbury." From a letter addressed

to Sancroft after his arrival in England it is evident that he had entirely withdrawn himself from all communion with those who had taken the oath to the new Sovereigns *.

His determination on this point was not to be shaken. Through the interest of his brother the Earl of Bath, who, grievously to the Dean's mortification and sorrow, had sullied, as he deemed it, the hitherto stainless loyalty of the house of Granville by espousing the cause of the usurper, he is said to have been enabled for some time to retain his revenues. But after his obstinate refusal to take the oath, he was stripped of his preferments on the 1st February 1690-1, the day fixed by Act of Parliament for the deprivation of all those clergy who, up to that date, should have refused compliance with the conditions which it imposed.

"The deanery of Durham, vacated by Dr. Granville, was offered to Mr. Samuel Johnson, the noted author of the pamphlet entitled 'Julian the Apostate,' but he refused it, as not adequate to his merits. In 1689 the Dean's goods and chattels were distrained by the Sheriff of the County, in consequence of his pecuniary embarrassments, and Sir Geo. Wheler purchased his library

* See also his "Concluding observations," p. 138. The Non-jurors were divided in their opinions as to this point, but the majority felt that they ought not even to appear to join in the prayers that were now offered in the churches for William and Mary. Sancroft's views upon the subject were very strong. "Several of the principal Non-jurors having attended the service in the Chapel at Lambeth Palace, one of them again asked his opinion as to the point of their attending the public service of the Church. He immediately gave this decisive answer: that if they did, they would need the absolution at the end, as well as the beginning, of the service."—D'Oyly's Life of Sancroft, i. 458.

for £221 *. That Mrs. Granville was reduced to great distress on this sad occasion is proved by the following order: 'Dec. 8. 1690. Whereas upon a complaint made to the Chapter on the behalf of Madam Anne Granville, wife of Dr. Granville, Dean of this Cathedral, that it appears that she is left destitute and unprovided for her present subsistence, it was therefore in compassion to

* In the following extract from a letter to H. Wanley from Dr. Smith, Prebendary of Durham, the learned Editor of Bede, we have an account of a portion of the Dean's Library. "The best collection we have of Bibles and Common-prayer books in this place is that which was made with a great deal of pains by the late Dean Granville, and is now in the library of our excellent friend Sir G. Wheler, by whose leave I have extracted for you what follows in order as they stand in their places. 1. Queen Elizabeth's Bible, with Cranmer's preface, &c. Imprinted at London by Chr. Barker, 1578. Fol. (with distinction of verses). 2. Queen Elizabeth's Bible, imperfect to f. x., and from f. xcix. (without distinction of verses). 3. Tindale's translation of the Bible (in lesser fol.) with his prefaces, &c., printed by John Daye, 1551. Dedicated to the King by Edm^d Beck. 4. Richard Taverner's translation, printed by John Byddel for Thomas Barthlet, 1539, fol. minor., and dedicated to the King. 5. Another Edition of Tindale, in a larger letter, with his prologues, but printed the same year as above, 1551. Imperfect both in the beginning and ending. 6. Another edition of Tindal, with Beck's dedication, notes, &c., printed by John Day and William Seres, 1549. 7. King James's Bible, printed by Robert Barker, 1616. 8. King Henry 8^th's Bible of the largest volume, overseen and perused by Cuthbert, Bishop of Durham and Nicolas, Bishop of Rochester, printed by Ri. Grafton, 1541, with Cranmer's preface. 9. Bible in quarto, of a different translation, but yet inscribed Tindale's. Imperfect. 10. Bible translated by Miles Coverdale, without beginning or ending. Of Common-prayer-books here is (as I take it) an entire sett, so I need not particularize. And thus, Sir, you have all I am able to send you from hence, which I hope will however be some testimony of the good will of, Sir, your assured friend and humble servant, JOHN SMITH.—Durham, Mar. 19. 1708-9."—Letters to H. Wanley. Vol. v. Harleian Coll. 3781.

her necessities ordered that Mr. Treasurer for the time being shall allow and pay her twenty pounds quarterly (to be reckoned from Michaelmas last past) out of the Dean's revenues.' On the appointment of Dr. Comber to be Dean, this order was renewed *."

The acceptance of the Deanery by Dr. Comber, a man with whom he had associated for years on terms of the most intimate friendship, was deeply felt by Granville, who bitterly writes to Beveridge that he "hath at last proclaim'd to all the world that he lov'd my benefices better than he did my person." To the last he regarded him as an intruder, and from time to time he wrote to him from France, reminding his former friend that he considered him only in the light of his steward, and that on the restoration of his Sovereign and his own consequent resumption of his preferments he should look to him for a strict account of all the monies he had received in the capacity of Dean of Durham †.

After the defeat of James in Ireland, Dr. Granville repaired to the fallen monarch's court at St. Germain's, where his devotion to his Royal Master's cause might fairly have entitled him to have looked for a kind reception. But his firm and unalterable attachment to his "Mother the Church of England," as he delights to call her, stood in the way. He was "slighted by the bigoted Prince for whom he had forfeited every worldly possession because he would not also abandon his religion ‡."

It is said, indeed, that upon the death of Dr. Lamplugh that he had the empty title of Archbishop of York

* Zouch's Life of Wheler. Works, vol. II. p. 170.
† See Comber's Life of Comber, pp. 309 and 334.
‡ Surtees' Hist. Durham, I. 12.

conferred upon him by James; but this, if true, forms a solitary exception to the ungracious manner in which he, and the other members of the Church of England were treated, by the master for whom they had sacrificed so much. They were desirous, not unnaturally, of having a chapel assigned them at St. Germain's "for the exercise of their worship according to the Church of England; and proposed Dr. Granville as a fit person to be their chaplain: they urged the great incouragement such a toleration would give to his adherents in England, and what satisfaction it would be to such Protestants as followed him: but tho' common policy, and his circumstances made every body believe that this request would be easily granted, yet it was positively denied, and Dr. Granvile obliged not only to retire from court, but also from the town of St. Germain, to avoid the daily insults of the priests, and the dreaded consequences of the jealousies with which they posses't King James' court against him *."

"In 1695 he came incognito to England, but soon returned." No allusion to this visit is found in his correspondence. Its object was, in all probability, to obtain some pecuniary assistance †.

* View of the Court of St. Germain, p. 5. Quoted in the Biog. Brit. Art. Denis Granville. "None of his Protestant followers were trusted. Colonel Cannan refusing to join the Church of Rome was reduced to a very small allowance. Being sick, he received the Sacrament of Dr. Granville, but some priests actually thrust a wafer down his throat after he became insensible, and published that he died a member of the Church of Rome. It seems that the priests, and no doubt the King approved, endeavoured to bring over every Protestant to their own Church."—Macky's Memoirs, xxxvi., xliii. Quoted by Lathbury, Hist. of the Non-jurors, p. 110.

† A plan was set on foot by Mr. Kettlewell in this year for the relief of the Non-juring clergy, many of whom were reduced to great

After leaving St. Germain he retired to Corbeil, a place which possessed interest in his eyes as having formed part of the possessions of his remote ancestors, and where he appears to have met with respect and attention as the descendant of one of its ancient lords.

In a letter written from this place in 1702, of which only a portion has been preserved, and which was probably addressed to his nephew, Sir George Wheler, he acknowledges the receipt of "a seasonable supply of 20*l.*," and recounts with some degree of quiet humour the *desagrémens* attending upon his rheumatic attacks, and the attempts which were made to convert him to the faith of the Church of Rome. It is somewhat affecting to read this, the last portion of his correspondence which has been preserved, and to mark the old man's unbroken spirit, the cheerfulness with which he writes, and his unwavering attachment in poverty and exile to the Church at whose altars he had served.

Controversial subjects appear to have been pressed upon him by the priesthood of the place with officious pertinacity, but he refused to be drawn into disputation, and their endeavours were utterly futile. He died, as he had lived, a true and genuine son of the Church of England.

We derive the following account of his last hours from a MS. note written by Dr. Rawlinson in his copy of the "Farewell Sermons, &c."

"Dr. Granville sicken'd on Thursday the 12th of

indigence. It was sanctioned by the deprived Bishops, but though nothing could well be more harmless than the proceeding, it nevertheless excited the jealousy of the Government, and Bishop Ken was summoned before the Privy Council to answer certain interrogatories respecting it. See Lathbury's Hist. of the Non-jurors, p. 163.

April, 1703, N. S., continued ill that night and the next day (at Corbeil, 7 leagues from Paris, upon the Seyne, in the way to Fontainebleau, where he commonly resided, and was much delighted with the place, and the rather because he there discover'd the original of his ancestors). On Saturday the 14th finding himself something better, he went to his lodgings at Paris, upon the Fosseè St. Victoire. On Sunday the 15th the ague or fever return'd, continued the 16th and 17th, and on Wednesday the 18th at 6 in the morning he dyed, and was privately bury'd in consecrated ground within the city of Paris*, either that or next night, [by Dr. Taylour†, from whom I took this account June 9th 1713.] attended by Mr. Thomas Higgins his nephew and some few of his acquaintance of the Church of England."

Dr. Granville never had any family. Little allusion to his wife occurs in the correspondence. From the memorandum quoted by Dr. Zouch from the Act Book of the Dean and Chapter of Durham as to the pension allowed her by that Body, it would appear that she had not followed her husband in his exile.

A portrait of the Dean, after Beaupoille, engraved by the famous Edelinck, is prefixed to the copy of his "Farewell Sermons, &c." in the Bodleian, and is marked as one of the rarest prints in the British Series‡. An

* Another MS. note by Dr. Rawlinson tells us that the place of his interment was the lower end of the Holy Innocents' Church yard in that city.

† "Of Sevenstoke in Worcestershire, and a Non-juror. Vide the Appendix to Kettlewell's Life."—Note by Dr. Rawlinson.

‡ The print has the following inscriptions. Round the portrait, "Dionysius Granville, Decanus Dunelmensis. Æt. suæ 54. Beaupoille pinxit. G. F. Edelinck sculp." Below, "Impensis Thomæ Hacquet, Rotomagensis hospitis." Underneath is a shield, with the

impression from the same plate is similarly prefixed to the copy in the British Museum, with a note telling us that "The print of Dr. Granville was the gift of the religious Lady Joanna Thornhill, sister of Dean Granville, to Dr. Smith, afterwards Provost of Queen's College." The portrait is characteristic and is beautifully engraved.

In a letter addressed to his nephew Mr. Bevill Granville, upon his entering into holy orders, Lord Lansdowne has drawn the Dean's character in the following eulogistic terms:—"You had an uncle, Dr. Dennis Granville, Dean of Durham, whose memory I shall ever revere; make him your example. Sanctity sat so easy, so unaffected, and so graceful upon him, that in him we beheld the very beauty of holiness. He was as chearful, as familiar, and condescending, in his conversation, as he was strict, regular, and exemplary in his piety: as well bred and accomplished as a courtier; as reverend and venerable as an apostle: he was indeed in every thing apostolical, for he abandoned all to follow his lord and master. May you resemble him! May he revive in you! May his spirit descend upon you, as Elijah's upon Elisha! and may the great God of heaven, in guiding, directing, and strengthening your pious resolutions, pour down his best and choicest blessings upon you *."

Granville bearings, having an inscription on either side as follows:—"1. Serenissimum Dominum Jacobum Secundum Magnæ Britanniæ Regem secutus est in Galliam. Anno 1688. 2. Propter fidelitatem suam Domino Regi Principe Arauciacensi Coronam Angliæ usurpante deprivatus fuit. Anno 1691."

* Lord Lansdowne's letter was published in the preface to a pamphlet entitled "An enquiry whether the Christian religion is of any benefit, or only an usefull commodity to a trading nation. 8vo. London: 1732. Printed for Weaver Bickerton."

Due allowance must be made for the partiality of a near kinsman, and consequently for expressions which may be allowed to wear the aspect of exaggeration; but in spite of the infirmities and consequent errors which often accompany an ardent and impetuous temperament, there was a substratum of genuine excellence in the Dean's character which went far to justify the warm and laudatory expressions of his affectionate nephew. *Noscitur à sociis* is a trite and well worn proverb, and we may be well assured that men like Beveridge and Comber would not have given their friendship to one who had not many qualities of mind and heart in unison and accordance with their own undoubted excellence and real piety. Of the sincerity of the Dean's religious feelings there can be little doubt, and their outward expression, it is almost unnecessary to say, was ever in subordination to the rules and ordinances of his spiritual mother the Church of England. His devoted attachment to that Church and his unswerving loyalty to an ungrateful Sovereign are indeed traits in his character which cannot be over-estimated, and to which it is impossible for any one to refuse his meed of approbation. The sacrifice of interest to conscience is a thing which must ever command admiration.

Without making any pretence to deep learning, Dean Granville was evidently no contemptible scholar, and possessed natural abilities of no mean order. He appears to have devoted some attention to liturgical studies; to the prosecution of which "the good advice which he had many times from Bishop Cosins," and also, as it would seem, from Sancroft, appears to have inclined him. We have an interesting testimony to his desire of furthering the growth of learning among the

younger clergy of the diocese in a letter from Sir George Wheler to the Rev. Hamond Beaumont*, who had been Granville's Curate at Sedgefield, dated August 19th, 1693. After alluding to the "pious and devout temper" which distinguished the Dean when an under-graduate at Oxford, as testified by Bishop Crewe, and to his zeal in the restoration of the Weekly Sacrament in the Cathedral of Durham, he goes on to speak of "his purpose to make the Cathedral the great seminary of young Divines for the Diocesse; and to this end, to invite ingenuous young men to be Minor-Canons, he got this order past in Chapter, that what preferment the Chapter had to dispose of, the Minor-Canons, according to their seniority, meritts, and deserts, should have the option before any other; and to further them in their studies, did intend them the use of the College library; and that they might continue a regular and collegiate life, had often thoughts of getting them lodgings erected in the Colledge †." In connexion with this it may be observed that his Curates appear to have received from him somewhat of a domestic and personal training. Some passages in the pages which follow lead to the inference that they formed part of his household ‡, often acting as his amanuenses, and no doubt receiving directions from him as to the prosecution of their studies §.

* Hamond Beaumont was ordained Deacon and licensed as Curate of Sutton on the Forest of Galtres, 15th March, 166$\frac{2}{3}$.—*Ex inform: C. B. R.*

† Surtees' Hist. Durham, I. 175.

‡ See, in particular, the Dean's Letter to his Curates, p. 123.

§ It is probable that this was not a very unusual thing amongst the churchmen of that period. The following extract from the correspondence between Granville and Dr. Comber would seem to justify this supposition. Speaking of Mr. Purchas, a brother-in-law

The Editor does not conceive it necessary to offer any remarks upon the motives or reasons by which the Dean was actuated in refusing to recognize the Prince of Orange as King, and in submitting to the deprivation of his preferments which followed that course of conduct. The merit of consistency at all events must be allowed him. He tells us himself that "his religion and loyalty were not of the new cut," and that for six and twenty years previous to the abdication of James he had upheld the principles which led him then to abandon every thing to follow his Master, "valuing his innocency and quiet of conscience more than the best Bishoprick and Deanery in England." Of the validity of the arguments by which he fortified himself in the course which he adopted different notions will be entertained according to the political bias of the reader. No one, probably, in the present day, will be found so far imbued with the

of the latter, the Dean writes:—"I am persuaded that to be your assistant for a year or two in your cure, and you superintend his studies, and make him a complete churchman, would bee most eligible, and I see nothing to contradict it but carnall reasoning. I am of opinion that if he had not been diverted from his designe of living with mee some time at Easington (though hee would not have had halfe the advantage as by living with you, in point of learning and speculative divinity,) it would have been more profitable for him than the taking upon him such a cure as you have in view for him. Not doubting of the reality of what I say, I have invited my nephew, Sir George Wheeler (who writ the Travels and went into orders last year,) to come and live with mee, and officiate for mee in the same circumstances that Mr. Purchas was to have done. Sure I am itt will bee noe unwise thing in mee to secure him, as I should thereby enjoy the company and assistance of a learned and pious coadjutor, with whom I should bee the better pleased, because hee is an hearty *lover* and *honourer* of my *Master Comber*, and a zealous studier of his Common-Prayer Book."—Comber's Life of Comber, p. 181.

sentiments of a party so totally extinct as the Non-jurors as to accord his unqualified assent to all the positions which they held; and few now can fail to see that, in spite of much that was doubtful, nay even morally wrong, in the conduct of the chief actors and leaders in the Revolution of 1688, it yet inaugurated for this country, under the overruling hand of Divine Providence, an era of political freedom, and of consequent moral and social progress, unequalled in any previous period of our Country's history.

Besides the "Farewell Sermons, &c." which form part of the present volume, the Dean published the following works:—1. The compleat Conformist; or seasonable Advice concerning strict Conformity and frequent celebration of the Holy Communion, preached on the 7th of Jan. being the first Sunday after the Epiphany, 1682, in the Cathedral Church of Durham; on John i. 29. London: 1684. 4to. To which is added, Advice: or a Letter written to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Durham, to the same purpose. 2. Sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of Durham, upon the Revival of the antient, laudable Practice of that, and some other Cathedrals, in having Sermons on Wednesdays and Fridays, during Advent and Lent: on Rom. xiii. 11. London: 1686, 4to. This Sermon was preached on the 2nd of Dec. 1685, being the first Wednesday in Advent. 3. Counsel and directions divine and moral: In plain and familiar Letters of Advice to a young Gentleman his Nephew, soon after his Admission into a College in Oxon. London: 1685. 8vo.

The Editor begs to acknowledge, on the part of the Surtees Society, the courteous readiness with which the Dean and Chapter of Durham allowed a transcript

to be made of the various contents of the MS. Collection entitled "DEANE GRANVILLE" now edited. It would be ungrateful if he did not likewise record his own individual thanks to that Body for the liberal access at all times permitted him to other Books and MSS. in their Library, a privilege which has enabled him to furnish the illustrative matter contained in the Appendix. To the late Keeper of the Bodleian Library, Dr. Bandinel, and to his successor, the Rev. H. O. Coxe, his thanks are also due for the facilities afforded him in making his researches in that repository. The courtesy and kindness of the latter, in particular, he will always remember with pleasure.

GEORGE ORNSBY.

FISHLAKE VICARAGE, near Doncaster,
Dec. 28th, 1860.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Dedication	3
Author's Introduction	5
Farewell Sermon, preached in the Cathedral of Durham, on the 5th Dec. 1688.	11
A second Sermon, preached in the same place, on the 9th Dec. 1688	23
Farewell Visitation Speech	37
Letter to the Earl of Bath	61
——— Bishop of Durham	94
——— Vice-Dean and Prebendaries of Durham	104
——— Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Durham	113
——— to his Curates at Easington and Sedgefield	119
Directions to his Curates	129

MISCELLANEOUS CORRESPONDENCE, &c.

I.	Breaches of Rubrics in the Cathedral		143
II.	Answer of Denis Granville, M.A., Prebendary, &c., to Bishop Cosin's Articles of Enquiry exhibited to the Dean and Chapter of Durham	July 17th, 1665	145
III.	Letter from the same to Archdeacon Basire	Nov. 7, 1674	146
IV.	From the same to Isaac Basire, Esq.	Dec. 21, 1674	148
V.	From Isaac Basire, Esq., to the Earl of Bath	Dec. 26, 1674	150
VI.	From Archdeacon Granville to Col. Blakiston	Feb. 11, 1674	152
VII.	From the same to the Bishop of Durham	Undated	154
VIII.	From Isaac Basire, Esq., to the same	Undated	156
IX.	Agreement between Dr. Granville and Mr. Blaxston	Feb. 28, 167⅞	157
X.	Letter from Archdeacon Granville to	March 16, 167⅞	158
XI.	From the same to Isaac Basire, Esq.	April 20, 1676	159
XII.	From the same to Archbishop Sancroft	Feb. 1, 167⅞	160
XIII.	From the same to John Basire, Esq.	Aug. 7, 1682	161
XIV.	From the same to Isaac Basire, Esq.	Jan. 15, 168⅔	162
XV.	Fragment of a Journal of Dr. Granville, beginning May 22, and ending July 3, 1683		164
XVI.	Letter from Archdeacon Granville to Archbishop Sancroft	Sept. 25, 1683	174

			PAGE
XVII.	From the same to Sir William Dugdale .	Nov. 3, 1683 .	177
XVIII.	From the Bishop of Durham to Sir R. Floyd	May 24, 1684 .	180
XIX.	From Dr. Comber to Archdeacon Granville .	June 23, 1684 .	181
XX.	From the Bishop of Durham to Sir Richard Lloyd	June 26, 1684 .	183
XXI.	From Archdeacon Granville to Archbishop Sancroft	Nov. 26, 1684 .	187
XXII.	From J. Basire, Esq., to Thos. Cradock, Esq.	Nov. 26, 1684 .	189
XXIII.	From Dean Granville to Mr. Wilson, Registrar to the Dean and Chapter of Durham	Jan. 24, 168⅘ .	191
XXIV.	From the same to the same	. . . .	192
XXV.	From the Earl of Bath to the same . . .	Jan. 27, 1684 .	193
XXVI.	From Dean Granville to the same . .	Jan. 29, 168⅘ .	194
XXVII.	From the same to the same	Feb. 10, 168⅘ .	196
XXVIII.	From the same to the same	Feb. 24, 168⅘ .	198
XXIX.	From the same to the same	March 3, 168⅘ .	200
XXX.	From the same to the same	March 7, 168⅘ .	201
XXXI.	From the same to the same	March 21, 1685 .	203
XXXII.	From the same to the same	March 24, 1685 .	205
XXXIII.	From the same to the same	April 2, 1685 . .	206
XXXIV.	From the same to Archbishop Sancroft. .	Easter Eve, 1685.	208
XXXV.	From the same to the same	Oct. 17, 1685 . .	210
XXXVI.	From Mr. R. Burton to Dean Granville .	Feb. 27, 168⅘ . .	212
XXXVII.	Receipt from Dean Granville to Rob. Delaval, Esq., for Altar Plate lent to the Cathedral by order of the Bishop of Durham . .	Undated . . .	217
XXXVIII.	From Dr. Brevint to the Hon. Bernard Granville	Dec. 11, 1686 .	218
XXXIX.	From the Hon. Bernard Granville to Mr. Wilson	Dec. 21, 1686 .	219
XL.	From the same to the same . . .	Dec. 22, 1686 .	220
XLI.	From Dr. Brevint to the same . . .	Jan. 17, 168⅘ .	221
XLII.	From the Hon. Bernard Granville to the same	Jan. 21, 168⅘ .	221
XLIII.	From the same to the same . . .	Jan. 27, 168⅘ .	222
XLIV.	From the same to the same . . .	Feb. 19, 1686 .	223
XLV.	From the same to the same . . .	Feb. 26, 168⅘ .	224
XLVI.	From Dean Granville to Thos. Cradock, Esq., Official	June 7, 1687 . .	225
XLVII.	From the same to . . . . . Lumley . .	March 19. 168⅞ .	228
XLVIII.	From the same to Mr. Wilson . . .	St. Mark, 1688 .	229
XLIX.	From the same to the same . . .	Oct. 29, 1688 . .	230
L.	From the same to the same . . .	Nov. 25, 1688 .	231
LI.	From the same to the Rev. Dr. Grey . .	Same date . . .	232
LII.	From the same to Archbishop Sancroft .	April 20, 1690 .	233
LIII.	From the same to Dr. Beveridge . .	July 1, 1692 . .	235
LIV.	From the same to	Nov. 20, 1702 .	239
LV.	A Quæritur in foro doli	Undated . .	241
LVI.	Letter from Dean Granville to William Davison, Esq.	Undated . .	242

ACCOUNTS, &c.

	PAGE
A particular of the Revenue of the Deanery	244
Dr. Granville's Debts	244
A further List of Debts	245
Receipts and Payments, 1684—1687	245—250
Account of Board-wages	250

APPENDIX.

I.	Informations given to Dr. Basire, Archdeacon of Northumberland, by some of the Clergy of the Archdeaconry	April 9, 1662	251
II.	Articles of Enquiry exhibited to the Dean, Prebendaries, Minor-Canons, &c., of the Cathedral of Durham by Bishop Cosin, at his primary Visitation	July 19, 1662	252
III.	Account of the Expenditure of the Dean and Chapter of Durham in repairs, &c. after the Restoration		260
IV.	Comperts and considerations by Bishop Cosin upon the Answers of the Dean and Prebendaries of Durham to the Articles of Enquiry exhibited to them at his second Visitation in 1665		262
V.	Memorandum by Bishop Cosin concerning the privileges of the Church of Durham	1665	268
VI.	Articles of Enquiry exhibited to the Dean, Prebendaries, Minor-Canons, &c., of the Cathedral of Durham, by Bishop Cosin, at his third Visitation, in 1668		269
VII.	Articles of Visitation and Enquiry exhibited to the Clergy and Churchwardens of the Archdeaconry of Durham by Archdeacon Granville	1684	271
VIII.	Injunctions given by Isaac Basire, Esq., LL.B., Official of the Archdeaconry of Northumberland, to the Clergy of that Archdeaconry	April, 1684	282

ERRATA.

P. 55, l. 26. After *Cerent Tecli* should have been inserted (? *Count Tekeli*).

P. 226. A reference was overlooked for the note upon the "Oxford Reasons." The Oxford Clergy *published* their "Reasons for not Addressing." A Reply to these Reasons was printed by Hills, the King's Printer.

Pp. 251, 252. 262. 268, 269. In the references to the Hunter MSS. at the foot of each of these pages *for* ii. *read* xi.

THE RESIGNED AND RESOLVED CHRISTIAN

AND

FAITHFULL AND UNDAUNTED ROYALIST.

IN TWO PLAIN

FAREWELL-SERMONS

AND A

LOYAL FAREWELL-VISITATION-SPEECH.

BOTH DELIVERED AMIDST THE LAMENTABLE CONFUSIONS
OCCASIONED BY THE LATE FORREIGN INVASION AND HOME DEFECTION OF
HIS MAJESTYES SUBJECTS IN ENGLAND.

By DENIS GRANVILLE, D.D.

DEAN AND ARCHDEACON OF DURHAM (NOW IN EXILE)
CHAPLAIN IN ORDINARY TO HIS MAJESTY.

WHEREUNTO ARE ADDED CERTAIN

LETTERS TO HIS RELATIONS AND FRIENDS IN ENGLAND

SHEWING THE REASONS AND MANER OF HIS WITHDRAWING
OUT OF THE KINGDOM.

VIZ.

A Letter to his Brother the Earle of Bathe.
A Letter to his Bishop the Bishop of Durham.
A Letter to his Brethren the Prebendaryes.
A Letter to the Clergy of his Arch-deaconry.
A Letter to his Curates at Easington and Sedgfield.

Printed at Roüen, by Wm. Machuell, rue S. Lo, near the Pallace, for John Baptiste Besongne, ruë Escuyer, at the Royal Sun, and are to be sold by Augustine Besongne, in the Great Hall of the palace at Paris.

IN THE YEARE OF OUR LORD GOD, M.DC.LXXXIX.

TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

ALMIGHTY GOD haveing enabled me by his grace to resist those temptations, which have overcome the greatest number of the members of my own Church and Country, and being now incapacitated here abroad to render my Sovereign and your Majesty better servises than to owne your righteous cause, I think my selfe oblig'd to give the world a more than ordinary testimony of my sincere loyalty and resolution in all times and changes to adhere unalterably to the Crown. Haveing therfor already sacraficed my revenew by quitting the nation, rather than submit to the usurpation, and exposed my selfe to censure and obloquy in that part of England wherein I have lived, by refuseing to head or joyne with those my dependants there, ecclesiasticall and secular, who have departed from their allegiance; I know of noe better and convincing instance yet remaining to be given by me of my stedfastness to stick to, and serve the Royall Family, than to proclaim that I dare speak truth here abroad from the press, as well as from the pulpit at home; tho' every one must foreknow that such an honest boldeness will unavoidably render me uncapable of the favour and good oppinion of all those persons in the nation (high and low, spirituall and temporall) who have shipwrackt their faith and consciences by ceasing to yield (after often sweareing) alleigiance and fidelity to their Sovereigne. And it is easy to foresee the printing these and some other papers at this time, in mine owne name will thus render me obnoxious (as I am content to be) to all those builders who employ themselves in erecting a new Monarchy and Church in England. But the aspersions of them that forsake their religion, as far as they desart their lawfull liege lord, (as I hope the following sheets will evidence) will be noe intolerable load to me, who desire noe greater honour and satisfaction, than to share with my King, Queen and hopefull young Prince in their misfortunes; and thereby to demonstrate that my poor distressed Mother, in the greatest and most generall defection (as this seems to bee) that ever was among any king of England's subjects, will never want some to bear testimony to the truth of her doctrine, who, according to the ex-

ample of Christ and his Appostles, doth maintain the practice of allegiance and intire submission and subjection to all lawfull supreme powers deputed by God as his vicegerents to govern the world; how great a contradiction hereof soever the last year's transactions in England have proved, (which hath given the greatest wound that was ever yet given to our Church) the doctrine of non-resistance remains on such authentick record in the Church of Englands printed homilyes against Rebellion (which I have in some sort epitomized in the conclusion of my discourse) that your Majesty, as well as the King, will, I hope, be pleased to continue your charity to our ecclesiastick constitution, with liberty to its members to exercise their religion, and think noe worse of the parent for the disobedience of the children, but render that justice to the Church of England which is due to all churches, to wit, to be judged by her doctrine, discipline and order, (which I am sure never did carry along with them any rebellion) and not by the practice or conversation of its members. Whereby if the whole Christian Church was to be judged, it wou'd in many things appear more vile than some parts of the world over-run with Turcism and Paganism.

Offering to God my most fervent devotions for the preservation and restoration of the King, the life and happyness of the Prince, and (out of gratitude to Heaven) in a most perticular manner for your Majesty, who have been instrumentall to the greatest blessing which hath been these many years conferred on the kingdom in bearing and bringing forth an heir male for the support of the Monarchy, I doe with all humility implore your's together with his Majestyes patronage, as well as begg pardon for this presumption, and with the most profound respect imaginable subscribe my selfe,

Your Majestyes most dutifull,
and ever faithfull servant and subject,
DENIS GRANVILLE.

TO THE READER.

THE subject matter of these ensueing sheets concerning Christian resolution and humble submission to the will of God in times of distress, (according to the example of the holy Patriarch Jacob) and hearty subjection to the King, according to the doctrine of the Church of England, and our many indispensable tyes of conscience, will, with all those few who truely fear God and honour the King, sufficiently apologize (I hope) for the publication of them in a juncture and an age advanced to the highest contempt and defiance both of loyalty and religion.

That incensed God who hath, for our manifold provocations, and more particularly (wee have reason to believe) for our carnal confidence in the arm of flesh, and disobedience to God's vicegerent, pour'd out the vials of his wrath on three kingdoms, is not like to be appeased without the serious practice of the contrary graces, in a manner as universall and generall, as hath been our late notorious defection towards the King by an abhor'd detestable violation of the many sacred and often repeated oaths whereby all subjects were obliged to support his crown and dignity.

Such is my sence of what is past, and dread of Almighty God's future indignation, when I consider that I am (how weak and unworthy soever) advanced to a publick station in the Church of England, that I cannot satisfy my selfe with mourning in secret, but conceive it my indispensible duty to proclaim (after such a stupendious revolution) as soon, and as well as I am able, to all persons in the kingdom, my unfeigned resolution to adhere to my Soveraign in his distress; lest I may by silence contribute to the increase of that dangerous lethargy which hath seiz'd on the people of England, who, by resisting, and at length desarting their Prince, have apostatized from their religion.

I have helped possibly as little as any one of my brethren or fellow-subjects in the nation, to the first growth of this disease; having for 26 years together open'd my mouth widely on topicks which would have prevented (had they met with due regard) our present misery: and for truth whereof I appeal to the whole Jurisdiction whereto I have [*been*] long related.

But, however, I cannot think my selfe perfectly disengag'd to

joyn in attempting the cure, or at least to help on what is, God be thanked in some sort begun, and whereto the contradictory and preposterous proceedings of the King's enemyes have assisted. I meane to the opening the eyes of thousands in England to see already the madness of their change, and the errors of their late method to redress grievances; by labouring to bring their Soveraign to terms, (all that was aim'd at, I doe beleive, by the Church of England's faln sons) and to deliver the nation from domestick evills by calling for forreign assistance. The number of souls comitted to my charge in the Cathedrall, in my Archdeaconry, and in my peculiar Jurisdiction depending on the Church of Durham, are too many and too considerable to be forgotten or neglected by me, now incapacitated otherwise to preach to them.

Therfor in the low ebb of loyalty, when instances of firm fidelity to ones Prince are soe rare, the Dean of Durham, it is hoped, will be pardoned if he sets soe much value on his own example, as to make use of it as well as his words and writeings towards the extricateing the people with whose souls he hath been intrusted out of the labarinth whereinto they are run by non-complyance with their lawfull Soveraign, and ready concurrence with a forreign usurper, or, att [*least*] towards the hindring them from running farther yet into it, and remaining stupidly in soe sinfull and deplorable a state and condition.

This induces me to wish that I cou'd bring the last words I spoke to the clergy and ecclesiastick officers of my Archdeaconry, and to the members of the Cathedrall and Citty of Durham, (contained in the ensueing discourses) to the view and consideration of the whole county and diocesse, that those who were absent when I uttered them may, as well as those present, partake of my poor zeal and endeavours for their spirituall advantage; which is all the return I can att present make for the temporall benefitts I have reap'd in the country dureing my enjoyment of severall considerable preferments among them. If such communication of my papers cannot be so soon and so successfully effected as I would, by reason all intercourse betwixt the kingdom of England and this wherein I reside is stopt, I am willing in the mean while to let the world see that I am not idle or unconcerned, but doe all that in me lyes, towards this honest end; whereby, if noe profitt acrewe to them, or others, I shall ease my mind and deliver my soul.

If any are pleased to censure, contemn, or reject my writeings because they find nothing in them learned or elaborate, or (whereof the age is over fond) contraversiall, I desire them to consider that polemick learning and divinity are things I never

did nor shall pretend to; and that in the moneth of November '88, when I spake to the clergy, and in the first week of December following, when I preach'd in the Abby att Durham, (as ill as things did portend) I little dreamt that my Soveraign or selfe should be put under an unavoidable necessity to fly into another kingdom, or that I should be obliged to make use of such means and methods to evidence my sincerity in my religion (the first thing I shou'd strive to evince to all those to whose spirituall assistance I administer) otherwise more regard wou'd have been had to the penning and composure. But since I am reduc'd to such hard circumstances (whereto in conformity to my own doctrine I heartily submitt) and that the ensueing discourses, how slight soever and little worth in themselves, are abundantly sufficient to demonstrate that both my religion and loyalty are not of the new cutt, but of the old royall stamp, and carry with them, I trust, the true touch of the tower, Providence invites me to expose them to publick view; being ambitious of nothing in the world more than to approve my selfe (in this day of rebuke) to my Soveraign and his right loyal subjects for one who thinks that he is obliged to be as faithfull to a Roman Catholick as a protestant Prince, and as true to him in adversity as prosperity.

As for any censures of vanity ariseing from my title page, as if I did there sett forth my selfe a pattern of humility and loyalty, they ought not to sway with me soe farr as to stopp me in my endeavours to be soe, or to perswade others to become such, since thereto heaven att this time loudly summons all the nation.

This I can truely say, without pride or boasting, that I have labour'd to practice what I preach'd to others, and that I was never more than at this very instant aspireing towards those excellent (but rare) vertues mentioned in the following discourses, which I commend to God's blessing and the candid reader's charity; desireing all persons in England who have laboured, either by kind invitations or threats of deprivation, to prevaile with me to return and submit to the new Government, to receive this my final answer,—to wit: If I be deprived, I am deprived, or, to approach a little nearer to the phrase of good father Jacob, *If I be bereaved* (of my preferment) *I am bereaved.*

From my Study in Rouen:
Nov. 15, 1689.

A

DISCOURSE

CONCERNING

CHRISTIAN RESIGNATION AND RESOLUTION:

WITH SOME LOYAL REFLECTIONS

ON THE

DUTCH INVASION.

PREACHED IN THE CATHEDRALL CHURCH OF DURHAM, ON THE 1 WEDNESDAY IN ADVENT, AND THE SUNDAY FOLLOWING, BEING THE 5 AND 9 OF DECEMBER 1688.

By DENIS GRANVILLE, D.D.

DEAN AND ARCHDEACON OF DURHAM (NOW IN EXILE)
CHAPLAIN IN ORDINARY TO HIS MAJESTY.

7

TWO SERMONS

CONCERNING

CHRISTIAN RESOLUTION

AND HUMBLE SUBMISSION TO THE WILL OF GOD IN TIMES OF DISTRESS: ON THE HOLY PATRIARCH JACOB'S FAREWELL WORDS TO HIS SONS ATT PARTING.

If I be bereaved of my children, I am bereaved.

GEN. ch. xliii. v. 14.

FOR the better understanding of the story it will be requisite to read the precedent words from the 11th verse to the text. V. 11: *If it must be soe now, do this, take of the best fruits of the land in your vessels, and carry down the man a present, a little balme, and a little honey, spices and myrrhe, nutts and almonds:* v. 12. *And take double mony in your hands: and the mony which was brought again in the mouth of your sacks, carry it again in your hand; peradventure it was an oversight:* v. 13. *Take alsoe your brother, and arise, goe againe unto the man: that he may send away your other brother and Benjamin.*

If I be bereaved of my children, I am bereaved.

The approaching holy feast of Christ's Nativity or comeing in the flesh, doth every year require a solemne preparatory time of devotion. And that it may not want such due respect, the Church takes care in its preceeding exercises. Every Sunday service in Advent hath an eye to that pious end and purpose. In pursuance whereof, we have revived in this Cathedrall an antient religious custome. Two days of every week throughout

this season, to wit, Wednesdays and Frydays, are sermon days, and dedicated to prayer and fasting, to accompany those exercises of repentance which are alwayes thought a necessary part of our preparation. But God's impending judgments for our sins, which at this time threaten blood and confusion, doe summon us to add to those exercises, and, by some voluntary impositions of dayly devotion and mortification, to turne this Advent to a little Lent; giveing up ourselves wholly to the exercise of piety and prayer, beseeching God that he will not enter into judgment with us, and for our provocations give us up as a prey unto our enemyes, makeing us a scorne and derision to them that are round about us. It is lawfull, nay religious, by devout prayer to use violence to the kingdom of heaven, and if wee did, in this our distress, betake ourselves to soe sure a refuge, makeing use of the holy weapons of the antient Christians, *Prayers* and *tears;* crowding upp to the horns of the Altar, and rendring all our devotions more prevalent by the weekly reception of the Lord's Supper, wee that meet in God's house (if we came with that spirit we ought) might doe our King and Country better service than those who fight for him in the field. What hath been said I premise in regard to the present season of Advent, and the ensueing festival of Christmas, by reason my text doth not respect either of them so particularly as the storm and danger which is iminent, and doth loudly call for the holy resolution as well as submission of pious Jacob. And haveing soe done, I shall (before I enter on the words) move you to pray according to the canonicall exhortation of the Church: Yee shall pray for the Holy Catholick Church of Christ, that is for the whole congregation of Christian people dispersed throughout the world, more especially for the churches of Great Brittain and Ireland, and herein I am to require you more particularly to pray for our dread sovereign lord JAMES, by the grace of God, King of England &c. Yee shall likewise pray for our gracious Queen Mary, Katherine the Queen dowager, his Royall highnes the Prince of Wales &c. concludeing your devotions alwayes withe the Lord's Prayer: OUR FATHER, &c.

The Patriarchs were now returned from their first journey into Egipt, and (as they little thought) from fulfilling their brother Joseph's dream. They had bowed to him whom they thought they had robbed of all honour; and been fed by him whom they once conspir'd to starve, soe inviolable is God's purpose in things to man impossible.

Old Jacob here, at first with greatest joy welcomes home his weary sons; but excess of gladness is commonly attended on

with greif, and the end of joy is mourning. Whilst he is yet congratulating their good success in their journey, the sad news of Simeon's imprisonment silenceth his mirth; which grief too is attended on by a greater, the necessity of his dear Benjamin's goeing into Egypt. Crosses in God's children, just like billowes in the sea, follow one on the neck of another.

The good father is not less troubled with this newes than at the sight of Joseph's bloody coat; and cruell famine pressing violently upon him wee may conceive him to take up his son Reuben's note, in the xxxviith ch. of this book, and at the 30th v., *The child is not; and whither shall I goe?* What shall I do, miserable man that I am! My dearest Rachell is dead, my beloved Joseph is not. Simeon is not, and can I leave Benjamin alsoe? I remember my sons what news you brought me of Joseph, and shou'd you doe the like of Benjamin too, you wou'd bring down my gray hairs with sorrow to the grave. And yet, wo is me, I must send him or perish: noe redemption of Simeon, noe food, without Benjamin's going into Egypt, and without food noe life. I had better venture one than draw distruction upon my whole house. Thus even, my sons, seeing it must be soe, on God will I rely for your safetyes, His providence be your guide. Benjamin shall goe with you. However, Gods providence must not stop your diligence, nor His care for you prevent yours for yourselves. But use all possible means to excuse yourselves and content the ruler: v. 11, *If it must be soe now, doe this: take of the best fruits of the land in your vessells, and carry downe the man a present &c.* v. 14. *And God Almighty give you mercy before the man, that he may send away your other brother, and Benjamin. If I be bereaved of my children, I am bereaved.* I need not stand long on the words: the story is well knowne, and it gives you some light into the sense and occasion of them. The difference between interpreters is more in words than substance.

Arius Montanus, nearest to the original, doth translate them *Et ego quomodo orbatus sum, orbatus sum.* Ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ καθάπερ ἠτέκνωμαι, ἠτέκνωμαι, saith the Septuagint. Near this St. Ambrose and others: "*Ego autem quasi orbatus absque liberis ero.*"

Junius, also our late English translation, to the same sense, but more fully render it: *Quum orbatus fuero, orbatus fuero. If I be bereaved of my children I am bereaved.* A speech much like to that resolute speech of queen Hester, (Hest. iv. 16.) *Quum periero, periero. If I perish, I perish.* St. Chrysostom, in his 64th Homily on Genesis, makes Joseph's absence the cause of this speech; as if Jacob had accounted he had lost in a manner all his children when he lost him. Another will [*have*]

Benjamin the cheif motive. Calvin and Musculus puts all the brethren for the ground of it; who, seeing their father's great care and sorrow, might themselves be more carefull in their journey.

How probably soever these seem reasons of his former complaints, in his discourse with Reuben at the 36th v. of the chapter imediately before, and with Judah at the 6th v. of this chapter, yet they are noe certain grounds for this speech.

It is the voice of a faithfull soul, saith Luther, and not of a desperate man, complaining; for we shall find on enquiry, that it savours more of constancy than fear. Affection laments, but Faith rejoyceth; though he seems to doubt, yet the event tells us his prayer was not without faith. True indeed a great combat there was for a time, affection fighting with discretion, nature with necessity, but all this was but *ad luctam;* noe conquest ensued.

He doth not dispute the cause and forecast the worst extream. Power is here conjoyned with extream infirmity. When he was weak, like the Appostle, then he was strong. God's never failing Spirit contents him att the last; he putts off all further care to God's providence, resolving to endure whatever happen'd, as if he shou'd say, God's will be done, Benjamin shall goe with the rest, and, *If I be bereaved of my children, I am bereaved.*

You see, (brethren) my text is a faithful submission of a resolv'd Patriarch to the will of God, a meditation which I recommend to all your serious thoughts as suitable to this day of calamity and state of affairs. To improve the same by rendring it exemplary to us Christians in general, and more perticularly by soe authentick and godly a patterne to perswade you who hear me, to imitate the laudable resolution of this man of God in parting with your beloved Benjamins, that is, your dearest delights in times of temptation, rather than forsake your integrity; shall be the designe of my remaining discourse. By the godly example of good father Jacob we may learn in all adversity to rely faithfully on God's mercy, to hearken to the voice of right reason, and to keep a good conscience without giveing ear to flesh and blood, not doubting if wee doe soe, but that we alsoe in the conclusion, like old Jacob here, shall receive a reward.

The best men are, as he was, lyable to all maner of afflictions; even to poverty, scorne and contempt: yea, they may be cast downe, but if they can in patience possess their souls, and will wait God's leisure, they shall rise againe. God backs their conflicts with irresistable power. Though sorrow, extreamest sor-

row, endure for a night, yet joy, says the Psalmist, shall come in the morning. When Israel laments for the absence of all his sons he is comforted with the recovery of them and Joseph. That I may the more effectually perswade you to such pious resolutions and faithfull submissions to the will of God, consider,—

1. The necessity of them: wee must submit ourselves to the will of God, according to the example of Jacob, whensoever we are, as hee was, afflicted or tempted.

2. The quality or nature of them: how we must submit ourselves.

3. The benefit redounding from them: why wee ought to doe it. Which last head (the two first affording matter enough for one discourse) I shall reserve for another sermon.

Of these perticulars by God's assistance (which I begg at this instant in an extraordinary manner) I intend to treat at this time.

1. I shall shew the necessity of them, and here I must take my rise from Nature.

Soe carefull is Nature in provideing for her owne safety, that every shaddow of danger affrights her; and, too jealous of adversity, oftentimes becomes most dangerous to her selfe: like the partridge in the nett entangles her selfe the more by her own fluttering. Man is never more plunged into the troubled sea of calamity than when in his own strength he most struggles to gett out of it. It is in vain for him to fight against nature, her degenerated weaknesses begett our greatest miseryes: and they, haveing soe near a relation to her, she cannot putt them off. Man may discover, not expell them, but (which is the cheifest misery) the nearer he pryes into them, the worse: soe doeing he makes a new wound by too deep a search into the old. Just as if he digg'd in some putrid grave, or went into some darksome cell, the deeper he diggs, the more noisome the stench, and the farther he goes the greater the horrour. In which perplexity he is made such a slave to his passion that he is unfitt for any employment, unsettled in his thoughts, inconstant in his actions, his whole course of life (like a skene of ruffled silk) inextricably intangled in the world. Either the loss of wealth or care of getting it trouble him.

He hath noe sooner secured himselfe against a forreigne enemy but a domestick setts upon him. Ambition of riseing, or fear of falling, the loss of one friend, or danger of another, still gnaw upon him; you shall sooner find him not a man than not some way or other distracted.

This continuall involving of all things and winding of men's

minds with them drove the stoicks of old to their *fatum*; makeing, as it were, an immutable law of mutability in naturall things. But their ground, we may be sure, was pride, not faith: who, tho' they felt themselves dayly crost with contrary motions, yet scorn'd to confess their natural weaknes in not subjugateing, or rather not eradicateing, their passions.

And therefore put of all events from themselves to destiny. Whatever happen'd they resolved to endure it, as tho' not to be avoided, and sought noe farther for any cause of a calamity than *sic fata velint*. Noe evill, they thought, cou'd proceed from their impassionate soules, they were in their own oppinion absolute men, and therefor, whatever came amiss, (*casus in culpam transeat*) it was not they did amiss, but fortune. Such heathenish resolutions need no confutation in a Christian auditory: wee have changed their fate into providence, looking more to the first than the second causes; to these onely as they are disposed by the former, in which all things consist, and by which all things are governed. But did the heathens then soe firmly rely on naturall causes, whose effects, though certain, (as by the first cause the God of nature before determined) yet they cou'd not without injury to experience but expect uncertain. It were a double shame for a Christian not to submit more resolutely to Divine Providence, which he beleives unchangeable. Such a resolution is the strongest fort that can defend a good man's heart, and let us now fly into it in our present visitation. No engine of Satan can reach it, noe storme of fortune shake it, nor calme betray it. Whereas without it, man shakes at the first sight of every cloud of temptation, and like a hot iron hisses (as it were) at every dropp of affliction which touches him.

I need stand noe longer to prove soe granted a principle: wee will conclude Christian warfare must be under the banner of Divine Providence. Whosoever desires peace of conscience and true comfort must resolutely submitt himselfe in all things to the will of God.

But is this all, says the stoicall Christian? Men may live then as they list, God's Providence is inevitable, my best endeavours cannot prevent it: if I shall be saved, I shall be saved, if damned, I shall be damned. A desperate doctrine of Satan, and the heighth of iniquity, like that of the devill to our Saviour: (Matt. iv. 6.) *Cast thy selfe down headlong; for he hath given his angels charge over thee.* Christ's answer to the devill there, must be ours to his disciples here, *Scriptum est: It is written, thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.* God will not have his decree brought to man's unjust determination, and hates all unneces-

sary tryalls of his power. We may not trust to his promises, except wee obey his commands, nor rely on his power onely, when he affords us means to use our owne.

The very heathens were not so senseless in their destiny. Some things, says Seneca, were so determined of the gods that the prayers of the people should conduce to their events, and this very thing, he adds, is not contrary, but according, to fate; and God's Providence, as it hath absolutely decreed all things to their proper end, so hath it ordained means to those ends, to use which is not against providence but of it: as he that is ordained to be a scholar, is, by the same omnipotent power, ordained to bestow his time in learning; and he that shall avoid dangers shall use means to pacify God's wrath by the same decree. These are Seneca's instances in his book *De fato.*

Learn of him, whoever thinks it an easy way to heaven by mere hanging on God's decree. Neglect of ordinary means is a signe of the want of grace. While we stand gazing on the starrs, lett us beware lest our feet slipp into the water under us, and whilst wee are diving to the bottom of the rock for the more rich pearls, lest we lose both our selves and them. Let us not dispute downwards from God's election, but upwards from our own sanctification, draw our arguments *à posteriori,* from the effect to the cause; not say presumptuously, I am elected, and therefor I must be saved, but with modesty rather begin at home, saying, I feel the operation of God's Holy Spirit inclining me to seek the ordinary means of salvation, through Jesus Christ, and therefor I trust I am elected, and, by necessary consequence, conclude thou mayest be saved. To avoid this dangerous shelfe in the business of our salvation, we have need of a two fold pilot to direct our course: FAITH and FEAR, which, well tempered together, declare the quality or nature of a Christian resolution, how wee ought to rely on God's providence: the second thing I am to shew you, to wit, that Christian resolutions are mixt with fear and faith. But can these stand together, fear and faith?—it will be very naturall to question. Fear perturbs us through the apprehension of future evill, saith the philosopher, and, can any evill happen to those who are in Christ Jesus, demands the divine, as wee are by faith? (Rom. xii. 15.) A plain contradiction it may seem, to fear evill, and beleive noe [*? none*] shall happen to us. *Fear not,* saith your Lord himselfe, (Luke xii. 32.) and shall we cross his precept by trembling? *Cast your care on him, for he careth for you,* (1 Pet. v. 7.) and can we think his care insufficient? Why should wee fear?

There is a commentator which easily cutts this knott: *necnon*

retat Apostolus non σπυδάζειν. The Apostle, says he, forbids not a studious industry, but an inordinate carking care, whose only fruit is destruction; and our Saviour condemns not all fear, but that of punishment, carnall and servile fear, steps to dispaire. His own practice approves of both *timorem cultûs et culpæ*, a devout and filiall fear in holy worshipp, and careful fear of offending, *who in the dayes of his flesh offer'd up prayers and supplications with strong cryes and tears unto him which was able to save him, and was alsoe heard in that which he feared.* (Heb. v. 7.) Our blessed Lord's practice is the best warrant for ours, he himselfe being the architype of all righteousness, whose life ought to be the canon and rule of his disciples.

These two joyned in Christ Jesus, our grand exemplar, who is the way, the truth and the life, serve as two starrs to direct his followers unto him. Fear stirrs us upp to seek all possible means for the prevention of evills, Faith keeps us from dispair. Fear is linked with the beginning of wisdom, without which your best actions are but as those apples of Sodom which being toucht vanish in smoak, or as trees without fruit, or shells without kernell.

As an ignorant careless mariner without his compass we shou'd be driven upon all the shoals and rocks of temptation, were not this fear placed in our hearts, as a watchman to forewarn our drowsy souls of approaching danger; and as Gideon on Zeba and Salmunna, (Jud. viii. 11.) Satan would surprize us unawares, and rob us of our very hearts and consciences, while we sleep in security. But where the heart is well fraight with fear, there is noe room for Satan and his train; it quickly espyes and prevents his most cunning plotts, putting to flight those armyes of temptations with which he useth to besiege man's wounded conscience. The holy Psalmist doth well inform us of the power and force of fear, when he tells us that it fights with angels strength. (Ps. xxxiv. 7.) *The angell of the Lord,* saith David, *standeth round about them that fear him, and delivereth them.* Soe that we may here without crime presume to cross our Saviours speach in another case of servile fear; (understand mee of an holy fear) Oh men of little faith, why are yee not affraid?

Whensoever the grace of God shall begin to increase in thee, fear: when it shall depart from thee, fear: and when it shall returne to thee, fear, saith St. Bernard. When thou first feelest God's Holy Spirit to move within thee, fear thine own unworthyness, that thou receive it not in vain. A gift not used att all, or not well employed, is a dishonour to the donour. When thou feelest any decay or suspension of the operation of grace

within thee, fear God's displeasure, who, for some cause or other, suffers thee thus to fall. But most of all must thou fear when God's grace is revived within thee, for the relapse is worse than the former disease. Therefor thy fear must increase with thy danger, lest, being made clean, thou sin againe, and a worse thing happen unto thee. In adversity, let us humbly acknowledge with Job, the punishment of God is fearfull: in prosperity, with David, there is mercy with [*him*] that he may be feared. In all estates let his essentiall presence beget an awfull fear and reverence in all our actions, since there is nothing more fearfull in the saints and servants of God than not to fear. (Jer. xxxii. 40.)

However, scruple not hence (yee sincere tho' imperfect Christians, over subject sometimes to despondency) the certainty of our salvation. An holy fear doth not make us more scrupulous but more certain, saith St. Bernard, in his 15th Sermon upon the Psalms, for this fear (as hope) is the fruit of an holy faith; and St. Paul joyns it with faith, (Rom. xi. 20.) as an antidote to a high mind. Thou standest by faith, be not high minded but fear: and indeed [*it*] is the ground of our assurance of salvation, which we cannot have but by faith. I say by faith, not as if it were not certaine, but to exclude that certainty of evidence and sense which requires an absolute assent, both in respect of the truth of the thing, and of our knowledge, because it is soe, and because we can demonstrate it to be soe. And when we say 4 is more than 2, the whole is greater than part, perfect knowledge of sence and experience absolutely conclude it most certain. The certainty of our salvation is a faithfull cleaving unto Christ Jesus. Tho' this in it selfe be more absolute than that of sence, as faith is more certain than any science, yet man's mind not throughly purged from the foggy mists of originall pollution cannot clearly determine.

Christ indeed hath broken down the partition wall between God and his people, yet hath he sett the register of his elect beyond the ken of any mortall. Neither can we assure ourselves any otherwise of our salvation, than by trusting in him, by applying particularly, what he (that cannot lye) hath spoken in generall; *Whosoever believeth in me shall be saved*, and this is in noe man so perfect but that the best may pray still, *adjuva me Domine*, Lord help my unbelief. He that doth not thus fear hath noe faith, and then, noe certainty.

As the Spirit of God witnesseth wee are the sons, soe fear testifyeth wee have the spirit. Noe man more surely relyes on his Saviour than he that most fears to offend him, soe is it no paradox at the same time to tremble and rejoyce in the Lord.

The frailty of our nature and the subtilty of the devill conspire for our ruine: here is good cause to fear. But Jesus Christ is our castle and defence: here is greater cause to rejoyce.

A man on the topp of an high tower looking downe and considering the danger of a fall, trembles to think thereon, but looking back on his feet and seeing himselfe environed on every side with battlements, rejoyceth that he is soe secure of the danger: soe the most steddy beleiver, tho' he knows that under the protection of the Almighty he cannot miscarry, yet he (sometimes) trembles to reflect on the deplorable estate of falling away. Albeit his principle be true, the Word of God cannot fail in any tittle. Whosoever believeth shall be saved, yet is he jealous of mis-applying it to himselfe. Tho' he thinketh he standeth, he must beware lest he fall; for it is the condition of faith and grace, as of nature, still to desire encrease and perfection; which necessarily requires earnest prayer, and this implies a solicitous fear.

Soe then wee say of a Christian, as Scipio sometimes spake of Rome, it was more [*? most*] secure when it stood [*in*] awe of Carthage. The Church was never freer from heresies than in the time of persecution, and the end of persecution was the beginning of heresy. Wee are most certain when wee are most tempted. When Satan desires to winnow St. Peter as wheat, then Christ's prayer assures him of salvation. Christ's intercessions are more prevalent than any temptation, and, unless we render them ineffectuall by impenitency, they are never in vain. Nevertheless, his prayer may not hinder ours, nor his all sufficiency exclude our labours. Wee must pray to him, and he will pray for us. Lett us fulfill his commandments, and he will fulfill his promises. If we love him, let us fear to offend him. If wee have confidence of our election in him, then lett us use all diligence to make our calling, and this our election, sure, by adding good works to our faith; in doeing whereof we shall never fall. It was an heathen canon that Fortune shou'd not be pray'd unto but with hands in motion; intimating that no sacrafice cou'd be accepted from a sluggard. And it is the Appostle's rule, we all know, to add vertue to faith, industry to prayer. For to cry God help, and not to putt to our helping hand, is as vain as to labour without Gods help. Not as if his power were insufficient, but because our endeavour is required to entitle us to his blessing.

Shall the plowman burn his plow, or the marriner his shipp, because God has said, *I will never leave thee nor forsake &c.*? Shall wee not provide decent cloathing, because wee must not take inordinate care for rayment? Because Christ said, *Take*

noe care what ye shall eat, shall wee therefore expect another white sheet from heaven? Or shall wee, with the sluggard in the fable, lye on the ground and expect the falling of the figgs with open mouth? which is not to serve God, but to tempt him. Such idleness becomes none worse than a soldier of Christ's band. The watchman must watch, tho' it be God that preserveth the citty; his vineyard must be husbanded and his garden drest; Paul must plant and Appollos water, before God give the increase. God cou'd have healed Hezekiah without a bunch of figgs, our Saviour no doubt cou'd have spoken the word to the blind man, and he shou'd have receiv'd his sight, but, that his actions might be our examples, he uses means for the cure; he anointed his eyes with clay, bad him wash in the pool of Siloam before he cou'd see; and, in the xxviith of the Acts of the Appostles, he gives St. Paul all the souls in the shipp. His promise cou'd not faile, yet their own sedulity was required to their safety; by swiming and using broken pieces (you will find by the story) they all came safe to land. For how certain soever things are in respect of him who knoweth the end of all things, as well of those which shall bee, as those [*which*] are or have been, they are not soe in respect of our knowledge: (as you have heard) wherefor, wee must not idly cast our selves upon his providence, but humbly submit our selves unto it, alwayes shewing our devotion in prayers against an evill, tho' wee cannot our power in over comeing it.

Discreet diligence must accompany our affection. Faith must be our anchor, and we must row with fear; even with fear and trembling, in the least matter of our salvation: not like those [*whose*] faith dares speak as boldly to their MAKER as their neighbour, and hear his embassage with less reverence, nay with like familiarity, as the message from an acquaintance; searching into the very secrets of God, and presumeing to learn what God hath refused to teach. A generation which may be known by their boldness, who take Christ's office upon themselves, and will weed out those tares which he said should grow with the wheat till the harvest: and, like true Pharisees, they separate themselves from the congregation of their brethren, thinking themselves more holy than they; and more skilfull in God's counsells than if they were imediately inspired from on high, interpreting God's deepest mysteries without an Ὦ βάθος, at first sight; yea, and that more sanctifyedly too, than with a moneth's preparation.

Daniel, (I doubt not) as wise a man and as holy as any of these men, ecclesiastick or layick; will not presume to interpret soe much as a dream without respite and consideration.

Hee first prayes, you will find, with his company to God for mercy concerning the secret; nor will Hester speak unto her king, untill she bee assisted with the prayers of all the Jewes in Shushan. And St. John, (as St. Jerome reports in his prologue upon St. Matthew) intreated by the Bishops of Asia, his brethren, to write his Gospell against the heretics Ebion and Cerinthus, first required a publick fast to be solemnized throughout the whole Church.

Such preparation, in a proportion, is requisite in our lesser affairs: rashly to enter the lists in any busieness (especially that which is sacred) is impudently to challenge a blessing, not to entreat one; which profane neglect of duty, how slightly soever men esteem of it, savours of INFIDELITY and ATHEISM. For who can confess a Deity, and bee ignorant of its concurrence to all actions; and who can know this, and, without great impiety, forbear to implore its assistance?

To ask help of God, the Creatour, can be no prejudice to man his creature, but his greatest advantage and highest honour; neither doe man's ordinary means and endeavours detract from God's all-sufficient Providence, but declare its power: wee, seeing the slenderness of our owne strength, with greater admiration acknowledge his omnipotence which worketh all in all.

Our good old father Jacob here, well knew the power and mercy of God, yet doth he not presume in a danger, though he be resolved to bear it; but uses his best means. His faithfull heart and trembling hand are employed together, the one in provideing presents for the ruler of Egypt, the other in sending upp prayers to God. If the first cannot perswade him, the last shall command him. Faith is the ground of all his diligence, he first relyes on God's mercy: and fear the rule of his actions, hee goes about to pacify the ruler.

Well then (quoth he) *if it must be soe, my sons, doe thus, take of the best fruits of the land in your vessells, a little balme, a little hony, spices and myrhe, nutts and almonds, &c.* His prayers second his outward means: *And God Almighty*, sayes hee, *give you mercy before the man, that he may send away your other brother and Benjamin*, and whatsoever happens I will endure it, yea, *If I be bereaved of my children I am bereaved.*

II[ND] SERMON.

HITHERTO you heard the necessity and maner of submitting to the will of God. I shall now enter on the third part of my text and shew you the benefitts redounding from such submissions.

This casts me unavoidably upon a common-place, and one of the most common of places, even that of adversity or affliction as often preached as felt. However there will be noe cause to pass it over, since I am naturally led thereto by the time, as well as my text. A time of judgement, of warr, and of danger, threatening our poor Church and Kingdom with a heavy measure of affliction and large portion of this bitter cupp, which I fear is like to be felt or tasted (unless a speedy return in duty to God and the King prevent) by our selves and posterity. While temporall crosses remain, (which dye only with man) wee must preach their necessity and benefitt, the one as absolute, the other to the godly certain.

To doe good and suffer wrong, after Christs blessed example, is an especiall part of Christian life and duty. Your diligence hath been required for the first, the last requires your humility, upon the same grounds of faith and fear: whereto if you do add (since heaven frowns upon this land) a profound humiliation, you will doe no more than God expects att your hands.

Not to fear affliction becomes a rigid sceptic, or senseless stoick, not an affectionate Jacob, or tender hearted Joseph. On the other side, to be utterly cast down in the bed of sorrow fitts not an Abraham, but a Cain. Both good and just is God, saith holy David, good and gracious to teach patient sinners in the way; but just alsoe to punish those which run on still in their iniquity.

Happy then are those troubled spirits (let me mind them) where this constellation appears, where Fear acknowledgeth God a just judge, and Faith believeth him a loving father.

Adversity, indeed, is the discipline of God's house, under which he brings upp his children; through fear of which he bridleth their inordinate affections, and, by disenabling and mortifying them, works an unwillingness to offend. For example,—

The rich man spoyled of his riches sees their uncertainty, and soe flyes back from his eager pursuit of them to him that gave them. The vain-glorious and ambitious man, degraded from court to cottage, and, after all his industry to rise, brought low, and made see plainly there is noe confidence in any humane help, noe not in the best and most potent of princes, nor in any child of man, (according to David's observation) teaching him to trust only on the King of kings. The good father here in the text, bereaved of his children, confesses they were but a broken staffe, and, when he cou'd not longer continue a father, contented himselfe fully that he was the child of God.

Soe proine is our nature to all voluptuousness and uncleanness, and soe rebellious are our affections against any good, that nothing but this wormwood can wean us from sucking the dreggs of worldly and sensuall pleasures, or stop us in this earthly pilgrimage from running headlong to distruction. He is certainly miserable who never felt any misery, if we believe Seneca, and it is good divinity in the heathen's own sense; *Hos itaque quos probat Deus, quos amat, indurat, recognoscit, exercet: quibus indulgere, quibus parcere videtur, molles venturis malis servat.* Very near that of the Apostle, (Heb. xii. 6.) *The Lord chasteneth whom he loveth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth;* but reserveth whom he seemeth to pass by, *quibus parcere videtur,* he doth but seem to pass them over, for greater punishment. God less regards a thousand beams in the eyes of the wicked, than one mote in the eyes of his people; *I will not punish* (saith God by his prophet) *your daughters when they commit whoredom, nor your sons* when they commit adultery.* (Hosea iv. 14.) But you whom I have chosen of all the earth will I punish for all your iniquity. (Am. iii. 1.)

Thus God's people in this life are, as it were, travelling from Egypt to Canaan. Tho' our deadly Pharoah, the enemy of mankind, be overwhelmed in the red sea of Christ's blood that he cannot throw us downe, yet he cast rubbs in our way to stumble us. Some Amorites there will be still to oppose us. The Canaanite is yet in the land. The flesh and the world erect golden calves, suggest murmurings and lusts whereby wee provoke God to wrath, and force him by affliction to chastise, and correct us in the right way.

Our journey is as theirs; (Numb. xxi. 20.) from Bamoth to Pisgath, from the vale of humility and death to the plain hill of happyness and everlasting life: soe St. Jerome applyes these words in his epistle *ad Fabiolam.*

* The Dean evidently quotes from memory. It is *spouses* in the text cited.—Ed.

And this, (before wee proceed) may alsoe afford a profitable lesson for this world's darling. Hath any ascended this hill of happyness? Let him not cast his scornfull eye on his brother in the vale, but look rather towards Jeshimon, the wilderness over against him, pitty them which are in it, and praise God for his better mansion. Let him not forget that the hill whereon he stands is Pisgah, which St. Jerome interprets *dolatus*, smooth, as if it were plained; very slippery, with an easy descent, from which the lest slipp may cast him downe thither whence with a great labour he got upp: making him feel by experience that a relapse is a double fall. But this by the way.

Wee may take one type more of the saints' afflictions from the Israelites. There was never any hony (observes the father) in their sacrafices, neither were the lights, which burnt in their tabernacles, of wax, which is sweet, but of oyle, sharp and bitter: as if they ought [*not*] to enjoy the lest emblem or shaddow of pleasure. But however, it was with them, certainly as it is with us Christians, that our joy and felicity is not here below, but in those things which are above, where Christ sitts on the right hand of God, whereon wee ought to sett our affections; and which are the only object of a right mortifyed and faithfull Christian's search. Our light, as well as life, is in heaven; where our conversation alsoe ought to bee, and where wee shall by the assistance of the Almighty, and a truely sanctifyed use of God's visitations, (which are a Christian's best directions) in the conclusion arrive, to our everlasting comfort, if wee are not wanting to our selves. Christ Jesus, the Soveraigne of men and angells, and captain of our salvation, if wee readily and heartily follow him, and trust in him, will bring us (and it is only hee that can bring us) through fire and water into a wealthy place. Hee is our Moses to lead us (for wee cannot goe without him) from Bamoth to Pisgah, through many tribulations, through all the difficultyes of our lives and callings, into the kingdom of heaven and port of our salvation. And this is the end of God's visitations. The fire of adversity is designed to refine us, to purge away our dross, and to fitt us for those pure mansions whereinto no unclean thing can enter.

Who will not then cry out with David (Ps. cxix. 71.) in his sufferings, *it is good for me that I have been afflicted.* It is as necessary a duty to praise God after affliction, as to pray to him in it, though wee may not pray for it; tribulations in themselves being evill, and the effect of disobedience. Had not man grown rebellious God had not visited, but because of the wickedness of his doeing, God sends upon him cursing, vexation and

rebuke, (Deut. xxviii. 20.) But Christ, the Rock of our salvation (blessed be his Name) has turn'd the edge of this sword: so that (*non est malum jam pati, sed malum facere*) it is not evill now to suffer, but to doe, evill.

The cross of Christ, (like the tree of God shewed Moses, Exod. xv. 25) hath alter'd the nature of our troubled waters, they are no longer bitter and unsavoury, but pleasant and wholsome.

Especially in these operations following:

1. They increase our knowledge, both of our Creatour and our selves.
2. They increase our devotion, makeing us alsoe more conformable to Christ our Head, and soe fitter subjects for his pitty and compassion.

First, they increase our knowledge &c. While our outward man is consumed our inward man is renewed. For as long as the body tryumphs in his strength, the soul's whole employment is to furnish the corporeall organs with vigour and power for their more base exercises. But those parts disabled by adversity to receive those facultyes, they returne to the soul, and united, work more strongly in a weightyer matter, even in a divine contemplation. There is now noe fewell for lust, noe shewes for pride. Every sense failes to bring in those delightsome speices which, in the time of bodily health, overloaded the fainting soul. This prison therefor of the soul thus once broken, she becomes active in her business, and runs the way of God's commandments. Whereas before she only heard of God (as Job speaks) by the hearing of the eare, the vaile of the temple once rent by sickness, or other adversity, now her eyes see him. The eye of her understanding, she more clearly apprehends his power; the eye of her faith, she more confidently relyes on his mercy.

Secondly, this knowledge inflames her devotion and renders us fitter subjects for his pitty. We most earnestly sue for a remedy of danger from him whom wee best know cares most for us. While we are in our jollity, just like the prodigall in St. Luke's Gospel, we look no further than our selves. And that, I am afraid, hath been one of the sinns of this nation, and of this place. A little cross may drive us to our neighbour, but when we are driven to eat husks with the swine, in our greatest extremity, then (*humiliatio in humilitate*) our minds are humbled with our bodyes; then, and not till then, necessity becomes a vertue; *I will* (because I must) *goe to my father.*

God deals with his children as a nurse with hers; suffers them to stagger, now and then, that they may look the better

to their feet. There is a hand behind which the child sees not that holds him up. Our Heavenly Father indeed plunges us (if I may soe speak) here in the depth of sorrow, that we may dive into the depth of our own hearts, and to make us more sensible punishes by degrees: (as he did Jacob) first with the loss of Rachell, then of Joseph, afterwards with famine, and fear of Benjamin; even as Joseph dealt with his brethren, but as Joseph alsoe, tho' he began in wrath he ends in peace.

Mercy followes judgment, and nothing but impenitency doth make a separation. If God at any time be long in punishing, it is to teach his people more sensibly the guilt of their sinn; that soe, by the better knowledge of their guilt, they may be driven the sooner to repentance, the seat of mercy. Both which methods of Almighty God's dealing with his servants have been often experienced by the people of this land.

Rough hewn timber and unpolished stones are unfitt for any princely building, therefor God sawes us (as it were) in pieces by adversity, smooths our inordinate affections and hews down our rebellious lusts, before wee can become a meet temple of the Holy Ghost.

God well knowes we have lost that image and superscription which he stampt us in, and therefor melts us anew, as the prophet speaks (Jer. ix. 7), and purifyes us in the fire of affliction, that wee may be made fitt materialls in that day in which he maketh up his jewells. (Mal. iii. 17.)

In a Christian life then, as in the almond tree, we must expect a hard shell, tho' there be a sweet kernell. Hardness, all know by experience, thus many times contains sweetness, and sundry other usefull qualityes, as comfortable health follows after an unpleasant potion.

Let us approve ourselves therefor the servants of God, in much patience; *as dying, but behold, we live; as chastened, but not killed; as sorrowfull, yet alwayes rejoyceing.* (2 Cor. vi. 9, 10.) Our sorrow is but *quasi tristitia*, transitory, (it seems) as there noted by the Appostle, a dream or shaddow of sorrow. But the joy of a true Christian is otherwise; there is *certum gaudium*, it is not said, *as* joyfull, but, *alway rejoyceing.*

Hath then God taken away our worldly wealth from any of us? It is (wee may conclude) because it shou'd deprive us of eternall happyness. Hath God bereaved any of us of our children or friends? It is because we shou'd put more trust in him. Hath he brought any of us to dishonour here? It is because we may be more fitt for glory hereafter.

Externall benefitts (none can deny) are God's blessings. But soe is the want of them alsoe. All things work together for

the best to those who love God. (Rom. viii. 28.) Christ is to his faithfull servants both in life and death, advantage. Wou'd not any wise man willingly sow in tears, that he might reap in joy? Wou'd not a man be content with a wet spring, that he might have a good harvest? And thus much the prophet David assures us of (Ps. cxx. 6). *Hee that goeth on his way weeping, bearing forth good seed, shall doubtless come again with joy, and bring his sheaves with him.* The keeper of Israel may sometimes seem to wink, but indeed he neither slumbers nor sleeps. If he suffer a storm for a time, (wherewith we are at this instant dreadfully threatened) however, the ship shall not sink. God is most powerfull oftentimes, when we seem most neglected. Man's extremityes are God's opportunityes, hath alwayes been the observation and language of holy men. When Abraham's hand is up for the stroke, then an angell stopps the sword. When Moses lyes sprawling in the river, then is [*he*] most safe from the Egyptian cruelty. And our Jacob here most comforted in his sons when he supposed hee had lost them. They are to him as the Red sea, threaten destruction, but prove safety. While he complains they will bring down his gray hairs with sorrow to the grave, they revive his old age with good tidings of corne and Joseph.

Let us then, in the name of God, (without further inlargement) take up Jacob's resolution in our distresses, (to perswade which is the cheif designe of this and my former sermon, and for which wee had never more cause) and we may justly expect Jacob's reward. Let us use all means with fear and faithfullness, diligence and courage, to prevent those evills which threaten us, and leave the event to God's good pleasure; still ready with patient and constant Job, in the extreamest misery to cry out, *though thou killest me, yet will I put my trust in thee.* Soe shall we approve our selves faithfull servants to God and the King, and att last receive that crown of eternall bliss which is laid up for all those that fear him.

But I shall not proceed any further in so beaten a road as the topick of adversity, nor yet, by your favour, conclude my discourse. There is nothing which can be more plain and obvious to a Christian than the benefit of affliction, a truth conspicuous out of the writeings of the very heathens, and I comend unto your review at this instant Plutarch's excellent treatise to that purpose. I shall therefor have regard to the times as well as my text, and consider some of those very afflictions hanging over our heads, which must exercise these our resignations, and which will prove, (Christianly submitted to) thus beneficiall to us.

That it is our duty faithfully and chearfully to submit unto Gods will all times of adversity with faith and fear, and that all truly Christian submissions, will in the end be highly advantagious, hath been the subject of my two last discourses in this pulpit.

Application.

If the dayes of adversity and affliction, brethren, be such a hopefull seeds time, wee in our present circumstances are like, if we sow in pious tears, to have a plentifull crop.

Many a heavy judgment are already faln upon us for our past sins against God; and in a more particular maner (we have too just reason to suspect) for our secure and carnal confidence; our trusting in the arm of flesh, as well as our unpardonable disobedience to, and vile contempt of God's vice-gerent, the King, and [*that*] many greater, for our stupid impenitency, will fall, we have alsoe to just cause to fear.

God hath moved the land and divided it, and if his Almighty and most mercifull hand doth not prevent, it must shake nay totter into RUIN and DESTRUCTION.

The sword is drawn in the midst of the nation: God grant it may not be too soon sheathed in one anothers bowells, nor whet by the present cessation.

Insomuch that what party soever gains the victory, both must certainly, some way or other, in the conclusion be considerable loosers.

It is a sad thing that subjects to the same Prince shou'd, in words, many times profess and pretend the same thing; and yet all the while fight against one another to destruction.

One party, among other matters, declares for the protestant religion in generall, another for the Church of England as by law establist.

They cannot be other, with honest meaning, than the very same cause, for the Church of England is undoubtedly a protestant church, and the best protestant religion (notwithstanding all aspersions) is profess'd in that Church; and yet, in all probability, here is in the nation a quarrell begun, (God forgive the authors) which is not like to be determined without the shedding of much Christian blood.

Or else, againe, one party declares [*for*] the King alsoe (as the Lords att York) as well as the protestant religion, together with the libertyes and propertyes of the subject. Another for

the King and antient lawes and government in Church and State. This likewise, without mental reservation, is noe other than the former, and yet both partyes, you see, enter into a dismall bloody war to decide the contraversy.

'Tis certain that our antient lawes and government (soe much depending on monarchy) cannot be preserved by the destruction of the Prince; and true liberty and property cannot be secured by the destruction of the antient government; noe more can the right protestant religion.

Come, brethren, let us all be well advised before wee imbrue our hands deeply in one anothers blood. Such like pretehces and beginings had once noe better consequence.

Behold, I say, two partyes of the King's subjects makeing the same protestation, and yet all the while fight with one another, soe that one of them cannot be sincere. If two persons declare for the King, and yet fall to blows, one of them (pretend what he will) must certainly be a rebel in fighting against the King.

I would in charity think that you all conclude rebellion a most odious thing, and that few will (I am sure noe good man would) dip themselves in soe heinous a crime knowingly and wilfully.

The danger is, that many worthy and honest gentlemen, as heretofore (and now in our present juncture) maie be insnared, before they are aware, into this foul offence, so farr that they cannot tell how to gett back again; or (if they do themselves) cannot hinder ill men from proceeding on and effecting their ends by virtue of the reputation which they have given to an ill cause.

I will therefore cease to contend in this place whoe is the best subject or veryest rebell; whether I that declare my selfe for the King and protestant religion, or hee that declares himselfe for the protestant religion and the King, is the most loyal and best protestant.

I have here, openly and frequently enough, discover'd my principles concerning subjection. I am, brethren, of the same mind I ever was, and soe resolved, by God's grace, to live and dye.

Instead of such disputes, I'le endeavour to paint and sett before your eyes this abominable sin, that neither party will owne; and (without telling you any more who are rebells) I'le plainly shew you, what is rebellion, and what it is to be rebellious.

In prosecution whereof, I'le keep precisely (as well as I am able) to the very terms and words of the Church of England in

her printed Sermons or Homilies, published by Royall authority.

Rebellion, then, you must know, is there esteem'd by the Church of England, wherever it is found, either among papists or protestants, (either on the 5th of November, or on the 30th January) the worst as it was the first of sins.

In the first of her Homilies against Rebellion it is stiled the root of all vices, and the mother of all mischiefs, and in the second part, the worst of all vices, and greatest of all mischiefs, at the breaking in whereof all sins and miseries did flow in and overwhelm the world; the author of that cursed sin of disobedience (which brings in all other at its heels) being noe other than Lucifer himselfe, who of the brightest and most glorious angell, for this very sin of disobedience and rebellion against his King, became the blackest and foulest fiend, and from the height of heaven fell into the bottom of hell, as our Church expresses it in the aforesaid Homily.

Rebellion in another place, speedily after, is stiled the foulest of all sinns, being as it were the source and originall of all other, and inseparable from the highest pride and contempt of God. "He that nameth rebellion," saith our Church, "nameth not a single or one only sin, as is theft, murder, robbery, or such like, but" (to speak in the old language of our Homily) "the whole puddle and sink of all sins, against God and man; against his Prince, his country, his country-men, his parents, his children, his kinsfolks, his friends and against all men universally. All sins" (saith the very same Homily) "nameth hee that nameth rebellion, every commandment being violated thereby." p. 360*.

Yea, that all the seven deadly sins are contained in rebellion, you will find asserted in the same page, all sins, by all names that sins may be named and by all means that sins may be comitted, do wholly and upon heaps follow rebellion. p. 361†.

Pestilence, famine, and war, declared in Scripture to be the greatest of worldly plagues and miseryes; yea, all the miseryes which these plagues have in them, doe altogether follow rebellion. The fore quoted page‡.

Of all warrs (wee are there minded) civill warr is the worst, but rebellion far more abominable than any civill warr. p. 362§.

* P. 507 in the Oxford Edition of the Homilies, 1840.—Ed.
† P. 508-9. Ibid. ‡ P. 509. Ib.
§ P. 510. Ib.

Moreover, that rebells are commonly punished with remarkable shamefull deaths, and that they doe very seldom repent, (the greatest of punishments) we are assured by the very same Homily. p. 362 *.

As alsoe that heaven is [*the*] place of good and obedient subjects, as hell the prison and dungeon of rebells, against God and their Prince: our Church, in that very page, terming every obedient realme the figure of heaven, and a rebellious one the similitude of hell.

I think I need not produce any more quotations or arguments out of this repository of our Church to convince you that rebellion is the most abhorred sin; and that it never proved a soveraign salve (who ever are the authors or supporters of it) for the King, Church or Kingdom.

But that I may have a sufficient foundation for a pathetick disswasion from this sin, it will be requisite to informe you fully in right Church of England loyalty, and it can be no other than is taken, word for word, out of these her own authorized sermons, which will be most effectually done by satisfying you in a perticular manner what the Church of England esteems to be rebellion.

First, to withstand or use any force or violence to lawfull soveraigns, tho' they be never so wicked, and doe never soe much abuse their power, is rebellious. If you will not give me credit, I'le tell you the very page where you may find it; even in the Homily of Obedience: Part 2d, pa. 66, the last edition in the year 1676, where you are alsoe minded (and I desire you to take good notice thereof) that the Amalekite who kill'd King Saul, tho' it was done by Saul's own consent and command, (2 K[ings] i.) was put to death †.

Secondly, wee are informed that not only open rebellion or downright resistance of the Lord's anointed, but any kind of resurrection, or commotion, or murmuring, (one of our modern virtues) is condemned as an intolerable wickedness in a well governed kingdom: pa. 67 of the said Homily. ‡ Where you see, by the way, how much this age and that age protestants differ in their sentiments of loyalty.

Thirdly, in case of unlawfull or sinfull commands, our mother the Church of England (amidst all the reproaches cast on her) is soe far from approving any violent withstanding, or rebelling, against lawfull rulers, that it will not allow of any sort of sedition or tumults, either by force of arms, or otherwise, against

* P. 512. Oxford Ed:—Ed. † P. 102. Ibid.

‡ N. B.

the King himselfe, or any of his officers, but layes before the rebell's eye God's remarkable judgments on Corah, Dathan and Abiram, and on others, for provoaking God in the like kind; and less provocations than most of us have been guilty of, tho' through the mercy of God and a gracious King, we have hitherto escap'd unpunish'd.

The forementioned Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, were swallowed upp alive for but grudging against God's magistrates, others were utterly consumed by a sudden fire sent from God for their wicked murmuring. Others were stricken suddenly with a foul leprosy, for but froward behaviour; not to mention some stung to death with strange fiery serpents, and 14,700 at one time killed with the plague, whereof you are minded at the conclusion of the same Homily, as you are in other places of Scripture of 24,000 and 70,000 alsoe slaine, by the same judgment of God, for the very same sin; that very sin of rebellion, that truely diabolick sin, which many present pretenders to loyalty, nourish in their bosoms, who have invited the sword into the land, and thereby conjured upp a divill which God knows when they will be able to conjure down againe.

I shall say noe more to rectify your notions concerning loyalty and rebellion, than that our mother the Church of England, (now sadly wounded by her owne children) who is exceeding averse to this hellish crime, doth in these her orthodox and pious composures (the standard of our sermons and divinity) condemn it as disloyall and rebellious, not only to depose, destroy, or oppose the King, but to put him in fear, to terrify or disturb his sacred person or mind, valuable (as the Scripture tells us) above ten thousand of his subjects.

And how any of those who either joyne with his enemyes, or sitt still when their Soveraigne needs their assistance, or soe much as mutter against him, can purge them selves from this last mentioned guilt, (if the contrivers and managers of the invasion have furnished them with distinctions to clear themselves of the former) I shall never be able to comprehend or understand.

Having now, by God's assistance, shewn you the necessity of Christian submission, resolution, and resignation to the will of God, and the manner how wee are to exercise those necessary and usefull graces, and alsoe made some seasonable reflections on God's judgments, at this time hanging over our heads, which doe loudly call for practice of the aforesaid dutyes; (without which it is impossible for us to be soe truly penitent as to appease God's wrath) laying alsoe before you the heinous guilt and odiousness of the sin of rebellion, and according to the doc-

trine, and in the words, of the Church of England, endeavour'd to informe you what the Church (which can better judge than our private heads) doth esteem to be rebellion and rebellious, to fortify you against the odd notions and hodge-podge divinity of such divines as are more able to write the history of the Reformation, than willing to practice the reformed religion, of the Church of England; (the glory whereof is bearing faith and true allegiance to their lawfull Soveraigne) give me leave, as well as I am able, to disswade you from that abominable sin, and all approaches towards it, which is soe dreadfull in its consequences, and destructive to Monarchy and Episcopacy, being fostered as the darling of Presbitry and a Comonwealth: and probably by none more than our neighbouring one, who upholds her unnaturall invasion by tempting subjects to fight against their lawfull soveraign.

Brethren, I am not soe old as to have forgot, nor soe young but that I doe well remember, the specious and holy pretences of '41, which were made use of to ruin both Church and State, neither would I be thought soe stupid as not to fear and suspect but the same train of designes, intrigues, and machinations, may have the same dismall effects.

The generality of people were, even then, in the days of King Charles I. as much afraid of popery as wee are at present, tho' he shew'd himselfe to be one of the most pious men and truest protestant princes on the face of the whole earth. They then dreaded TIRANNY and ARBITRARY POWER, (as they pretended) tho' they lived under a meek and gracious Prince, whose clemency prov'd his ruine. They loudly exclaimed against evill councellours, but were not satisfyed till they were flesh'd with the blood of Laud and Strafford, and had overthrown (under that popular clamour and disguise) the most considerable pillars in Church and State. They complained of grievances, (with noe less noise in those dayes than malecontents in these) and alsoe unmanerly pressed for condescensions. But when they had extorted them from that good Prince, (who was tender of his people even to excesse) they were not contented till he had condescended his royall head to the block, and that, by one fatall blow, three kingdoms were involv'd in blood and confusion, God's solemne worshipp and servise turned quite out of doors, the fathers and dignifyed clergy of the Church, as well as the right-loyall Nobility and Gentry of the land, vilely trampled on by the meanest of the vulgar, and att the last, the Crowne and Church revenue (the purchase cheifly aim'd att) seiz'd on, and employ'd to maintain Fanaticism and Usurpation.

Why rebellion, sedition, or rude treatment of Majesty, should now portend better in '88 than it did 48 years agoe, I cannot discover, and that rebells and traitors, fled into the Low Countryes, shou'd be purifyed by the air and conversation in Holland, I can as litle conceive; no more can I conceit how the inticeing and insnaring away of the King's subjects (as at present) to fight against their liege lord and Soveraign (nay to deliver him up into the hands of his enemyes) shou'd be a specimen and infallible mark of kindness to the Church of England-protestant religion, which will not permit, upon any pretences whatsoever, to take up arms against a lawfull King, nor assist, aid, or abett, those who doe, noe not so much as to wish ill to the Lord's anointed in the very bottom of our hearts.

For the love of God, brethren, let us leave those fond imaginations, discourses, and practices, which have set the whole land into a combustion; let us be ashamed of those unreasonable delusions and methods of delivery which bring those very fears (or worse evills) on us which wee endeavour to avoid. Such infatuation is a sad prognostication. *Quos perdere vult Jupiter, hos dementat.*

Wee have in this juncture, I confesse, just ground of fear and jealousy. I who have hitherto opposed fears and jealousies, do now advise the preaching on those topicks, to wit, that they who dare unjustly to invade us, intend if they can (pretend what they please) to conquer us, and, in plain terms, in the conclusion to enslave us.

I dare not in such a time of difficulty but declare clearly my mind and conscience. If the trumpet now shou'd give an uncertain sound, it might be of lamentable consequence.

I never did yet, (I thank God) nor, if [*? I live,*] will, play my game soe as if I intended only to save my stake.

It is your infelicity, dear and beloved brethren, at this present to have noe person in circumstances superiour to me (in the country) to give you right measures: which, when I have honestly and faithfully done, as I have endeavoured this day, (if you will not take them) the guilt must lye at your own doors.

I never yet was, nor ever shall be, I trust, ashamed in the pulpit to own my duty to my Soveraigne, and if I shou'd be silent now, when there is more need than ever for preachers faithfully to open their mouths, to prevent the seducing of well meaning people, I shou'd conclude my selfe accessary to rebellion.

The God of heaven by his Holy Spirit, the most infallible

guide, direct us all into the faithfull discharge of our respective dutyes to our Sovereigne, from which we can never deviate, I am sure, without deviateing from the Church of England.

To GOD THE FATHER &c.

FINIS.

THE

CHIEFEST MATTERS

CONTAINED IN

SUNDRY DISCOURSES

MADE TO THE

CLERGY OF THE ARCHDEACONRY OF DURHAM,

SINCE HIS MAJESTYES COMEING TO THE CROWNE:

SUMMED UPP AND SEASONABLY BROUGHT AGAIN TO THEIR VIEW

IN A

LOYAL FAREWELL VISITATION-SPEECH,

ON THE 15 NOV. LAST '88, BEING TEN DAYES AFTER
THE LANDING OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.

By DENIS GRANVILLE, D.D.
DEAN AND ARCHDEACON OF DURHAM (NOW IN EXILE)
CHAPLAIN IN ORDINARY TO HIS MAJESTY.

Printed at Rotien, by Wm. Machuel, rue S. Lo, near the Pallace, for John Baptiste Besongne, rue Escuyer, at the Royall Sun, and are to be sold by Augustine Besongne, in the Great Hall of the pallace att Paris.

IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD GOD M.D.C.LXXXIX.

TO THE READER.

THE same necessity which drove me from my home at the very time which my Sovereign was forced to withdraw from his own pallace, compells me to send these, as well as my other papers, to the press, to shew the maner how I parted with my friends and flock in the Bishoprick of Durham, and that the last discharge of my Archidiaconall office, in a time of trouble, was suitable to my past life and actings dureing more than twenty years in a time of peace.

How imperfect and insufficient soever both have been, I never wanted, thro' God's grace, resolution all along to oppose the subjects' incroaching on the prerogative of their King, as heartily as I have withstood the Dutch their invading of the land. It will be noe great ground of admiration to all who truly know me, that, at such a juncture, I did dare speak plain English to fortify my brethren against temptations, and encourage them, as I have done, in their duty to God and the King; and I bless God's most holy Name that he hath been pleased to bestow on me, for the supply of my manifold defects, always Christian confidence in the pulpit, who have not enjoyed much of it any where else.

By what God gave me boldness at that time to speak in the ears of a large and publick auditory of clergy and laity, (not rashly, but with the most mature consideration that I utter'd any thing in my whole life) they might perceive I did not intend to stay at Durham, if my sovereign should be banished from his kingdom; as by committing the same discourse to the press, after more serious thoughts and greater deliberation, all men will be easily convinced that, till my sovereign be restored, (which I doe heartily pray for) I have noe thoughts to returne.

Though I found it very easy and intelligible how to behave my self under a Roman Catholic prince, in the discharge of all dutyes incumbent on me as a right Church of England subject or Christian, yet must acknowledge I am void of logick and other learning to supply me with distinctions and furniture necessary to live under an usurper.

And therefor if the reader discover the whole course of my life, as well as my writeings, destitute of craft to transform my selfe into any shape, and change with the government, let him not be astonished, or accuse me over rigidly, for not doeing that for which I am not soe well as others qualifyed, either by nature or education.

It hath been my fate to have suck'd in other principles, and to have been train'd up under better tutors; nay, possibly, in my whole make to be soe contrived and composed, that [*it*] is not in the power of man to new-mould me into that sort of animall which can blow hot and cold with the same breath, and is able to save his stake, what ever card turns up trump.

To those who shall condemne it in me as a deplorable piece of madness or folly, to talk or write away such a considerable revenue as Providence and my kind patrons have bestowed on me, (which I am like to doe by setting my name to what I print) I must declare that I am one of those fools St. Paul speaks [*of*] who, that I may be wise, am willing in the sight of the world to become a fool: valueing my innocency and quiet of conscience more than I doe the best deanery or bishoprick in Christendom, and as nothing yet hath tempted me, I thank God, to complement away my religion, (tho' I have been by some soe reproach'd) upon God's raising and setting over us a Prince of a different communion; soe noe consideration whatever (I rely on God's grace) shall be able to prevaile with me to prostitute it, by falling down to adore the multitude, or any image, (tho' it be of gold) which the people shall sett upp.

Those therefor that attack me by arguements or threats in letters, to seduce me back, and draw mee into a complyance with the new government, that I might set my hand to the raising upp the babell which they are building in England, may save their labour and their ink. For till they have confuted the doctrine which they have preached, as well as the sound divinity of their Mother which they have forsaken, they may cease from offerring me other arguements to convince me; and till they perswade me to sett a higher value on my mony than I doe on the grace of God, and prize my temporall interest more than mine integrity, (which no magick I have yet met withall, hath been able to effect soe as to fill my pocketts) they may alsoe forbear to affright me with deprivation.

I have long considered and studied the point of allegiance which I owe to my onely liege lord and soveraigne, King James 2, and to noe other; and am firmly, without doubt or scruple, satisfyed that my religion will not permit me to swear fidelity to any besides him.

That the greatest part of my brethren, notwithstanding the faithfull and frequent endeavours I have us'd to establish them in conformity and loyalty, shou'd forsake God's vice-gerent to doe homage to the people's, is an unexpressible grief to my soul.

To prevent the incurring such guilt, and the lamentable scandal of such apostacy, I did in due time (as may appear from the date of the ensueing address) expose my selfe to much sensure by delivering my mind to an auditory which seem'd ready to run themselves (as they have done) into that yoke and servitude, which I (who had greater temptations than others) was resolved to run out of the kingdom, and from my preferment, rather than submitt to.

And to demonstrate that I am (after great thoughtfullness and much prayer to God to direct me) of the very same mind here in France, Nov. 15, 1689, that I was in England, on the same day of the month 1688, as well as desireous to express my willingness to doe all that in me lyes to awaken those out of their sin which I could not confirm in their duty, I am as willing to commit to the press the discourse I then made, tho' I well know that I shall in soe doeing, in case these papers get into England, (and considering men's present genius and actings there) be exposed to the danger of running, as it were, the gauntlet through the nation.

From my Study in Rouen:
Nov. 15, 1689.

Advertisement.

If this or the former piece have the good fortune to find the way back to Durham, and fall into the hands of those persons that were present when they were spoken, (for whose sake they were first delivered and since printed) they may chance to take notice in the perusall (if their memoryes doe not fail them) that the author is more sparing than heretofore, or ever used to be, in his comendation of the constitution of the Church of England and more particularly in the praise of its well compiled Liturgy, which he was wont, upon all occasions, very highly to extoll. In which case they are desired to understand and consider, that these papers have been printed in a Roman Catholick

country, where they could not be permitted to pass the press without the perusall and approbation of Roman Catholicks, and that it was a great mark of favour, and an especiall token of their present forwardness to concurr with and encourage loyalty, to suffer sermons and a speech spoken by a Divine of the Church of England to be printed here at all; notwithstanding the castigations which have been made by the retrenchment of sundry expressions, and omitting all comparisons which did carry with them any reflections. And therefore the aforesaid people have no just cause given them to conceit that the authour hath in any respect changed his sentiments of the religion of the Church of England, which he hath ever professed, and wherein he desires and resolves by God's grace to live and dye.

If the above mentioned auditors (who discover too apparently that there is among them at home, whatever is in the author abroad, a lamentable change) or any other sort of readers of our owne or of any forreign nation, fancy him guilty of too much sharpness of expression, they are intreated to remember, or to be informed, that whatever he hath utter'd in a time of great heat and hurry, hath been spoken against such as did invade his owne native country, with unexpressible injustice and unnaturalness (as well as many heightening aggravations for want of gratitude) and that it was a speciall duty in every one of his character and station, at that time to expose, as much as they were able, an invasion which was beyond all precedent and without parellell. In soe much that if a satyricall invective (of which the author was noe lover) be at any time allowable in the writeings of a divine, it cannot be denyed, surely, but that it may pass here, in this instance: especially considering that he did very seasonably shew such his indignation, even before the forces that landed had rowled to soe great a number, but that they might have been opposed, nay suppressed, by any county of England which would have shew'd it selfe right valiant, faithfull and unanimous: and if some of those more powerfull oratours who have shewn their rhetorick with over much success (during the reign of Titus Oates) in raising subjects' affections first to exclude, and att last, (in exalting of Doctor B.) to dethrone their lawfull sovereign, had done their parts but with as hearty good will (all that the author can boast of) as he did; more countyes than one might probably have been alarumed into soe deep a sense of their duty and condition, that our present Low Country cavaliers, who have mounted us (and shewn themselves allready soe ill riders as to have spur-galled

us) might have been driven away with shame before they had gotten into, or fixt themselves in the saddle. Soe desireable an end, the author conceiv'd, may certainly authorize some smartness of style, and apologize for him in any nationall or personall reflections his honest zeal transported him into, (which as he spake he prints) since that if any perceive some vinegar in his ink, he is perswaded they will discover noe gall.

A SPEECH MADE BY THE ARCHDEACON TO THE CLERGY OF THE ARCHDEACONRY OF DURHAM IN THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY-LE-BOW ON THE 15 NOV. 1688, WITH A REPETITION OF SOME CHIEF MATTERS CONTAINED IN FORMER SPEECHES SINCE HIS PRESENT MAJESTYES ACCESSION TO THE CROWN.

REVEREND AND WORTHY BRETHREN,

IT is a custom in the University of Oxford once in the year in the University Church to have a Repetition-sermon. This, as well as other her customes, I make no doubt, is supported with substantiall reason. An auditory of scholars and learned men, doctors and divines, have not, as she supposes, alwayes such faithfull memoryes but that they need a monitor.

It is noe affront therefor, brethren, to think that the gravest clergy, at the most solemn Visitation may be men of like infirmityes.

Were I not then convinced by the language of your actions (whereby you speak as plainly as by your tongues) that you have either forgotten many things of moment said to you, or have done much worse, that is, in plain terms, undervalued and rejected them, I your unworthy Archdeacon might have cause, once in my life, to imitate this laudable University pattern, in makeing you a Repetition-speech; which, tho' long, will goe down with you the better at a time when, as at present, you have noe Visitation-sermon.

And here it will not be amisse to remind you that Repetition task there, in the Church of Oxford, is the most difficult employment of the whole year. So that you will have small reason to imagine that I doe betake my selfe to the like course soe much for mine owne ease as your edification, and as I shall imitate

my mother the University in one respect, soe shall I in another. She doth not exercise the patience of her auditory soe far as to bring to their view the substance of many or any sermons of the whole year, but of the four last imediately preceding Low-Sunday, (viz.) the sermons preach'd on Good Fryday and Easter Day, with those on the two following festivalls. Noe more shall I disturb you with heareing the heads of any of my past addresses, saving the four last, I mean those which I have made since the death of our late gracious Sovereigne, tho' I might invite you to look farther back, being not conscious to my selfe (God be praised) that I did ever with zeale press any thing upon you but what was well worth your hearing and consonant to the knowne rules of the Church of England; so that without any more adoe (praying for God's assistance) I enter on my purpose and employment.

Repetition of the substance of former speeches.

SPEECH 1.

THE former of these four discourses I made you in the Church of St. Nicholas, the three last in this wherein wee are at present assembled. I shall, according to our Oxford method, entertain you with the cheif and most important points in the same order which I spoke them.

First, in that (after a considerable absence and great change) I did judge it meet to bring to your view the greatness of our affliction, and our greater sins, which provoked God, att that time, and in that manner, to punish us with the loss of a meek and mercifull father of our country.

A prince of soe condescending a race, that he was, (like his never enough to be admired and good natur'd father) more concerned for the ease and property of his subjects than for the security of his own person and prerogatives, a prince of such exemplary long-suffering, bearing with such inumerable and intolerable affronts of his authority, that he did evince to all the world that it was scarce possible for a STUART to be a tyrant. A prince, whatever might be his own personall infirmityes, that had not one of those gross flawes in a monarch which doe border upon injustice and cruelty to his people. A prince which did soe abound in acts of grace to a stubborn and ungratefull generation, that an excessive clemency had like to have proved his owne, as it did his father's, ruin. Lastly, a prince under whom

(God forgive our unreasonable complaints) we might have been (if we were not) one of the happyest nations in the world.

The next thing which I offered to your consideration was the gracious goodness of the present king, in not only continuing, but protecting our religion: whereby he did, in an unexpected blessed manner, defeat the bitter calumnyes of his malicious enemyes, who, for seven years before, had most seditiously hammer'd into the spirits of the vulgar most dismall and dreadfull apprehensions of a popish successor; hee thereby proving all those (God be thanked) false prophets, who had insinuated into the peoples minds, (to the scaring them almost out of their senses) that, as soon as the Duke of York came to the crowne, wee should have mass said in all the cathedralls in England, to which act of mercy in the king it was but an unsuitable and unseasonable returne (I cou'd not omit the notice) to grudge his majesty and those of his perswasion the exercise of their own religion, with impunity from the severity of the laws, whilst God kept us under the government of a prince of the Roman communion. Witness the untimely heat of some turbulent spirits in the House of Commons, which assembled on the 19 of May after his coming to the crowne, who flung a bone among that august assembly which was like to have broken all their teeth, furiously pressing on the then present and imediate revivall of the penall laws, without any exception of the Roman Catholicks, who had undenyable pretences, considering their loyalty and services in the Great Rebellion, to some respite dureing the reign of a prince of their own religion. But the major part of that loyall Parliament wisely fore saw whereto such a preposterous proceeding did tend, and, like faithfull patriots, did readily oppose, and soon quench the flame of that ill-tim'd zeale, resolving without any more adoe (would God none had ever chang'd their minds) firmly to rely on the word of their gracious Prince for the security of their religion and lawes; dutifully expressing their just indignation against those rash, as well as horrid rebells, who did at that time insolently make a desperate attempt to overthrow our ancient monarchy: the Parliament passing a Bill of Attainder in the first place against the arch-rebell and head of that republican crew who were wafted hither from the Low-Countryes, and then afterwardes assisting their Sovereign with their purses and persons to the utmost of their power, till, (by the blessing of God) he had wholly supprest a dreadfull rebellion, which, however small it might be in the begining, might have prov'd fatal to the whole Church as well as Kingdom.

On which wicked and bloody designe we may now make the

more severe reflections, (as things have falln out) since that vile rebellion (after it was hatched in hell) and had been harboured in Holland, and among our neighbours, who make a bad complement to England for raising them from a poor distressed state in the dayes of Queen Elizabeth, to soe high and mighty a republick as to give check to the most potent crowned heads, even to the greatest of their benefactors, and from disputing in the dayes of Charles 2 for the soveraignty of the seas, (an act insolent enough) to contend in the dayes of King James 2 for the soveraignty of the land, and to fight for the imperiall crowne of this Kingdom, if not to wear it on their heads, (which it would badly become) to trample it under their feet; which wou'd be the undoubted issue of a Flemish zeale mixt with gunpowder and brandy, tho' never so much varnish'd over with pretences of liberty and religion.

Wee may learne the favour of the Hollander in the stories of Amboina and Bantam. From Dutch acts of mercy (tho' some I doe behold wou'd not be convinced, a few dayes a goe, that if the Dutch shou'd land they intended us any harme) the Lord deliver me and all the King's obedient subjects, and let those who abound with soe unaccountable and absurd sort of charity onely feel and experiment their compassion. And now, from this seasonable and pertinent digression, I am led to my third perticular of that Visitation-speech which I am epitomizing, to wit:—

The unspeakable and undeserved mercy of Almighty God in the blessed suppression of that diabolick rebellion wherewith the enemyes of our King and Church welcom'd our Sovereign to the Crowne.

A sad welcome for a poor weather beaten prince newly come into the haven, after a long and terrible storme, lately banisht from kingdom to kingdome, and, (which he had reason to think none of the lest penances which heaven had imposed upon him) driven into Holland among the Dutch, who, it is a wonder, did not use violence to him, since they did, imediately upon his coming to the Crowne, countenance and support those rebellious miscreants that sought his royal life; and whose good will and well wishes to those unfortunate rebells (who landed in the west) may now clearly be discovered by the preparations which they have been makeing ever since the victory given by God to our Sovereign att King-Sedgemoor, which disappointment it is plain grieved them, since they are at this very instant maintaining the same quarrell, publishing a noe less wicked manifesto or declaration, only with this difference, that these treacherous enemyes (which in this juncture of affairs have

impudently invaded us) seem a little more angry than those traytors which landed at Lime with the God of heaven, for postponeing their State-holder's pretences to the Crowne by the blessed birth of a hopefull prince, (whom God preserve.) To whom the barbarous Dutch, (and some more barbarous among our selves) have been more bloody than cruell Herod in killing the children, by endeavouring to prove him illegitimate, and disinheritting him, (which Providence, and the King's wisdome and care, seems to have put out of dispute) thereby destroying the hopes and felicity of three kingdomes, in depriveing them of soe unvaluable a blessing as an heir male to succeed and support the monarchy. But to returne: the remarkable justice and vengeance of God in cutting of with great speed those traytors last spoken of, which they had foster'd in their bosome, and assisted with vessells and armes to land, and begin a rebellion in England and Scotland, together with the many signall providences of heaven in frustrating all their wicked designes, bringing to nought all their mischeivous attempts, and makeing that rebellion intended for the ruine of Church and State a means (as rightly improv'd it might have been) the longer to uphold both; should convince (I say) the most stupid Dutch understanding of the heavy displeasure of God against such hatefull hypocrysy as the colouring over secular, unjust, nay treasonable machinations, with the profession of piety. One of the mottos which they att present bear in some of their flaggs, (as reported) *Pro libertate et religione*, for the preservation of liberty and religion. That our neighbours the Dutch, of all others, are become thus zealous and devout, and concerned for the libertyes and religion of England, (as they would have us imagine) is somewhat unintelligible. *Bibit Flander editque bene*, hath been by wise men heretofore assigned for the Flemins' character, and I never since heard of his reformation. Such saviours of our Church (God bless her) wou'd be as bad as the late saviours of our Nation. If heaven were incensed against us in such a degree as to putt us under a necessity of such miserable comforters and friends to support us, it wou'd be hard to know which to choose, a saviour from Amsterdam or Salamanca. All I shall further say, before I proceed to the next particular, is, that as I doe with all my soul, thank and bless heaven for saving the nation from one of these saviours, soe I pray with most fervent zeal (in conjunction with all truly loyall subjects) that we may in due time be saved from the other, trusting in God, nay resting well assured, that we shall have a gracious returne of our prayers if our sins prevent not.

And soe I engage in my last particular of my first discourse, namely,—

Our indispensible obligation both to God and the King to live suitably to such unexpected blessings of heaven, and unmeritted kindness of an indulgent prince.

The mercy of God (you were then told) had been wonderfull beyond expression to our gracious Soveraigne, in first restoring him with his royall brothers, after inumerable difficultyes attending the Great and long Rebellion, afterwards preserving him from the danger of many bloody battells, in defence of his nation against those very enraged enemyes, which would (notwithstanding wee feel their malice) make the world beleive (and some I find arè easy enough to beleive it) that they are our kind, nay religious friends. In the next place delivering him from that never to be forgotten danger of the deep, when the GLOUCESTER perished on the Lemon and Oare*, where God many wayes manifested that he was a prince which heaven took into its speciall and extraordinary protection. Then rescuing him from a greater than any of the former dangers, even from the madness of the people, from the fury of the rabble, from the rage of the incensed multitude, which could not refrain from the highest affronts, stabbing in effigie, judging him unworthy the respect due to a King's brother tho' a Turk or Pagan; not remembering him for a while soe much as in their prayers or cupps. Which spleen and contempt of his sacred person increased to soe high a pitch (I then observ'd) that many, of all degrees and qualityes, (setting themselves against him) would be satisfyed with nothing lesse than a barbarous exclusion of him from the imperiall Crowne, whereto Almighty God, in spite of men and divells, has brought him, with great honour, and to our comfort. God, in whose governance is the hearts of kings, putting it into his royall mind to dispell the fears and jealousyes of his people by the first act he did in councell, before he had wiped the tears from his eyes for his beloved brother; and afterwards makeing him a blessed instrument of suppressing that first Dutch rebellion, which I dare so to stile, since it was formed in Holland, in the common receptacle of Christendom for rebells and traitors, and soe successfull a forge for treason-

* The Duke of York was wrecked upon the Lemon and Ore, about sixteen leagues from the mouth of the Humber, on the morning of May 5th, 1682. A minute and interesting detail of the circumstances of this disaster, and of the Duke's escape, is given in a letter from Sir James Dick, Bart. Lord Provost of Edinburgh, to Mr. Ellies at London. See Original Letters illustrative of English History, edited by Sir Henry Ellis, vol. iv. p. 67.—ED.

able practices that two proscribed ministers (fitter to be smiths than divines) have there hammer'd out a second more divellish conspiracy. Such goodness of God to our Royall family, not leaveing it destitute of a prince of the right line, but settling upon the throne soe accomplished an one, in all respects, that, if hee had been of our own religion, wee should have thought our selves loaded with more happyness than wee had been able to bear. This mercy, I say, in raising a gracious prince (tho' of a different faith) to be the defender of ours in crushing a rebellion, like a cockatrise in the shell, which aimed more att the destruction of the Church than the Crowne, is soe unparellelled a blessing as deserves everlasting praise, and an eternall obligation to conforme our lives to the will and commands of our earthly, as well as heavenly, King. Which wee cannot doe, (give me leave on such occasions alwayes to be your monitor) till we approve our selves truly genuine obedient sons of the Church, as well as dutyfull complying subjects, (I know noe difference in these two epithets of obedient and complying, tho' the last hath been turn'd into a reproach) in all things which are not contrary to the clear Word of God. But I will for a while stopp such enlargements, as well as sett a period to my promised repetition of the most important heads of the first of my four Visitation Discourses propounded to be brought to your view; which I have enlarged by unavoidable digressions, occasion'd by the present wicked and treacherous invasion. I shall sooner pass through the heads of the second [*? and other*] remaining ones, without such additionary reflections, and bring all, I trust, within the compass of less time than what is allowed for both Sermon and Speech att a Visitation.

Speech the 2nd.

The cheif points of my second Discourse I shall lay before you are as followeth.

First, our present King's further expression of his gracious goodness and condescension, in the seasonable and happy renewall of those wholesome and excellent directions to preachers, which were published by his martyr'd father, and sett forth a second time by his royall brother King Charles 2, in the year 1662*: injoyning such a regulation of the pulpit, (out of which have issued our former and our present flames ready to devour

* Charles II.'s Directions to Preachers are given in Cardwell's Documentary Annals of the Church of England. The re-issue of these Directions by James II. bears date 5th March, 1685.—Ed.

us) such exact conformity to our rubrick, such frequent publication (in all parochiall churches) of the doctrine and discipline of our church, such respect to the Lord's day, and cheifly such a training upp of the youth and catechizeing them in the Book of Common Prayer, as was the most likely means (valuable infinitely beyond all disputes and harrangues from either pulpit or press) to preserve the Church of England. And which wee clergy had greedily embraced, (God forgive us that fatal error of neglecting them) had wee not laboured under some kind of infatuation.

Secondly, that bitter invectives against the Pope of Rome (whilst wee live under a prince of the Roman communion) omitting the more sure wayes to preserve our religion allowed by this and the last good king, as well as biting declamations against the non-conformists in the late king's reigne, by those who were themselves but semi-conformists, were an effect of very blameable and dangerous zeale, and had mightily increased our schism and weakened our church. It being not satirycall harrangues in the dayes of King Charles 2 (as I then told you, and still think seasonable to repeat) against the fanaticks, which did, without a compleat conformity to our rules, signalize a right Church of England divine, noe more than furious railing, or hot disputeing against the Pope, or Church of Rome, in the present reigne of King James 2, can give an undeniable demonstration that we are good subjects or firme protestants. Neither of which can evidence us (God knowes) to be the legitimate issue of that Church which was never guilty of boisterous and unmannerly zeale, but alwayes profest and taught, not onely a deep veneration for Majesty, but Christ-like meekness and moderation, exhorting her children to honour the King, as well as fear God, and to be just to all, even to the worst and most implacable of her enemies or impugners.

Thirdly, I shew'd the indispensible duty of every one of us to betake our selves to a more indubitable course than the former, of maintaining our religion by those lawfull means (and much more effectuall than the other) which were allowed by the King, as well as our Church, to save our soules, that is, by liveing according to our doctrine, rather than by talking of it, and most particularly by studying and practiseing our Common Prayer Book, not spending our powder and ball in needless and impertinent pickarings, but laying up a store of ammunition and furnishing our selves by the forsaid prescribed courses with courage and magnanimity against the day of battell.

The fourth and last point recomended to your consideration, then, at that juncture of affairs, (and is still worthy to be

thought of) was, whether that subtle and malicious spirit (who often transforms him selfe into an angell of light, effecting his worst designes under the disguise of holyness) doth not use pretended zeale against, as well as fears and jealousyes of, popery, as the most likely and successfull stratagem to bring it in. I was then and am still of that opinion, and for God's sake doe not despise the honest caution.

Speech the 3rd.

Thus haveing dispatcht the things most worthy of notice contained in my second Discourse, as well as the first, I shall attempt to bring to your view the most significant heads of the third.

And here, waveing sundry arguements then laid before you to submit to your Soveraign's will and pleasure, even in the most unintelligible of all his acts of mercy, I mean that including the fanaticks in his Declaration for liberty of conscience, excess of favour and liberty granted to his owne, as well as our Churches enemies, as allsoe passing over the characters of a right loyall and unalterably obedient subject to the King, and of a true right bred son of our Church, together with that *man of indifference*, that pretends to be both, and yet is neither, which I did then very largely sett before you; as well as the motives to become the two first, that is, good subjects and good Christians;—waving, I say, these and some other matters, that time will not permitt me to reflect on, I shall onely exercise your ears att present with heareing four cautions or directions, which I recomended to my auditory in the conclusion of that charge to the clergy, to wit:—

First, that just reasonable and moderate ground of fear, which every wise man ought to have in our circumstances, might drive us more close home to the throne of grace and God's altar, and make us all acquaint our selves, better than ever heretofore, with our hearts and consciences, takeing such care of the internal exercise of grace and vertue in the soul, (wherein cheifly is the Kingdom of God) and liveing in such obedience both to God and the King, as become the best Christians and subjects, lest that our mercifull God and gracious Prince (on whose grace and favour our felicity did then greatly depend) should for our past or future provocations be incensed, and deprive us of the liberty wee enjoyed in the exercise of our establist religion.

The second was, to take care of the young generation, and never to suffer any youth to depart from the parrishes or fami-

lyes, or approach to the Lord's Supper, without due instruction, and a sufficient degree of knowledge and devotion; (*hic labor, hoc opus est*) and, if you were for any works of supererogation, I prayed you to practice them in this course, permitted to us, (blessed be God and his vice-gerent) nay required of us by his Majesty, in his pious directions to preachers, as before mentioned, whereto we all ought (as I then caution'd you) to keep close, and the neglect whereof hath much contributed, without dispute, to our present misery.

A third advice was, to beware lest a vulgar notion of loyalty, and obedience to your superiours in Church and State, might debauch your understanding, and make you more suspicious of your governours incroachment on the peoples priviledges, than of the peoples sacrilegious invasion of the prerogative of God's vice-gerent. When wee cannot discover in England (especially in the family of the STUARTS) any one instance of the first, but may every day find our lamentable examples of the latter, and that you wou'd remember and be assured that the religion of our Sovereigne did not one jot either lessen, or so much as restrain, the authority or power which he received from God, and not from his subjects, as alsoe be more affraid of, and averse to popular tyranny than the abuses of government, in a monarch who may be supposed to have, as well as his subjects, knowledge, grace, and conscience of duty to his Soveraigne in heaven, to restrain him from an extravagant exercise of his power, and to informe him that his account to God will be more heavy than that of his subjects in case of male-administration.

My fourth and last counsell was, to be just to all men, both to the Romanist and Dissenter. That your aversion to the doctrine of any party, (tho' never soe contrary to your owne) should not, in any manner, exceed your love and concerne for the religion you professed, and tempt you to encourage bare faced violation of truth and justice, when it is in the concern of an enemy or adversary to your opinions.

SPEECH THE 4TH.

THERE remains now onely the last of my four Addresses to be brought to your view, (before I engage in my conclusive reflections) which consisted of three heads, and wherein I spoke by way of caution, (I desire you to remember) rather than accusation.

Three things I did advise and beseech you, in a particular manner, to take heed and beware of, (and soe I shall, in the

name of God, as long as I have the honour to be your Archdeacon) things which really portend much worse than most ground usually assigned in this suspitious age for fears and jealousyes.

The first was a preposterous zeal against our adversaryes, accompanyed too often with a spirit of contradiction.

And which distills more aversion into us, and disgust against our adversaryes person, than principles inclineing us to oppose and confute him, right or wrong, concluding all to be evill in our antagonists, (tho' oftentimes very commendable) and fondly over-weening all to be good, (tho' sometimes very unchristian) in our selves and others of our perswasion. A malady which hath been long the disease of our nation. Our poor Church, ever since the puritan faction began, labouring under the same in such degree, that a spirit of contradiction hath been commonly made the cheif standard and measure of many men's religion and devotion, and the distance they kept from the wayes and sentiments of their opposers, look'd on as an infallible mark of the vertue of their own persons, and truth of their profession. Which opinion and judgment of matters, (tho' never soe popular) are very false weights and measures. By reason, at this rate, the worst men must alwayes be the greatest saints, since in them dwells most hatred and animosity, and bitter aversion to all that is not their owne. Horrid vices are usually the parents of this spirit, which I sett before you, and desire you may all loath.

The second thing I cautioned you against was, men's declining in loyalty and love to their Prince on account of his religion, which doth not in any manner dissolve or abate the bonds of duty and respect in the subject. But, on the contrary, favours receiv'd from such a prince, (such as wee have received as I shewed then more largely) oblige subjects to some more officious respects than are to be paid to a kind prince of our owne perswasion.

The third thing whereof I told you wee ought to beware, was ingratitude to God and the King for those speciall mercyes and acts of grace which wee receive from one and the other, even dureing our murmurings and complaints. Ingratitude to the King I then told you was inseparable from [in]gratitude to God; a good and gracious prince being a choice gift of heaven, and one of the greatest blessings which a nation can enjoy, and he that will not, from the bottom of his heart, returne his thanks and praise for soe inestimable a jewell, is a monster of unthankfullness to the common Governour of the Universe, the greatest of benefactors.

Reflections on some of the points repeated and the circumstances of the Nation att the time of the delivery of this Speech in reference to the invasion.

And now, Reverend Brethren, I have, by the assistance of God, finished the task which I proposed, to wit, of refreshing your memory with recitall of the most important matters which I recomended to your consideration in all my publick Visitation Discourses since the death of the King. And I am sure that there is not one of them but is very worthy of your thoughts, especially in such a juncture of affairs as obliges every man in authority to use the most powerfull arguments which ever were used, to raise men to a high pitch of loyalty and affection to the Crowne of England.

I might very properly, and profitably, farther reflect and enlarge on many of the past perticulars, in these our circumstances, but I shall confine my selfe cheifly to the two last, wherein I did most briefly touch, as most pertinent for our meditation in this day of rebuke and trouble.

All men are now, I suppose, sufficiently convinced (who do not labour under some desperate delusion) of the mischeivous designe of our treacherous neighbours, whom wee shall be ashamed, nay affraid, any more, surely, to stile friends, or to cry, *they will doe us no harme*, (language wherewith my ears have been long grated) it being now by proclamation treason so to doe.

If the Prince of Orange landing with 14000 traytors, (or supporters or abettors of treason) att his heels, (the perticulars of whose forces you have in the last Gazette together with some heads of his rebellious Declaration) will not convince men that there was such a thing as an evill intended invasion, and that there can be noe good designe to our liberty nor religion by soe manifest a violation of both, I shall give them up for lost, for men void of comon sense, and not spend any more pains or breath upon them.

As soon as his Majesty told us in his late Proclamation that he had undoubted advice of a wicked designe to invade and conquer this kingdom, I did, (and thought it my duty soe to do) firmly beleive it, and have ever since accordingly in my poor sphere not only offer'd my most fervent prayers to heaven for the protection of our Gracious King, Church, and Kingdom, but have done all that in me lay, both by word and example, to exhort every person comitted to my charge to defend our King and Country.

And if all persons had been as forward as my poor unworthy selfe to give credit to and rely on the word of our Prince (which I have not yet doubted) the nation had been, it is manifest, in a better state of preparation. Tho', God be praised, his Majesties vigilance hath been such, that, (if the officers continue faithfull) the kingdom is in noe bad posture to receive and requite the malice of our enemyes, tryumphing at last as gloriously over those inveterate foes as he did, three years agoe, over the last rebellious villains which landed in the same country.

Thirty thousand well disciplin'd and loyall subjects, under the banner of soe valiant a prince as ours, are able, undoubtedly, by the blessing of God, (despair not) to encounter any prince in the world, attended on with 14000 rebells, by which appellation I doe no injustice; since, in the case of rebellion and treason, as in that of murder, all companions are adjudged to be accessaryes, and justly are to undergoe their tryall as well as the principall actors.

The goodness of our owne cause, and the badness of our enemyes, is as clear as the sun, and put beyond all maner of doubt or suspition, neither of which can be brought into question by any person but such an one as haveing suck'd in sedition with his milk is antimonarchicall, (whilst he pretends to be antipapisticall) in his nature, and soe much more zealous for the name of protestant, (the worst thing in it) than for the religion of protestants, as to become a well willer to Turks against Christendom, wishing success to infidells, because Cerent Tecli, bearing the name of a protestant, (a rebell and apostate or as bad) is one of their number.

Wee must not think soe blasphemously of the Deity, that the God of heaven (a God of purity and truth) can have more favour to such a rebellious rout than to a loyall army, fighting under the royall standard of their lawfull prince, in defence of an ancient monarchy and most excellent government.

No, no, wee must not imagine that God (who is of purer eyes than to behold any iniquity with approbation) can have regard to such a gathering together of the froward, and insurrection of wicked doers, (as holy David heartily prayes against in the 64 psalm) *who have whet their tongue like a sword, and shout out their arrowes, even bitter words*, where David's character of the wicked (you will easily perceive, if you will take the pains to peruse the whole psalm) exactly agrees with our invaders, both the wickedness and secrecy of their undertakeing haveing been such as he describes. But as his character and complaint in the former part of the psalme doth well agree with those of our enemyes, so I trust in God, and heartily pray, that the latter

and prophetick part may be verifyed of them likewise, v. 7, 8, 9. *But God shall suddenly shoot at them with a swift arrow, that they shall be wounded, yea their own tongues shall make them to fall, insomuch that whosoe seeth them shall laugh them to scorn, and all men that see it shall say, this hath God done, for they shall perceive it is his work.*

Many considerations, together with God's providence in bringing this and other pertinent psalms to the Churches use, since certaine intelligence of the enemyes landing, do (for my perticular) encourage me to put my trust in God that he will not give us upp (I am sure he will not, unless our sins rise to a higher pitch than theirs) as a prey to our malicious enemyes.

If all orders of men amongst us, who have transgressed his righteous laws, and render'd (to use the words of our prescribed prayers) both his mercyes and judgments ineffectuall to our amendment, do but unfeignedly confess to God and heartily repent for such their provocations, turning away from their wickedness (for which it is not yet too late) hee will be pleas'd to turne away from us his wrath, which now hangs over our heads and doth grievously threaten us.

But let us all rest assured that we of England can never be throughly reconciled to Almighty God (and soe much I dare in his name to assure you) without repenting of our ingratitude (or the late odious unparellell'd ingratitude) to our Sovereigne, as well as himselfe, which brings me home to the topicks that are of all other at this time most pertinent for our consideration. Which ingratitude, I say your ingratitude to God and the King, which, among other sinns and inumerable impietyes (many of which I fear cry for vengeance) doth dare heaven not only to chastise us it selfe, but to make us to be rebuked of our neighbours, and a by word among the heathens, suffering us to be laught to scorn and had in derision of those that are round about us. The least [*of*] which the best of us at this crisis may justly dread for our late (as well as former) wretched requitalls that wee have made for the mercy and bounty of our Father in heaven and his deputy on earth. I shall not omitt the repetition thereof (tho' late carriages and transactions perswade [*me*] it will be unpleasant to some of your ears) since out of Gods rodds we may at this very instant pluck a fescue to teach us our lesson.

We have impudently defyed heaven by all imaginable provocations, but by nothing more (I am not affraid nor asham'd yet to harp upon my old string) than by our contempt of it in makeing bold with its vice-gerent. Tho' God hath blessed us

English with a more happy race of kings than any nation in the world can boast of, yet it is notorious that no people under the sun have transgress'd more egregiously by murmuring and complaints, or that hath coppyed out with more exactness the unthankfullness, infidelity, and distrust of the impenitent and hard hearted Jewes, both in reference to God himselfe in heaven, and their conductors Moses and Aaron here on earth.

If God in his wrath had sent us a wicked heathenish persecutor, a Nero, a Caligula, or Dioclesian, to reigne over us, we must with confusion have confessed that it had been much less than we deserv'd. And yet we (the most incorrigible people I think under heaven) are soe squeamish that we cannot digest a Christian monarch, gracious and mercifull even to wonder, a prince who hath demonstrated himselfe, beyond all gainsaying, to be a true son of King Charles the Martyr, who was a king (I am perswaded) of the greatest clemency that ever was upon the face of the earth, cannot digest, I say, a sovereign endowed with all those graces (and a multitude of other kingly qualityes relating to war and government) merely because he is not of our oppinion in point of religion; tho' he gives us noe other disturbance in the exercise of ours than to desire liberty for himselfe and party to enjoy their own.

Since we have thus ungodlyly browbeaten, struggled with, and in a maner disclaimed, if not rejected, such a Christian prince, God in his justice threatens to give us upp a prey to our enemyes, and the worst masters upon the face of the earth.

Our abhorr'd ingratitude to his royall brother and [*him*] selfe (without putting into the scales our other inumerable sins and impietyes) may give us just ground to fear that our incens'd God may designe to teach us submission and subjection by soe severe a method as to make us (who have been yet one of the freest and most happy nations of Europe) *truckle* to an upstart comonwealth and an anti-monarchicall generation, who, by their continuall sheltring, encouraging, and assisting of traytors, proclaime their enmity to the very name of King, and that they would not leave (if they could have their will) one crown'd head in Christendom.

But let us not be discouraged or despond overmuch. Our condition (blessed be God) is far from desperate; England cannot be destroyed unless it destroy it selfe. If wee will in this our day but forsake our sins, and stoop first to the God of heaven, and afterwards to his anointed servant our indulgent Sovereign, as far as he hath for this last moneth past condescended to the requests of his people; flinging the worst of

traytors, our sins, out of our bosomes, and I doe not doubt but wee shall soon drive the Dutch victoriously out of the land.

To conclude.

It may perchance, Bretheren, seem a little out of the road to employ in this my sole charge to the Clergy (as I have done) the whole time allotted both for sermon and the other ordinary application. But I pray consider that I speak to you in a very extraordinary time, which requires every one of us (publick persons) to doe, if he can, something extraordinary in the discharge of his duty. And besides, 'tis a time of danger and warr, which may be attended on, if God in his mercy doth not prevent, with blood and confusion. Soe that I cannot assure my selfe ('twould be a sin not to fear when God threatens) that I may live to speak to you in this place any more (*anceps fortuna belli*) tho' I declare I have not such dreadfull apprehensions as some may have of this unnaturall war, but support my selfe with a good measure of confidence that God will give the King speedily the necks of his enemyes, since he hath, by his late gracious condescensions and assurances, regained (I am willing to hope) the hearts of his friends. Which desireable issue nothing can withold heaven from bestowing upon us, but impenitency, and more perticularly the want of humility to confess the errours which we, the leaders of our flocks, have been guilty of, and to owne the false steps we have made to the misguiding of our people.

I doe, as well as the King, next under God, rely on the brave antient valour of the English nation: English men fighting with swords, while their enemyes put their trust cheifly in lyes and libells.

When our royall and puissant Soveraigne appears in the head of his troops, his example sure must needs animate and create valour in the most dispiritted coward, and had I not indispensably devoted my selfe to serve my King by serving our Church, (and obliged my selfe to pray rather than fight for his crowne) I would be the first man that should run to the royall standard, and please my selfe to think that, in defence of my King and Country, I should have the honour of some of my ancestors to fall in the field, or be buryed in the field.

Let not my earnestness (Brethren) make you conceit that I suspect your loyalty and allegiance, which I hope and desire you will all speedily manifest, by a loyall address to his majesty, to shew your abhorrence of the injustice and unnaturallness of the invasion, and that you will ever, in remembrance of your

oaths, stand by him, and serve him to the uttermost with your lives and fortunes.

It is the indispensable duty of a faithfull Visitor to quicken his Clergy in such an exigent, and with integrity of heart I now do it, that I may give you true measures whereby you may set right your people.

I doe acknowledge my selfe a very feeble (tho' I hope honest) supporter of the Church and Crowne of England. But, however, I have not soe bad an oppinion of my selfe, God be praised, as to be ashamed (here among you) either of my life or doctrine.

And to evince that I am not, I have this day repeated the substance, or cheif heads, of what I have laid before you dureing the last four years of my office, which none can deny hath been a time of great temptation and tryall.

I commend you to God's blessing and protection.

I'le say but one word more (and God knows whether it may not be the last I may ever say in this place) and it shall be this:—CONTEND AND FIGHT, AS WELL AS PRAY, AS HEARTILY AS YOU PLEASE, AGAINST OUR INSOLENT NEIGHBOURS THE DUTCH: BUT CEASE TO DISPUTE WITH YOUR PRINCE.

THE

DEAN OF DURHAM'S REASONS

FOR HIS

WITHDRAWING INTO FRANCE;

IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE

PRINCE OF ORANGE'S INVASION,

AND DRIVEING THE KING BY THE SWORD OUT OF THE KINGDOM OF ENGLAND:

IN CERTAIN LETTERS.

A LETTER TO HIS BROTHER THE EARLE OF BATHE.

Printed at Rotien, by Wm. Machuell, ruë S. Lo, near the pallace, for John Baptiste Besogne, ruë Escuyer, at the Royall Sun, and are to be sold by Augustine Besogne, in the Great Hall of the pallace at Paris.

IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD M.D.C.LXXXIX.

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER.

THE reader is desired to understand, that when the Author first set pen to paper, soon after his landing in France, in the moneth of March last past, that he did not designe to print this and the ensueing letters, or the foregoeing discourses. His intentions, at that time, being onely in a few lines to discharge the obligations which he did, in civility rather than religion, owe to his friends and relations (spirituall and natural) in England, after so sudden a separation and mighty revolution, by informing them, in an ordinary way of writeing, first, of what passed in refference to himselfe and Cures Ecclesiasticall, dureing the disturbances occasioned by the Prince of Orange. Secondly, that he did continue (by God's grace) to be the very same *person* that they discerned him to be at parting, and which he had ever professed himselfe, even an unalterable, firm *son of the Church of England, as first establish'd, as well as a right loyal subject to his Sovereign; resolved never to own any new sovereign, set up by subjects, in the room of God's lawfull vice-gerent.*

But the changeablenes of times, and variety of publick occurrences, which did render it difficult for persons in his circumstances to fix positively in any determination, caus'd him, on second thoughts, to undertake the enlargement of the said letters, for the satisfaction of his owne conscience rather then their curiosity, and likewise to publish to the world the account of himselfe and actings, which he made to his brother and bishop, together with the wholesome advice he gave at parting to the members of Durham Cathedrall, and Clergy of his Diocesse: to the end that no person whatsoever under his authority might be ignorant of his behaviour and demeanure in a time of great apostasy. but be throughly informed and well assured the better to keep them from falling that he did, to the very last, practise the doctrine which he ever taught: and was so unmoved in the just exercise of the publick worship, and in the due employment of the functions of his calling, as to perform all the offices of those religious loyall subjects that could then actually and all commands to submit. whatever he did or ordered in the practice of those

of morals, or by his profession in regard of his religion: nay, one who was more ambitious to suffer with his afflicted Prince abroad, than to keep his preferments at home, (tho' in their kind some of the best in England) with a blemish of being accessary to the rebellion, as his conscience assured him he should have been, if hee had (after his manner of preaching and practice) but staid at Durham, and sat still, without opposing those who were (he conceived) labouring, by dethroning his Soveraigne, to unkinge the antient government both in Church and State; or else held his tongue and stopt his pen, after he was got by a happy providence out of the reach of the King's enemyes, to gain the liberty whereof, it was one cheif part of his design in leaving the nation.

Which liberty and oppertunity, hee thought himselfe, in all good conscience, the more readily and heartily obliged to embrace, since he was debarr'd the pulpit, and deprived of the ordinary publick exercise of his ministry, being not contented to preach by his example onely, but, according to the rule of the Apostle St. Paul, out of season as well as in season, by letters, advice, and exhortations, at all times, in all places, on all fitt occasions, and to all persons, (to whom his duty bound him to apply himselfe) as far and as well as he was able. His zeal, by a kind of *antiperistasis*, (the defection reaching his own, till this time, ever loyall family) being increas'd as well as his resolution.

But how soe many of such antient, noble houses, and till this late epidemicall infection, in a most exemplary maner faithfull to the Crown, should be tainted in the least wise with the horrid sin of rebellion, he cannot divine, nor give any reason for the same, unless the air of England did begin to grow as contagious as the plague of Athens, which bred more diseases in the soules of men than in their bodies, corrupting (as it is storyed) their very moralls.

Yet whatever intoxicating virtue may have been in the clime, under the planet that reigned in '88, that all should be true which is reported of some of his owne kindred, he beggs pardon if he prove a very infidell, it being not in the power of all the logicians in the world to convince him that it is possible for one descended from his dear loyall father Sir Bevill Granville to dye a rebell, more than 'tis probable that the lately landed English rebells shou'd long prosper or subsist in Ireland, where noe venomous beast can live.

These considerations, together with the difficulty of sending large pacquets by the post into another kingdom, the danger of miscarriage, at a juncture when few letters went without open-

ing, the seriously and well weighing the vote of the (pretended) House of Commons to forbid all intercourse with France after the first of August; and, more especially, the frequent reflection on his bodily infirmityes (fearing he might never be in the like condition of strength and understanding to unburthen his conscience if he slipped soe fair an occasion) did cause him to make as much hast as he could, thus to comit his thoughts thus [*sic*] to writeing, and to communicate them by this sure method of printing his letters, which were not compleated till the end of October last. Wherein, if neither the reader, nor persons to whom he writes, (more than in the discourses preceding) find any excellency of stile, or matter of modern policy, or modish learning, they may yet meet with what the Author is more proud of, and in this present age and juncture very extraordinary, as well as more valuable, that is to say, honesty and courage enough to be faithfull to his King, last year in spight of the *Mobile*, and this year in spight of the Usurpation.

Rouen, Nov. 27, 1689 *.

* The date is added in manuscript in the printed copy.—Ed.

TO THE EARLE OF BATHE *.

EVER HONOURED AND DEAR SIR,

THAT I never so much as once presented my duty to your lordship since I left London, nor gave you any account of my selfe dureing the moneths of Oct. and Nov. last past, I need not, I

* Sir John Granville, Earl of Bath, the author's brother, to whom this letter was addressed, was the eldest son of Sir Bevil Granville, Knt. of Stowe in the parish of Kilkhampton, Cornwall. He was born in 1628, and was entered at Oxford, as a member of Gloucester Hall. He succeeded to the Kilkhampton estates at a very early age, after the death of his father on the field of Lansdowne. He was one of those who subscribed the famous letter to the Earl of Essex, which in the opinion of many gave hopes of peace. He was an attached and devoted follower of Charles I., and was wounded at the battle of Newbury. The government of the Scilly islands was intrusted to him, after they revolted from the Parliament. In 1652 he married Jane, daughter of Sir Peter Wych, who was twelve years ambassador at Constantinople, and had been Comptroller of the Household to Charles I. Sir John was deeply concerned in the negociations between Gen. Monk and Charles II. On the Restoration he became one of the principal Secretaries of State, and in April 1661 was created Lord Granville of Kilkhampton and Bideford, Viscount Lansdowne and Earl of Bath, with a warrant to use the foreign titles of Carboil, Thorigny, and Granville. Soon after the accession of James II. he was removed from his office of Groom of the Stole, which was given to Lord Peterborough. On the Duke of Monmouth's landing at Lyme in Dorsetshire, the Earl of Bath raised a regiment for the King's service. The zeal which the Earl of Bath shewed for the protestant religion occasioned him, however, to be little consulted or employed by James II., and he eventually declared for the Prince of Orange. After seizing on the citadel of Plymouth he admitted part of the Dutch fleet within the harbour, and secured the island of Jersey by sending his own regiment, commanded by his nephew Bevil Granville. The Earl was opposed to a regency, and voted for declaring the Prince and Princess of Orange King and Queen. He was sworn one of King William's Privy Council, and was continued in his former offices. James II. so much resented his conduct that he was excepted in 1692 from his promise of general pardon. The Earl built a magnificent mansion at Stowe, of which scarcely a vestige remains. Dr. Borlase speaks of it as by far the noblest house in the west of England, and says that the kitchen offices fitted up for a dwelling house made no contemptible figure. The cedar wainscot bought out of a Spanish prize, and used by the Earl of Bath for fitting up the chapel in this mansion, was purchased by Lord Cobham at the time of its demolition (the house being sold piecemeal) and applied to the same purpose at Stowe in Bucks, the seat of the Grenvilles there. The carving of this chapel is said by Defoe to be by Michael Chuke, and not inferior to Gibbon's.

By a singular fatality the Earl's eldest son, Charles, was killed by the accidental discharge of a pistol before his father's funeral, so that it was observed there were three Earls of Bath above ground at one time. William Henry, son of Charles, died under age and without issue in 1711, when the title became extinct, and the Kilkhampton estate passed to his aunt and coheir Grace Granville, who married George, Lord Carteret, and was afterwards (being then a widow) created by George I. Countess of Granville, with remainder to her son John, who inherited that title and the Kilkhampton estate. On the death of Robert, second Earl of Granville, in 1776, that title became extinct, and the Kilkhampton estate passed under his will to his nephew Henry Frederic Thynne, second son of Viscount Weymouth, who had married his sister Louisa. Mr. Thynne was created Lord Carteret in 1784.—ED.

conceive, make any apology. All ceremonious respects being then swallowed upp by the great concerns and transactions of the year '88, that *Annus mirabilis*, which wholly employed the head and hearts of all men. And since that time my rolling posture, change of measures and resolutions, occasioned by the uncertainty and change of affairs and persons at the helme, together with the cross accidents which I have by land and sea met withall, (through which God hath of his mercy well carryed me) would not permit me to salute you with that formality as became me; wherefore I have hitherto continued silent. But being now more fix'd and easy, and got where I have been aiming ever since I left my station, (on the 11th Dec.) I cannot soe farr forget my selfe, as longer to deferr the presentation of my humble duty and service, and give you some account of my behaviour and motions last winter, together with my present state and condition, both as to body and mind. I have retained that honour and duty for you that I have given lest [*? less*] credit than any other to what I have met with concerning you, either in written or printed newes, (wherein I have met with many things that have troubled me) and I hope you will be pleased to have the goodness to afford small regard to any reports or discourses concerning me which may have flowne to your ears, contrary to the tenour of what I write.

About the end of September last, on the first intelligence of the Dutch invasion, I retired to my Cures in the country: first to Sedgefield, and then to Easington; useing my utmost zeale and discretion in my private discourses, as well as publick sermons, to establish my people (in soe sad a day of temptation when some starrs of the first magnitude fell from heaven) in the essentiall dutyes of subjection and allegiance to their Soveraign, shewing that subjects were upon noe consideration whatsoever, neither of religion, liberty, nor life, to resist or desert their lawfull soveraigne, tho' he were no better than such a one St. Paul lived under, when he writ the Epistle to the Romans, not only a heathen, but a cruell persecutor, a Nero, a Caligula, or a Dioclesian: and that subjects to a Christian prince, and to a prince soe mercifull and gracious as ours, by consequence would be more guilty, if they should rebell against, or resist him, merely because he professed a different religion.

After I had endeavoured thus to approve my selfe a faithfull sheepherd in takeing care of my country flocks, I repaired to my Deanery att Durham, with the honest designe of demonstrating my fidelity to my Soveraign, and my mother the Church of England, being perwaded that their interest could never be separated; wherefor I summoned my brethren the

Prebendaryes together into our Chapterhouse, where I propounded to them the assisting of the King, in soe sad an exigent, with their purses, as well as their prayers, with which motion all present complyed, giveing readily their consent with their voices, as all absent (saveing one) did by their letters. Which occasion[ed] an Act of Chapter to the effect following, to wit, that the Dean should advance one hundred pounds, and every Prebend fifty, for his Majestyes service, towards the raising of horse and men, if occasion should require, and to be disposed of to the aforsaid ends and purposes, in such maner as our Bishop should appoint.

And this I did, not thinking it any very considerable service to the King to give him 700*l.* sterling (to which sum it would amount) but that this act of ours might be an occasion of setting the wheel a goeing (and at that time 'twas not too late) through the Kingdom: conceiving it noe sin (in such an extraordinary juncture) to lead the van, in point of loyalty to my Prince, since the Diocesse and Archdeaconry of Durham (none can deny) had been all along dureing the time of Bishopp Cosins, and ever since, a notable example, to the whole nation, of conformity to the lawes and dutifull regard to his Majestyes honour and interest.

In the next place, remembring that I bore another ecclesiastick office and dignity in the Church of Durham, about the begining of Nov. I summon'd all the Clergy of my Archdeaconry together, (who met on the 15th) labouring, in the absence of my superiour the Bishopp, (who was gone up to London) to give them right measures in point of Church of England loyalty and religion, laying before them the indispensable necessity of their personall assistance of their Soveraigne, as far as any were obliged, and exerting their zeal to secure their flocks, that they might not be seduced from their allegiance by the canting sophistry and distinctions of the age.

And tho' the zeal I then evidenced in my Visitation Speech hath had since, as formerly, small effect (as is too visible by the Clergyes generall complyance with their new Governours and Government, and renouncing their old) yet it will serve at all times to proclaime that their Archdeacon did on that occasion (as hee had done before) faithfully deliver his soul.

Fourthly, beleiveing it might be some service to his Majesty for both Clergy and Layty to shew their abhorrence of that unnaturall invasion which was then feared; I moved first my brethren of the Chapter, and afterwards my brethren of the Bench, to joyne with me in an address of that nature to his Majesty, but the first refuseing, and the last (all but two) wave-

ing, the same, I thought my selfe (the most publick person in the Bishopp's absence) obliged to give a demonstration of my own loyalty, which I was not affraid to doe, (tho' the Prince of Orange was at that time advanced as far as Salibury) and accordingly on Nov. 27 sent to his Majesty by the post an assurance thereof, in an address which was intercepted by the Lord Danby *, Lord Lumly †, and other lords at York, whereof I desire your lordshipp's permission to annex a true coppy to this

* Sir Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby, co. York, and Viscount Latimer of Danby, afterwards Marquis of Caermarthen and Duke of Leeds. One of the principal instruments in bringing about the Revolution. He was born in 1632, and lost his father at an early age. He came early into parliament, and was among the most strenuous of those who opposed the earl of Clarendon, and finally succeeded in overthrowing that great minister. He was made Lord Treasurer and Earl of Danby in 1673. In 1678 articles of impeachment were prepared against him, in which he was charged with entrenching on the King's prerogative, and endeavouring to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical rule, favouring the popish party, and other political crimes. He was committed to the Tower and not liberated until 1684. His next appearance in public life was at the trial of the seven bishops, whose cause he espoused. He is supposed to have held communication with the Prince of Orange, during the reign of King James, through his son, lord Dumblaine. He was one of those by whom the plan of operations was settled, as respected the counties of York, Derby, and Nottingham, if the Prince succeeded in making a descent. The original plan was that the Prince should land in the Humber; but when the landing was effected in another part of the kingdom, the Earl of Danby still acted according to the plan which had been settled, and seizing upon York, removed Sir John Reresby, the governor, and put the lord Dumblaine in his place. "Danby," says Lord Macaulay, "acted with rare dexterity." On the 13th Feb. 1688-9, he was made Lord President of the council, and soon after Lord Lieutenant of the west riding of Yorkshire. To the gratitude of William III. he owed his advancement to the dignities of Marquis of Caermarthen, and Duke of Leeds. He died 26 July, 1712, in his 81st year, and was buried at Harthill, co. York. See Hunter's So. Yorkshire, i. 143.—Ed.

† Of whom Surtees gives the following account (Hist. Durham, ii. 160):—"Richard, Viscount Waterford, created an English peer [by the title of Baron Lumley of Lumley Castle] in 1681, and Earl of Scarborough in 1690, one of the most honourable and unimpeached characters of his age. The Earl of Scarborough had entered early into the army, and had fought against Monmouth at Sedgmore. He afterwards forsook the court, on the manifestation of James's arbitrary intentions, appeared openly to countenance the seven burning lights of the Church of England, the seven Bishops, on their trial, and ran the hazard of maintaining a private correspondence with Mons. Dykevelt, the Prince of Orange's resident. On the eve of the Revolution he retired into the North, and secured Newcastle for the popular interest. He afterwards argued powerfully in support of the resolution that the throne was vacant, and voted for settling the Crown on the Prince and Princess of Orange. His subsequent honours and employments may be seen in any Peerage. He attended King William at the Boyne, at the Congress of the Hague, and in his several campaigns till the peace of Ryswick. In the next reign he was a commissioner for the Union; and on the accession of George I. one of the peers entrusted with the government until the king's arrival. He was afterwards Vice-Treasurer, Receiver-General, and Paymaster, of Ireland. The Earl of Scarborough (who under every Whig administration was Lord Lieutenant both of Durham and Northumberland, and Vice-Admiral of both counties) was the last of his family who bore such office in the North, or had much immediate connection with Durham."—Ed.

letter, to prevent the abuses which may be occasioned by that paper's falling into the hands of my enemyes.

Moreover, considering my selfe once more in the capacity of a civill magistrate, as well as ecclesiasticall, I did a few dayes after desire my brethren, Justices and Deputy Lievtenants, to give me a meeting, to consult about serving his Majesty to the utmost of our powers, (hearing as yet nothing from our Bishop) and more particularly how to defend our selves against the lords and gentlemen who had seiz'd on York for the Prince of Orange, and were some of them advancing northwards, to secure Durham and Newcastle. But this honest zeal of mine was, by their shunning this opportunity of meeting, likewise rendered fruitless, and the Lord Lumley, on Wednesday the 5th of Dec., surprized us, and entered Durham (whilst I was preaching in the pulpit of the Cathedrall in my course, it being the first Wensday in Advent) with 50 horse, or thereabouts, and sundry gentry of that and the county of York: imediately after his arrivall sending one Capt. Ireton, with ten troopers, up to my door, to seize on my arms and horses, which I refuseing to deliver, or wait on his lordshipp, he in his lord's name confined me to my house dureing his stay in that citty.

On Thursday following, the Lord Lumley, without any opposition, read the Prince of Orange's Declaration at the Castle, in the presence of most of the Deputy Lieutenants, Justices, and Gentry, who flock'd in to his lordshipp, and by their complyance encourag'd him to send to the Magistrate of Newcastle, to demand reception there, but being refus'd admittance, the Saturday after hastily and with some precipitation return'd, he and his company, to York, after haveing read publickly at the market cross the Prince of Orange's Declaration, attended on by a great number of gentry, and the country troop; but, I thank God, there were noe horses nor men of mine (tho' the Dean at other times sent four) to increase the number, and honour that ceremony, which hindered severall of the Clergy (at that time) to send in theirs, to the lessening of the appearance.

Hereupon, I did judge it meet the next day after, being Sunday, to preach again, tho' I had done it lately in my own proper person in the Cathedrall pulpit, a seasonable loyall sermon, (suitable to my past life and actions in that country) to perswade the members of that church, and all the auditory, to stand firm to their allegiance in that day of temptation, and never to joyn in the least wayes with that horrid rebellion which was at that time sett on foot in the nation. Which ser-

mons I have printed, to justify me to all the world (if the publication of these doe not do it) from being accessary to the defection which then began (to the intolerable vexation of my mind) in that conformable county; which had, till the summer past, by its forward obedience and dutifull respects, stuck [*so*] close to the Crowne, that his late Majesty was wont to stile it his loyall county of Durham.

Thus was God pleas'd to assist a poor, weak, inconsiderable member (exalted beyond his merit to a high station) of the Church of England, with fidelity and courage to maintain his post, against the abettors of that unnaturall invasion, which, it was easy to foresee, would bee (as it hath been) attended on by an intolerable usurpation of the Crown, and violation of the lawes, and finally, if God should not of his mercy, by some kind of miracle, prevent, the utter ruine of the Church of England, and, consequently, of those who at first invited the sword into the land, and betook themselves to a desperate remedy, a thousand times worse than the disease complained of.

And here, before I proceed in my intended relation of some other passages, I desire permission to insert a few lines to obviate some censures which I expect to meet with.

To such, therefor, as shall endeavour to destroy the reputation of my sincerity and zeal, in sticking to the cause of a Roman Catholick soveraign, by the greatness of the example of those who have deserted it, in complying with the Prince of Orange, (alledging that it is not likely that the single Dean of Durham should be in the right, and so many eminent persons of greater learning, wisdom and piety, in the wrong, who have given notable testimonyes of their loyalty by their suffering and confessions in the Great Rebellion of England dureing the banishment of King Charles 2) to such I declare that I have nothing to say for my selfe, but must returne, with a *non nobis Domine*, all the glory to God, who is sometimes pleased to make use of the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty, and to reveal unto babes what he hides from the wise and prudent, assisting, within times of persecution, poor illiterate men and women, when many great philosophers and mighty clerks have quitted a righteous cause and shamefully deserted the truth.

I do with all humility acknowledge it to be purely the grace of God (the wind of whose Spirit bloweth where it listeth) which hath supported and carryed me through all those blasts of temptation which have thrown downe divers strong pillars of the temple, preserving me from the contagion of the age, the spirit of popularity and republicanisme, whereby Satan (trans-

forming himselfe into an angell of light) hath tainted the generality of the English nation, of all sorts and degrees, and which hath in the upshot (as 'tis too visible to all the world) proved their overthrow, and the fall (never enough to be lamented) of noble personages, who had, as well as their ancestors, suck'd in loyalty with their milk, shed their blood to uphold the monarchy, and seem'd to be the surest supporters of the Crowne.

And thus much I have been obliged to insert here, tho' I could more willingly have left it unsaid, if it had [*not*] been forced from me by the malicious objections of my enemyes and common justice to my selfe and the cause I maintaine, it being impossible for me to persevere in the King's quarrell which I have espoused, without holding fast with great resolution my integrity, and bearing witness to the truth. Besides, I am not ashamed, nay, think it my duty to owne, that I am firmly and strongly persuaded, without doubt or scruple, that my present principles and practices of loyalty to my Soveraign, and past obedience to the Church of England's rules (how singular soever by some men it may be thought) are sound and orthodox, being founded upon soe clear Scripture and reason as sets a man, in this particular, above any example upon earth.

Nay, I am not affraid to proclaime to all the world that I dare rebuke by my actions (tho' not otherwise) the greatest man alive who dares transgress those plaine precepts of God, which I shall ever deem a great sin to separate, to wit, FEAR GOD and HONOUR THE KING.

Tho' I have soe great veneration and respect for hundreds of eminent persons, spirituall and temporall, who have, to the admiration of all men, lately been imposed on (by what kind of magick it is hard to understand) to court and complement their owne misery, that in dubious matters I am not soe bold as to resist the power of their examples, which in such things I acknowledge a conductor safe enough to guide their inferiors, who ought to suspect their owne judgments and sentiments, when they have noe clear light to lead them, rather than those of their governours in Church and State, whom they owne to be wiser and better men.

But to stick close to the service and interest of my lawfull Soveraigne, (who is a soveraign never the less lawfull for his afflictions or for his religion) and to obey him too, as I am resolved, in all things which are not *malum in se* (if he absolutely requires it) whatever may be the consequences; is a point wherein I am soe well satisfyed, that I am ambitious to be instrumentall in convincing all who depend on me, or my Juris-

dictions, if I cannot others, of a truth so necessary and seasonable for the consideration of subjects in a rebellious age.

Indeed I am soe farr from being ashamed, that I am tempted to a little kind of pride to think I brought this, and some other like points, to discussion last summer; the generall eviction whereof (however they were despised or opposed) would have stopt multitudes from running with full career to put their necks (by the expulsion of their own undoubted gracious Soveraign) under the yoke of a forreign power. And it may not be altogether unworthy of their thoughts who were so angry with them, and made soe much noise about them, whether their anger did not proceed from the serviceableness of my doctrine to the King's interest, which they were about to destroy: those propositions which I asserted strikeing at the very root of the contraversy betwixt the King and subjects of England, (viz.) whether the supremacy should be in the King or in the people. A galled horse (pardon the similitude) shewes where he is sore by his unwillingness to be handled, and the serpent directs where a man should strike by defending his head.

But how greatly soever I was hereby exposed to censure, [*and*] made the talk and scoff of some Divines and others over their cupps of coffee, upon the interception of a letter to my ever honoured friend . . . . . and other treacherous publication of some Queryes, which were canvassed up and downe about a year ago, under the name of the Dean (and sometimes falsely under the name of the Bishopp) of Durham, I am very well pleased and greatly comforted that I had then soe much honesty and courage as notwithstanding great opposition, powerfull examples, and persuasions to the contrary, to assert the prerogative of my King, and to make an attempt towards the conviction of others committed to my charge, which were the only persons for whom those Queryes were first designed: being certain propositions (of the verity of which I made no doubt) containing the reasons of my forward complyance with his Majesty, which I drew into queryes, for the private consideration of some young Divines I had under my roof, requireing them effectually to answer them in writing, with reasoning which would bear the eye, or to comply, as I had done, with the King.

Which honest and loyall Queryes, tho' good sense, I am sure, when they were first stole out of my study at Durham, being, after passing through divers hands, I know not how disguised, and by some styled the nonsensicall Queryes of the Dean of Durham, I shall crave leave alsoe to publish in the postscript of this letter, giveing you noe more trouble till then, about them,

or my own justification: but craveing pardon for soe long a digression, return and proceed in my intended narration of some farther transactions relateing to his Majestyes service, and mine owne escape out of England in order to repair to him.

Notwithstanding, then, all that I had done, recited in the begining of this letter, upon the first allarm of the Prince of Orange's designe to invade England, and tho' I had (God be thanked) honestly discharged a good conscience in opposeing by my words and actions, to the uttermost of my power, the then growing rebellion, as I had, all along, the increase of the temper which was at that time burst out into a dreadfull flame, whereto I discerned my selfe too weak to make any further opposition, (many of my owne brethren deserting, nay opposing me) I say, without all this I could not satisfy my selfe without sending away a faithfull servant to his Majesty expresse, with an account of that county, together with a duplicate of those papers, before mentioned, which were intercepted, letting the King understand that I despaired, as things went, (and so did those few loyall friends who concurred with me) of doing his Majesty any further service in that place.

Haveing done all that lay in my power, in all my capacityes, by my most vigorous endeavours towards the support of the Crowne and the Church of England, and seeing my selfe absolutely uncapable to act further for his Majesty as I had done, and to discharge my conscience there, in soe metamorphosed a place, I resolved, after earnest prayer to God to direct me, to preserve my innocency by flight, since I cou'd not doe it by sitting still and staying in Durham, (if I should escape the joal, which I had little reason to hope) after an honest loyall activity which God had given me the grace to practice, especially dureing the year past, and therefor bethought my selfe of flying away secretly to the King, to owne his cause when I could not otherwayes serve him, commending my flock and charge, both in Durham and elsewhere in the Bishopprick, to God's wise and gracious protection, signifying my mind by letter to my deputyes, both in Durham and the country, and hopeing to edify them more by such expression of my loyalty and religion, in adhereing to my Soveraign when the defection began to be generall, than I was like to doe by such sermons or example as the new authority would permit me to give them.

And accordingly, on the 11th Dec., at midnight, by the help of two faithfull servants which I did dare trust, I got my horses prepared, and was conducted by one of them that night to Hexam, where I procured an honest guide to Carlisle, the

nearest of the King's garrisons, and the most considerable place (as I conceived) which then held out for the King; Hull being reduced the week before.

I had noe sooner got to Carlisle (where I was very kindly received by Mr. Howard, the Governour, Coll. Purcell, Capt. Hern, and other officers there) but the very day after, being Saturday, the post brought in the dismall newes of the defeat of some of his Majestyes troops at Reading, and others deserting in such sort that he was forced to withdraw out of the kingdom, together with some intimations to the Governour that it was to noe purpose for him to hold out the place, but that he, being a Roman Catholick, it would be most prudent, and not displeasing to his Majesty, for him to retire, and leave the government to the old Governour, to wit, Sir Christopher Musgrave, who came into this town on Saturday night, and entered on the government, appearing in the Governour's seat, on Sunday the 15th, in the cathedrall.

This direfull catastrophe, which did both astonish and afflict me, to see our Soveraign, a gracious prince, treated with so much brutality, betrayed by those he thought his best friends, deserted by his nearest relations, forbidden his own palace, and forced out of his kingdom, did imediately, without much consideration, incline me to leave it alsoe, to manifest my just indignation against rebellion and treachery, which had then spread themselves almost over the whole nation, and did resolve accordingly to hasten into France, to share with my Soveraign in his misfortunes.

In order whereunto (after I had visited the Bishopp of Carlisle* at Rose Castle, craved his benediction, and deposited with his Lordshipp some solemne assurances of liveing and dying in the right Church of England religion) I departed from Carlisle on Wensday the 19th towards Scotland, with a single servant, a Scotchman, whom I had newly entertained to conduct me to Edinburgh, hoping at Leith, or some other sea port on that coast, to procure shipping for France. But resting a day or two, att a certain place called Allison Bank on the borders, to conferr with an honest loyall gentleman who had engaged there to meet me, I fell into the hands of the rabble who then with fury raged up and down, on the fireing of the beacons thereabouts, very rashly and indiscreetly, by some credulous and

* Thomas Smith, S.T.P., Dean, and afterwards Bishop of Carlisle. He was consecrated at York, June 29th, 1684. He died April 12th, 1702, æt. 88, and was buried in his own cathedral. Before his promotion to the see of Carlisle he held a prebendal stall in Durham Cathedral.—Ed.

temporiseing justices, who gave credit to the false and malicious reports of the landing of Irish papists, burning of towns and massacreing of people wherever they came.

These villaynes, headed by one Palmer, a notorious rogue and murderer, who had but lately escaped the gallowes, seiz'd on me for a popish priest and jesuit on St. Thomas's day, about 11 at night, and pulled me out of my bed, rifling my pockets and my chamber, carrying away my horses (two geldings worth 40*l.*) and my portmantoe, and mounting me on a little jade not worth 40*s.*

Thus disgracefully conducting me to a poor alehouse on the English side, three miles off, where they search'd my portmantoe and plundered me of a bagg of mony, and some small pieces of plate, with other things, leaveing me afterwards in the hands of the watch and a constable to lead me away on foot, in a severe cold frosty night, with a heavy rideing coat and great boots, (ill accoutrements for walking) to march to Carlisle, to be examined before one Capt. Bub, and other officers then in the garrison, and by whom they did hope to have been rewarded (as they afterwards declared) for their good services to their country, in secureing (as they stiled me) a fugitive and dangerous person.

But being well known in the citty, and travelling with Sir Christopher Musgrave's pass, they missed of their expectation, and received a rebuke, whilst I had my horses and the greatest part of my mony restored me, and was sett at liberty, either to stay or depart the towne: and indeed can onely complain of the Mayor and some of the magistrates, who, instead of committing the fellowes for felony and burglary, they breaking open a stable door in the night to take away my geldings, lett them goe without soe much as entring into recognizance.

Tho' I was now a second time at liberty, by a happy providence, to goe where I pleased, and promised a pass, if I would goe home to Durham, I did think it most prudent to continue a while in that citty, to remove the suspicion of my intended flight out of England; and accordingly lived unconcernedly there, for 14 or 15 dayes, constantly attending God's publick service, and preaching in the cathedrall on Christmas-day, whereby I convinced the people, I hope, that I was noe popish priest nor jesuit.

After this, the country being more quiet, and noe watches kept, nor noise of Irish papists, which had for a moneth before intoxicated (as it were) that and other parts of England, I left the towne of Carlisle, and ventured back towards Durham, as far as Hexam; but with noe intention to goe home, designeing,

after I had shifted off a guide, and some servants who were sent with letters to me, to strike out of the road by Berwick towards Scotland: which I did, blessed be God, without any other considerable impediment, and on the 26th of Jan. last arrived safe at Edinburgh, endeavouring, as soon as I could, to get admittance into the Castle, and wait on the Duke of Gordon, to whom I communicated my designe of going to the King, and by whom I was informed of a vessell then in the roade, ready to depart for France; which opportunity I made use of, and was, after many tempests, and a tedious voyage by reason of contrary winds, at last safely landed att Honfleur, over against Haver-de-grace, by the mouth of the river Seine, on the 19th day of March. N.S., and the very day after his Majestyes departure from Brest for Ireland, which missing of the King was a great disappointment and mortification to mee.

Being somewhat indisposed after my long and troublesome voyage (tho' I was never sick at sea) and in some danger, as I thought, of an ague, I rested a whole week in that place, where I found all persons more than ordinarily civill to me, upon their being satisfyed, that is, my loyalty had brought me there, and that I was fled to the King; tho' I own'd my selfe not onely a protestant and an ecclesiastick, but an Englishman, which is now thought imprudent, and a shame to confesse ones selfe, unless he carryes with him undeniable testimonyes of his late fidelity to his Prince. After I had paid my respects to the Governour, the Marquess of Beuron, and returned the compliments I had received, on the 25th I departed for Roüen, where I judged meet (since his Majesty had left the kingdome) to fix a while, and to recruit my selfe, being alsoe induced thereto by the great friendshipp and civility of Mr. Thomas Hackett, an honest and loyall merchant, who welcomed me to towne with great respect and kindness, supplyed me with monyes, tho' a stranger to him without recommendation (whereas one to whom I was recomended failed me) and kindly entertained me at his own house ever since.

And I have been the sooner prevail'd on to rest here in this citty from whence I write, by reason a violent asthmatic cough (which hath long hung about me) increases soe much, that my physician beleives that my lungs begin to be ulcerated, and that without much care I am in great danger of falling into a deep consumption, and, moreover, this physician under whose conduct I am, Deane of the College of Physicians here, and Physician to our late King, (being not onely a very eminent Doctor of Physic, but acquainted with my constitution, I haveing heretofore lay'n long sick of an ague under his hand, and he haveing alsoe per-

fect command of the English tongue) is likely to be much more usefull to me than another, and hath been already in the begining (praised be God) very successfull.

I confess I have not great reason dureing my illness to make this citty the place of my residence, for the sake of the air, which I beleive not very good and proper for a consumptive body. Tho' I am persuaded that the air of the country round about, at a distance from the river, which I doe often breath, is better than any air in England. But the other satisfactions I have mentioned, in an able physician, privy to the infirmity of my body, and a kind faithfull friend in adversity, not to be found, in our age, every day, nor in every place, doe make amends abundantly for any defects of the clime, and are not to be contemned by a person in my circumstances, driven very bare out of his native country for his fidelity to his Prince.

As soon as I had fixed my resolution of staying a while here at Roüen, I did presume to informe his Majesty, by a packet I sent into Ireland to my Lord Melford, of my arrivall in France, and the manner of my escape, with an assureance of my unalterable loyalty, and that I should espouse his service with the same zeale, dureing his exile and adversity, as when he was on the throne.

I did alsoe, according to the duty of a loyall subject, pay to the Queen and Prince all those respects which I could att a distance, informing her alsoe, by the assistance of my Lord Waldegrave, of my arrivall, with assureance that I would never faile to render her Majesty and the Prince all the dutyes which were incumbent on a subject of the King of England. And that since I had not the felicity which I came for, of being near his Majesty, I was in the next place desirous to be near hers, and accordingly would hasten to St. German's, as soon as the indisposition of my body would permitt: takeing a great delight to be nigh the royall family, when I cannot otherwise serve them, never thinking my selfe any wayes absolved from the observance I owed my Soveraign, and her Majesty, and all the blood royall, by the difference of religion.

Haveing, Sir, thus given you the trouble of soe particular an account of my selfe and deportment, from the time that wee were first allarm'd with the news of the wicked intentions of the Dutch to invade us, home to this present day; I think my selfe noe less obliged to give you some information concerning my present temper of mind and future intentions. And which I am the more willing to embrace this opportunity of doing, by reason my infirmityes of body doe in such sort increase that I have small reason to imagine that I shall be a long lived man,

they administring to me too many grounds of fear (if I were to undergoe no other hazard) that I may scarce live to see my friends in England any more, unlesse the air of France and motion be, by God's blessing, a means of my recovery, and cure of that disease which I have contracted, by a sedentary life, since my installation into the Deanery of Durham.

And here I doe, in the first place, declare with all sincerity, that I am resolved by God's grace to live and dye a true son of the Church of England, whereof King Charles was, King James 2 (not the Prince of Orange) is, under God, supream head and governour, beleiveing her to be, for the purity of her doctrine, the decent regularity of her worshipp, and the wholesomeness of her discipline, (well executed) the best and most approaching to the primitive times, of any Church in reformed Christendom. And I doe openly affirm to all the world, that however her children (or rather those who have pretended to be soe) have behaved themselves, ether heretofore or of late, to the scandal of the world and reproach of her constitution, I am assured shee will be found, upon through and serious examination, a Church which doth not countenance rebellion, or indeed any sin or wickedness whatsoever.

I have given noe just reason, I thank God, to any, to think me of another oppinion, and if some have been soe uncharitable as to censure mee for ever deviating from her, it hath been only for such carriage of mine, as may best demonstrate that I am a right genuine and through-paced (tho' very feeble) member of her; I mean for my exact conformity to, and observation of, the excellent rules of her incomparable Liturgy, without any variation, and my constant zeal in asserting the King's prerogative, and her excellent doctrine of non-resistance, and subjection to authority, in both which, perchance, I have been thought sometimes a little singular. But if I have been soe, I am sorry for it, I mean, that I should want company in so laudable and Christian a cause and practice; for I must still affirme that the first is the indispensable duty of every Churchman, and best means to preserve her, and the last (which way soever fled at the Prince of Oranges invading England) the very flower and glory of our Church, which neither loss of estate nor life shall (by the assistance of the Almighty) cause me to renounce.

I doe therefor humbly entreat your selfe, and all my relations, noe wise to suspect me, as if wavering from my obedience to my Mother (the Church) for my immoveable adherence to the cause and interest of the Father of our Country, and my innate abhorrence of disputeing, contesting, or rudely capitulateing with my Prince, even then when he commanded things very contrary to

my sentiments, which I did judge not onely inexpedient but prejudiciall to the flourishing condition of our Church.

Had I fail'd, as too many did, in that juncture, or in paying the very same dutyes of allegiance and honour to my present Sovereigne, when he came to the crowne, as I had performed to the late King, his royall brother, and my gracious master of ever blessed memory (because his Majesty declared himselfe of the Roman Catholick religion) I might indeed have been lyable to censure, for that was a bad mark of a son of the Church of England. But God having enabled me to resist this temptation, (which hath soe mightily prevailed in the nation) I would not have you fear that I shall be overthrown by any other.

I am, I confess, fled out of the nation to assert the cause of a Roman Catholic prince, and I live at present in a Roman Catholick country, but sure I am that the right Church of England religion doth not only injoyn me to doe the first, but, considering the circumstances of England and the neighbouring protestant countryes, at present, to doe the latter. And why I and other loyall subjects should choose France, rather than any other nation, to reside in, may quickly be put out of dispute if our censurers would be pleased to consider how kindly the most Christian King received his Majesty of England, and doth still entertain those who have evidenced their fidelity to him, as alsoe reflect on the innate civility of the French nation towards strangers, never more visible than in this time of distress, when all are welcome, especially Englishmen, unless they are conceived to be spyes or creatures of the Prince of Orange, or other their enemies. As for my owne perticular, common justice doth oblige me to acknowledge that I meet with as much curtesy now in France, from the Roman Catholicks, as I have done heretofore among the protestants, and am permitted to live as quietly and securely, tho' I doe nowayes disown my religion, as any of their owne nation.

This breif declaration I have made will suffice, I hope, to assure all my friends in England of my stedfastness in the excellent religion of my forefathers. The next duty incumbent on mee will bee to give my family, and you our cheif, some fresh assureance that I am, by the grace of God, resolved to endeavour for the future (as I have begun) to proceed in imitation of their loyalty, and according to their examples, in all times of warr and trouble heretofore, to stick close to the Crowne: not one of them, that I could ever hear or read of, haveing been in the lest manner dipt in rebellion, or sided with any usurper.

Indeed their fidelity to their soveraign (for which our house,

God be praised, hath ever been noted) none, Sir, hath better coppied out than your selfe, whose name is on that account already recorded in our English Chronicle. The secrecy and successfullness of that negociation of yours, in your master the late King's behalfe, with Generall Monk, will not easily be forgotten among loyall men, and I must confess to all the world, that that notable example and patterne which you have sett all your house by your services and endeavours, in the worst of times, for King Charles 2, hath had great force on me, and been mighty prevalent in inspireing me with more than ordinary resolution for his royall brother, his lawfull successor and our undoubted Sovereigne, at my first entrance on my Deanery, which did oblige me to appear and act in a more publick post than before, and doth still animate me (wherefor, whatever measures you are pleased to take at present, I hope, Sir, you will not blame me) in my present zeal and endeavours.

Since which time, I can say it without boasting, (tho' if I did boast a little, this conjuncture and my circumstances would bear it) that I have never strayed in my affection from his Majesty, nor failed in paying him all the honour, duty, and respect, which I should have rendered to my deceased master, of ever blessed memory, had the nation been longer blessed with his reigne. But, instead thereof, I doe not blush to let all the world know that I have been somewhat more officious (and thought it every ones duty soe to bee) in his service than I had been in his brother's, in consideration of a Roman Catholick king's grace and goodness towards us of the Church of England, in reference to the free exercise of our religion; hee granting us the liberty of a religion contrary to his owne, and makeing it his care, att his first appearance in councell, to secure to his protestant subjects of the Church of England so unvaluable a blessing, neither of which if he had done, could wee have told how to help our selves, or been absolved from our obedience, which my little divinity hath ever told me (and I hope ever will) is as due to a Roman Catholick soveraigne as to a protestant one. The consideration whereof hath, by the blessing of God, kept me *untainted* and *unstained* throughout the whole transactions of the last 5 years, I mean from the 6th of Feb. '84, when his Majesty mounted the throne, to the 10th of Dec. '88, when the same sacred Majesty was disgracefully driven, to the everlasting reproach of the English nation, from his owne pallace of Whitehall.

Noe fears or jealousyes of religion, libertyes or lawes, did ever tempt me (I bless God) to any undue courses of resistance, opposition, or soe much as unseemly capitulation with God's

vicegerent to preserve them; tho' I love them all soe well and dearly that I can be contented to dye for them, in any place or manner, unless it be with a sword in my hand lifted upp against my prince. And I dare challenge, not onely my censurers, but all the world (a state of hostility will admit of such language) to discover any one act of mine whereby I have sided with, or abetted their enemyes in any endeavours to weaken or destroy them, that I have (I say) ever, either in the capacity of a private minister, or publick magistrate, ecclesiasticall or civill (in the west, my first, or north of England, my last, station) ceased to practice and exact a strict conformity to the rules of our religion, or to promote an impartiall execution of the law (as long as the lawes were in force) both against recusant and dissenter, or that lastly, I did ever countenance such omission of duty in others, clergy or layty under my authority.

All places wherein I have resided will, I make noe question, testify for me, that I have been (how weak and unsuccessfull soever) zealous, diligent, and faithfull in these perticulars, and did never, in any revolution, putt on the vizard of a TRIMMER, haveing had alwayes from my craddle a certain antipathy against such indifferency, hypocrisy, and neutrality, as doe constitute that amphibious creature, which, by the assistance of neighbours, (which it is hard to tell whether they live more upon the land or in the water) hath given a kind of mortal wound to the Church and Monarchy of England.

By such principles and practices I have (God be thanked) demonstrated my selfe a legitimate son of my ever honoured and dear father, Sir Bevill Granville, whom I may (I hope, in a letter to a brother) be permitted (for my consolation in soe melancholick a state of affairs) a little to glory in, since his valour and loyalty (sealed at Lansdown with his blood) is sett above the spleen and censure of the most malicious tongues. Forasmuch as the University of Oxford, one of the most famous universityes in the world, hath vouchsafed to celebrate them with an *Epicedium* of their choicest wits; a respect which hath not (as the ingenious reprinter of the late edition of those poems doth in his dedicatory epistle well note) been usually paid to any but the royall family*. And in the same temper, much heightened and strengthen'd by the serious and frequent perusall of

* A collection of verses, by the University of Oxford, on the death of Sir Bevil Granville, was printed in 1643, and reprinted in 1684. To these are annexed King Charles' letters to Sir Bevil Granville, and to the county of Cornwall; and a patent of Charles I., which grants to the county of Cornwall a trade to Denmark, the great Duke of Muscovy, and the Levant. See Lysons' Magna Britannia, vol. iii. Cornwall.—ED.

those ingenious verses, which bring dayly to my consideration my loyall father's example, (and which I carry constantly about me, both to inspire and conduct me) I hope by God's grace to breath out my soul, without makeing any difference, in matter of obedience, betwixt a papist or a protestant prince, a Christian or a heathen.

I am without any scruple assured (and so is all the world) that my sovereigne, King James 2, is a lawfull king, and hath an undoubted title, which is all a good subject ought to enquire into. If soe, I am as much assured that noe power uppon earth can absolve me from my sworne obedience to him, whatever we are told to the contrary, in certain "Enquireys into the mea-"sures of submission to supream authority and the grounds upon "which itt may be lawfull or necessary," (as the title phraseth "it) "for subjects to defend their religion, libertyes and lawes." I wish the Doctor * had been pleased to speak out plainly, according to his thoughts, and I am perswaded he would have said, the grounds whereon it is lawfull to rebell.

But I shall give you noe more trouble by way of information concerning my selfe. I shall rather crave leave to convey to my younger relations, (since they are numerous) by your favour and means, (if you please) some wholesom advice for their edification, to establish those who are not tainted, and to restore those who are, with the false notions and maximes of the times.

My elders I shall noe wise disturb att present with my remaining discourse. But I humbly conceive it a kind of duty to take a little paines sometimes with the others. My father's and mother's dedication of one of their sons to the Church (and it falling to the lott of me, the unworthyest of them) doth in some sort constitute me a priest to the whole family; tho' not to undertake the charge of all their souls, (that would be a task not onely difficult but impossible for me to discharge, and I doe not desire it) yet to make to them now and then some spirituall applications, as I doe att present, by your permission, in this letter, and did likewise 5 years since in some familiar ones to a nephew in the University of Oxford † (which I printed) is a good act of Christian religion and fraternall charity.

* Dr. Burnet.

† "Counsells and directions divine and moral: in plain and familiar letters of advice to a young gentleman his nephew, soon after his admission into a college in Oxon. London: 1685. His said nephew was named Thomas, a younger son of Sir Thomas Higgons, knight, by Bridget his second wife, sister to the said Dr. Den. Grenvill, which nephew had been newly entred a student in Magd. Coll., who among his companions made sport with that book."—Wood's Athenæ Oxon. ed. Bliss. iv. 497. On

I shall then humbly begg leave in this paper to desire all those who have any wayes warp'd from that strict duty and respect which hath been ever paid by their ancestors to the Crowne, to consider their great obligations above others to be faithfull to their Soveraign, takeing more than ordinary care lest they stain the honour of an ancient house: and shall not att present insist on any duty paid directly to God, that was my busyness in part of my forementioned address. But the dutyes of subjection, and doctrine of non-resistance of lawfull princes, whom subjects are bound to obey, whatever be their oppinions or practices, are so vilely run downe in England, and soe universally put out of countenance, that it is a piece of seasonable charity to revive their reputation.

I think I may truely say, without vanity or ostentation, that every one of us have been, through the mercy of God, trained up in as deep a sense of that profound respect and submission which is due from subjects to their supreme, as any family in the nation, haveing been in an extraordinary manner blest with loyall and religious parents and progenitors, who have given the best evidence of their sincere and hearty dutifullness to their soveraigne in sealing it with their blood. And, till this late never enough to be deplored generall defection, which seemed to carry with it an irresistible contagion, beyond the power of the strongest antidote, there hath never a blemish of disloyalty, blessed be God, been fixed on the family of the Granvilles, or in the meanest branch thereof, and that there should any person now lye under that censure is to me an intollerable mortification, and the heaviest part of my affliction amidst my sufferings for my fidelity to the Crowne. But since the torrent hath overborne some of ours, as well as too many of every ancient, honourable and loyall house in the nation, I cannot satisfy my selfe to sitt still and not put to my helping hand to save them by desiring them among other things, to beware how they swallow not only new oathes, but new conceited querks and distinctions of those temporizing comon lawyers who have, out of sordid flattery or fear, by an unintelligible, unheard of sort of abdication, coyned purely for the service of an usurper, deformed the Monarchy and Church of England, makeing a strange kind of monster of the fairest and best of the reformed churches, in placeing two heads on one body, such as are then

one of the fly leaves of a copy of this work in St. John's College Library, Cambridge, formerly belonging to Thomas Baker, the celebrated scholar and antiquary, this quotation is inscribed, in his handwriting, with the caustic observation, "If his nephew made sport with the book, he has the more to answere for."—Ed.

the most unlikely of any in the world to agree, a popish and a presbiterian one.

I never did imagine that I ever was, or ever should become, a pillar of the church (tho' you all know that I did, in a time of adversity and rebellion, when there was small hopes of being Dean of Durham, devote my selfe thereto honestly, with good will to God's service, and without designe) much less doe I fancy my selfe a person of soe much might or skill as to be able to stem such a tide, as has broke in upon us and beaten downe the high and rocky cliffs of England, as if they had been onely muddy banks or the woody fences of a Low Country. But on the other side I have not soe meane thoughts of the grace and power of God Almighty, who has manifested his strength in my weakness, in upholding and keeping me steddy, (dureing the late terrible shock which like an earthquake made the foundations of the kingdom to tremble, and overthrew divers supporters of Church and State) as to despair of all success in my attempt to fortify at lest some, if I cannot regain others, or any, of my kindred to whom I write, who ought not to conceit themselves soe able divines as to think they are in spirituall matters above my counsell and advice.

To accomplish this good work, whereon I invoke the assistance of that Spirit whose power noe creature is able to resist, I shall lay before their eyes some of the good old Church of England divinity which hath been infused into me as well as their fathers in our youthes, by those right orthodox and loyall doctors of the old stamp, under whose conduct we have had the felicity to be trained upp, and remembring and well considering the word of our Saviour Christ, that a prophet hath alwayes lest honour in his owne country and among his own kin, I shall keep strictly and faithfully not only to the sense, but often in prosecuteing this point use the very words of a famous divine* above any man's contempt, being justly had in honour and veneration of the whole nation, as well as our own family.

In the first place, then, I here take liberty to put your and mine own relations in mind of some seasonable truths, well calculated for the meridian of an ancient, loyall family, and the most effectuall preservative that I know of to secure their innocency in a wavering, corrupt, seditious age and country, tinctur'd all over with schism and rebellion (to wit):—

That onr Blessed Saviour and his disciples were, of all the doctors who ever were in the world, the most carefull to preserve the doctrine and practice of allegiance, and entire submis-

* Dr. Hen. Hamond.

sion and subjection, to the supreme powers, which were deputed of God as his vicegerents to govern the world, even then at that very time when they lived under heathen emperors, who were not only great opposers of Christianity, but cruell, mercyless, and bloody persecutors.

Furthermore, it will be worthy of observation that Jesus Christ, tho' he were, as God, the King of all Kings, and might have changed and disposed of their dominions as he pleased, yet did not think fitt to make any alteration on the government he found on earth when he was borne; but, on the contrary, judged it meet to continue and settle all in that course wherein it had been formerly placed by God himselfe; liveing, in a most exemplary maner, in subjection to the known laws, paying tribute to Cæsar, nay, shewing soe great concerne that the supreme powers should receive their due, that he thought fitt rather to work a miracle than appear deficient in paying tribute.

Whereto if we add our Lord's refusall to accept of the judiciall cognizance of an offence when he was put upon it, as he did of a crowne when it was offer'd him by the people, there will appear strong matter of conviction and proof of the inviolableness of the rights of government, which it is not lawfull for any person on earth to usurp or meddle with, without a just call, so far was our humble and righteous Lord, the captain of our salvation, from retrenching any of the magistrates' former rights, that he add[ed] to Moses in this matter, enjoyning greater awe and reverence to be given to the civill power.

Wherein wee may further take notice, that Christ Jesus he was soe extraordinarily carefull and tender, that whereas Moses among the Egyptians, when he was but a private man, did take upon him to exercise an act of judicature on the Egyptyan which wronged the Israelite, (Exod. ii. 12.) Christ would not doe any such thing; leaving the woman taken in adultery, and all other offenders, to the ordinary legall course, and would not upon any invitation or importunity, usurp authority, or take upon him any thing in that matter.

This, without other inlargement, may abundantly evince, how unsuitable to the doctrine and practice of Christ, and, consequently, how unchristian and ungodly are the doctrines of those ambitious men who make Christianity a ground or excuse for moving sedition and raising rebellion, thereby disquieting states and shaking, if not dissolving, kingdomes, tho' it be carryed on never so much under the specious colours of preservation of religion, libertyes or lawes.

Whereof wee have now a late and perhaps more notable instance than ever was in the world, an attempt soe abhorred

and unnaturall, a fact every wayes soe unjustifyable, and an impiety so daring, that it must necessarily in the conclusion pull down heavy wrath, if not speedy vengeance, both on the contriver and accessary, inviter and the invited, or on their posterity; if an extraordinary deep humiliation before God, and a sincere repentance, somewhat answerable to the greatness of the provocation, doe not in due season, appease his indignation.

Of which heinous guilt it concerns every one who hath been unfortunately dipt therein (as every complyer with, as well as promoter of the new government in England certainly is) with greatest speed and care to purge himselfe; and I doe hope and pray that all those to whom I doe presume here in this paper to address my selfe, will take these things into timely and deep consideration, washing off those stains of disloyalty that may have involved any in the guilt of an unparellell'd usurpation, which I am affraid exposes poor England to God Almightyes impending judgments more than all the former sins of ourselves or forefathers.

That I have for my own perticular practised the very same loyalty and honest zeal in reference to the service of my Soveraign (tho' a Roman Catholick) that I did to his royall brother; and have not, that I can discover upon the most diligent search, wilfully and knowingly made one false stepp towards the late irregular and unjustifiable method of preservation of our religion and lawes by the ungodly practices and means of invasion and usurpation, (which hath in good truth layn both a gasping) is a felicity which doth not only wonderfully support, but almost transport me, amidst my exercises of patience, and will make me relish the worst air and usage that I can meet with abroad, where there are noe fogs nor fumes raised by rebellion, better than the best air or preferment in England, or any other country where there are. And here I should begg pardon for this present trouble and conclude; haveing been, I fear, too tedious, but that I stand obliged, lest I preach in vain, to answer one objection which is easy to foresee will be made against my doctrine, and may carry more appearance of reason than any other: to wit,—

Christ's example pretended for submission to the prevailing power, since his acknowledging allegiance to be due to Tiberius Cæsar, whose predecessors had soe lately changed the government of Rome by the senate, did, by that act of his, give liberty to us lawfully to yield our allegiance to any unjust prevailing power whatever it bee.

This difficulty being solved by the forementiond learned

doctor of our owne Church and nation, of undeniable authority, and an eminent confessour in the Great Rebellion, I'le give the answer in his own very words, without the least variation: which is soe substantiall an one that it is seasonable att this instant to be exposed to view, and if there were noe other design in my writing would justify the publication of this letter. In short, his words are these: "The state of the government of "Rome, at that time when Christ Jesus lived, must bee considered "distinctly what it was. It is true indeed that Julius Cæsar had "(not many years before) wrested the power out of the senate's "hands and changed the government violently: but before this "time of Tiberius whereof we speak, the busyness was soe accorded "between the senate and the emperours, that the emperour "reigned now unquestionably without any competition of the "senate. In him the power was quietly seated, the money super-"scribed with his image, and edicts sent out in his name, and he "looked on by all (without any rivall) as inferiour to God onely. "In which case of his acknowledged power, Christ, being borne "in his dominions, thinks not fitt to make a question of his right, "where there was none made by the Romans, or to dispute Cæsar's "title, (however acquired by violence at first) when they from "whom it was taken did acquesce and disputed it not, which case "how different it is from other forcible usurpations (when the "legall soveraign doth still claim his right to his kingdoms and "to the allegiance of his subjects, no way acquitting them from "their oathes or laying downe his pretension, tho' he be at "present overpowered) is easy discernable to any who have the "courage and fidelity to consider it, and is not by his own "interests bribed or frighted from the performance of his "Christian duty. It being witball most certain, that it "belongs not to the conveniences or advantages of subjects "to determine or prevaile any thing in the busieness of princes' "rights."

This, one of the most formidable objections and arguements for submission to an unlawfull prevailing power, being thus effectually answered, I shall not think it pain-worth in a letter to multiply other of less difficulty, which by consequence may be more easily blown away.

And indeed I suppose it needless, at this time of day, to fall to strong reasonings to evince the unsincerity of the pretensions of the contrivers and promoters of this late unhappy change of government in Church and State, they themselves haveing destroyed all the plausibility of their own professions and declarations.

First, the Prince of Orange disowned that he came to conquer

or meddle with the crowne, and yet most willingly accepted thereof at the very first offer of the people.

Secondly, the exercise of the King's prerogative in dispensing with some lawes, on extraordinary emergencyes, was thought a burden intollerable, but it hath been noe crime since in the subject to dispense with all. They haveing got (as they think) what they have long contended for, the supremacy in their own hands.

Thirdly, the introducing of arbitrary power was the dread of most men, and now they are contented to enjoy nothing else.

Fourthly, it was judged unpardonable tyranny in our Sovereign to touch the meanest of his subjects in point of property, but it is a laudable vertue in the subject to usurp upon, nay dispose of, the Crown.

Fifthly, the English were overwhelmed with jealousyes of introducing popery, and promoting the interest of France, and all the while have gone the direct way to bring the worst of their fears on themselves, by driving the King and Prince out of the kingdom.

Sixthly, in a word, sundry other things, which were deemed unsufferable in a lawfull prince of God's ordaining, are now practiced without disgust by an usurper and king of the people's makeing.

Hee that is not yet perfectly convinced of the hypocrysy of these pretences and proceedings (which I hope the most emminent of our clergy and nobility by this time are) seems to have neither eyes to see, ears to hear, nor heart nor head to consider and understand.

I shall conclude with a memorable saying of our Royall Martyr King Charles I., on his observation of a like spirit of delusion, which, in his dayes, possessed the generallity of the people of the same kingdomes, in dethroning, nay murdering their lawfull King, and one of the best of princes, att his owne doors.

"Soe easy is that leger-de-main which serves to delude the vulgar." That the Almighty and wise God, who in his just displeasure for our sins and ingratitude to himselfe and his vice-gerent, hath for the present made the Church and Monarchy of England a notable monument of his wrath, would bring all, high and low, who have contributed to soe heinous a guilt, in his due time, to such a sight and sense of their crimes, that they may give to the world an undeniable demonstration of the truth of their repentance, labouring with all their might to redress the scandals they have given by an unparellelled apostacy from the principles of our Church, and an abhorred de-

fection in point of loyalty: is the hearty and humble prayer of,

(Ever honoured and dear Sir)
Your lordshipp's most humble servant
and affectionate brother,
DENIS GRANVILLE.

Roüen, Apr. 24, 1689.

Postscript.—That the printed [*? printing*] of this letter, with the following Address and Queryes, may not appear to your selfe, as I forsee they will to all zealous contrivers and supporters of the usurpation of England, an act of not only deplorable folly, but downright frenzy, I humbly crave your permission to insert a few lines by way of postscript.

I am not ignorant but that this attempt may render me absolutely incapable of all the favour you have shewed me since my flight into France, in your voluntary kind interposition to secure my revenue, and that it must alsoe expose me for a subject of common talk and censure throughout the nation. But since an unblemished loyalty is infinitely more valuable than the possessions of this world, and that I was perswaded that the course which I did by God's grace steer, was the most effectuall way to secure that, the very reputation whereof I esteem far beyond all the rents I had at Durham, Easington, and Sedgefield, nay, moreover, since my past life and last deportment in England had not been all of a piece if I had not done as I did, you will not, I trust, condemne my carriage, however contrary to the maximes and temper of the reigning generation, as unworthy of your house and family.

What I have done I have performed, thanks be to the Almighty, in the integrity of my heart and innocence of my hands, and the sence and consideration hereof (the issue of things every day more and more convincing me that I was in the right) doth afford unspeakable comfort to my soul.

My feeding of some friends in my voyage from Scotland hither, with expectation of an interview in Kent, and talke of a passport, (the first of which I did not intend, and the last, if I could get away without it, I did not desire) is a crime I doe assure my selfe of God's pardon for, and of those friends likewise whom I deluded and dissappointed, when God shall be pleased to send us a happy meeting.

As for that more unpardonable sin wherewith some do reproach me, and whereof I cannot soe well clear my selfe before the world, (but is the only one, thanks be to God, that the world can accuse me of) I mean my ignorance and imbecillity to fill

my coffers and pockets so full as some more frugall and crafty than my selfe have done in less time, with a smaller estate or revenue, I am like to doe a sad penance for it here abroad, in a forreign kingdome. And the friends and relations I leave at home will not, I hope, add affliction to affliction (if they will not help me with their purses) by loading me with their censures, especially considering two last acts of mine to demonstrate the sincerity of my repentance for it. First, I did diminish my revenue very considerably by rent charges to satisfy my own just debts. Secondly, that I look'd on my long neglect to practice frugality as a great sin; that I did as voluntarily put my selfe into a kind of white sheet to attone for the same, by confessing it to God and the world in a small piece I printed in the year 1685 *.

This is my comfort, that noe person in England is like to loose by me, unless by his own proper choice, and if one man doth soe, he must thank himselfe rather than blame me. If I suffer deprivation to his loss, he must quarrell with God and the King, whose comands have unavoidably obliged me to hold fast my religion and loyalty: and if the sacraficeing of both, or either of them, was in my judgment too dear a purchase of my revenue for my selfe, noe one could reasonably expect that I should undergoe it for another.

Hopeing that these few hints may give some satisfaction to all but the malicious authors of our present misery, I shall not enlarge this postscript farther than to acknowledge with all thankfullness the kindness which you have shewed me in procureing a dispensation for me, (notwithstanding I have contradicted your example) which I esteem a greater obligation at those friends' hands who were instruementall therein, since they did it without my privity or motion.

By the publication of the following Adress and Queryes, it may appear that the author is not affraid (notwithstanding the obloquy he did a while undergoe in the year '88 for his dutifull complyance with the King) to owne those notions of loyalty which he did endeavour to infuse into all persons committed to

* The Dean doubtless alludes to the "counsells and directions, &c." which he addressed to his nephew, (see *antè*, p. 83.) and published in the year 1685. Amongst other exhortations contained therein, he impresses upon his nephew the duties of care and economy, and alludes to his own errors in the way of extravagance, stating that he had given the world reason to suppose that he was not given to frugality; but says, at the same time, that his money had not been dissipated in debauchery. Cf. upon this part of the subject a letter, (given hereafter amongst the Miscellaneous Correspondence,) from the Dean to Archbishop Sancroft, dated Nov. 26th, 1684.

his charge: and alsoe that he is not ashamed to proclaim to all the world, in spight of the sensures he met withall, that he did, and doth, hold the following Queryes in the affirmative, being of opinion that to hold them otherwise is to place some of the King's supremacy in the people.

AN ADDRESS WHICH THE DEAN OF DURHAM SENT TO HIS MAJESTY, SPEEDILY AFTER THE PRINCE OF ORANGE LANDED, (UPON HIS BRETHREN THEIR REFUSALL TO JOIN WITH HIM, BECAUSE THE SUPERIOUR CLERGY HAD NOT ADDRESS'D BEFORE) TO SHEW HIS ABHORRENCE OF THAT UNNATURALL INVASION, WHICH ADDRESS WAS INTERCEPTED BY THE LORD LUMLEY AND OTHER LORDS WHO HAD SEIZ'D ON YORK.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

THE hearty and humble Address of your Majestyes ever loyall and faithfull subject and servant, the Dean of Durham.

May it please your Sacred Majesty.

In time of an invasion, as in a common inundation, or calamity by fire, when every [*one*] is bound in duty to preserve the house, citty, or country, whereof he is a member, without usuall ceremony or complement to superiour or equalls, I doe judge it an indispensable duty of every faithfull and right loyall subject to hasten to assist his soveraign with his purse, as well as his prayers, to the utmost of his power and ability, and therefor not daring to stay till all my betters have given me example in addressing before me, or all my inferiour brethren have agreed of a forme to address with me, I doe heartily offer to your Majesty all that I have to spare for your present service, thinking nothing mine own in such a time of danger, but what is sufficient to suffice nature; assureing you withall that I doe not only, from the very bottom of my soul, abhorr and detest this treacherous and unnaturall invasion of the Prince of Orange, together with all the other wicked, rebellious, and bloody designes of his adherents, whether enemyes at home or abroad, (and more particularly of those among us who have lately revolted from their allegiance) but doe, with great indignation, renounce all manner of violence, force, and contempt of authority offer'd to your sacred person or government, either by the rabble (the very dreggs of the *Mobile*) in the citty, as well as rebells in the field, conceiving [*it*] as great a sin to use any compulsive arguments to constrain or terrify God's vice-gerent,

into a complyance with the will and desires of his subjects, be they never soe much for the good of himselfe, Church or Kingdome: having learned in the communion of my mother the Church of England (wherein I am firmly resolved to live and dye) other principles than to teach my supreme, or any my superiors, what he or they ought to doe, with a sword in my hand, or compel a soveraign monarch, whether he will or noe, to doe his duty and gratify his people, sooner than he is inclined, or his own necessity (whereof he is best judge) will permitt. Satisfying my selfe with the repeated assureance which your Majesty hath already given of our religion, lawes and libertyes, together with all your past and present gracious condescentions to remove the fears and jealousyes of your people, resolving to stay your leisure for the calling of a parliament, and all other means and methods which are in your Majestyes choice for the securing your own royal person, or establishment of your government in Church and State.

DENIS GRANVILLE,
Dean of Durham.

Nov. 27, '88.

QUERIES put by the Dean of Durham * to some young clergymen, to answer privately in his own study, (near about the time his Majesty sent forth an order to read his Declaration for liberty of conscience) which being treacherously stolen away or falsely transcribed, upon the interception of a letter to a friend, were dispers'd and canvass'd upp and downe the coffee-houses of London, and other parts of England, (as mentioned p. 73,) and are for that reason printed.

1. Whether a subject is not bound to comply with his prince in every command, or reasonable intimation of his pleasure, wherein he is not in conscience bound to the contrary?

2. Whether a subject is not bound to comply with his prince in some things which he conceives not onely inexpedient, but such as may tend to the prejudice of the flourishing condition

* Queries, essentially the same as those in the text, have found a place amongst Bishop Cosin's works, (Anglo-Cath. Lib. iv. 384.) and are supposed by the editor of that volume to have been issued about the time when the Declaration of liberty of conscience was put forth by Charles II., i. e. March 16, 1672. But it is evident, from what the Dean says, (*antè*, p. 73.) that they were falsely ascribed to the Bishop, and have no reference to Charles' Declaration, but to the much later one of James.—ED.

of the Church, (provided the being of the Church be secure) if a lawfull prince of a different religion doth absolutely command them, and will not be satisfyed without complyance with such command?

3. Whether the Church of England was not an establis'd church before the enacting of the penall lawes? If soe, whether it is not better to comply with his Majesty in consenting to take away the penall lawes, which his Majesty desires to be abrogated, than hazard the being of our Church, by provoking the King, on whose favour wee depend?

TO THE BISHOP OF DURHAM*.

My Lord,

Soe suddain and violent a separation betwixt a Bishop and his Dean as hath been occasion'd betwixt your lordshipp and my selfe, by our late stupendious revolution, is a matter of too great importance to be pass'd over in silence by one who was driven from his station by the impetuosity of that dreadfull storme which lately fell on and overthrew our Church and State. I conceive it therefor my duty to inform your lordshipp, not onely where, but what, I am, in this age of mutability, which

* Nathaniel, Lord Crewe, to which title he succeeded on the death of his last surviving brother in 1697, was the fifth son of John, first Lord Crewe, of Stene in Northamptonshire. He was born in 1633, and eventually became Bishop of Durham, in 1674, chiefly through the influence of the Duke of York, whose measures he supported with the utmost zeal. On the Duke's accession to the throne, he identified himself with all those proceedings which rendered him so obnoxious to his subjects. "In 1686 and 1687 Bishop Crewe sat and acted in the High Commission Court, and was present and consenting at the suspension of Henry, Bishop of London; at the degradation of Mr. Samuel Johnson; and during the prosecution against Peachey, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, for refusing to admit Francis Alban, a Benedictine Monk, to the degree of M.A. with a royal dispensation for the oaths. Under the new Ecclesiastical Commission of 1687 Bishop Crewe participated in the proceedings against Magdalen College in Oxford, and in 1688 he gave every effect in his power to the King's *Declaration*, and suspended thirty Ministers in his Diocese who refused to read it from their pulpits." See Surtees' Hist. Durham: Vol. i. Gen. History, p. cxvi., where a very interesting sketch of Crewe's career will be found. He nevertheless joined in the vote that James II. had abdicated the throne, but was, notwithstanding, excepted by name out of the general pardon granted by William and Mary. He afterwards, however, made his peace with the new government, at the price, it is said, of placing all his preferment at the disposal of the Crown, and took the oaths to William and Mary. But though forgiven, he was never afterwards trusted, and political influence hereafter he had none. "One can only lament," says Surtees, "that the peculiar circumstances of the time were such as to throw cruel sunshine on weakness and servility of mind, which in happier days might have passed unnoticed; whilst Lord Crewe's private virtues, and warm and active benevolence, might have found an equal sphere of action." Lord Crewe died at Stene, Sept. 18, 1722, in his 89th year.—Ed.

hath produced, I think, all most all kind of changes among men of every quality, degree and calling, but that which Doctor B. speaks of in his letters concerning his travells into Italy, I mean the change of sex.

I need not, my lord, give you any perticular account of my behaviour or usage in England, after your lordshipp was called up to London, about Michaelmas last, or of the manner of my escape, since your lordshipp was certified by letters from my selfe, in the moneths of Oct. and Nov. last, of most matters of moment relateing to the Church and County of Durham, (tho' I had the honour and satisfaction of receiveing an answer to few of them) and may come to the knowledge of other things by the relation of my deportment, which I have publish'd in my printed letter to my brother the Earle of Bathe, whereto I crave leave to referr your lordshipp and all who are inquisitive after me.

I shall onely embrace this occasion solemnly and publickly to assure your lordshipp, in generall, that I did faithfully, and with as much punctuallity as I was able, discharge those trusts which were comitted to me, in every one of the places and offices which I had the honour to bear under your lordship, and maintain'd my post in your absence, notwithstanding mighty discouragements, till it was not possible for me any longer to strive against the torrent which had hurryed all matters in that and other parts of the nation into great disorder and confusion.

When I saw there was noe possible means left for me but to sink, by endeavouring to oppose what was irresistable, or swim down the stream, (which noe arguement nor example of the age could, I thank God, prevail with me to doe) I was under a necessity to turne aside and withdraw my selfe, beholding matters a while att a distance, rather than in my own station and place of acting; since I carryed about with me an unalterable loyall heart, which would not suffer me to runn (as most did) with the multitude, and, on the other side, wanted both strength of my owne, and the assistance of others, effectually to oppose that unruly and many headed monster: but did not resolve to leave the kingdome, and commit my flock and family alone to God Almightyes protection and care, (as I afterwards did) till I had a powerfull example, which a dutifull subject ought to be proud to follow, and a precedent which may sett me above the censures of any person in the three kingdomes.

When my Soveraign was forced from his own pallace, nay driven out of the realme, it was time for those who were firmly resolved to adhere to and suffer with him, to yield to that force

and necessity which a mighty potentate, by complying with, proclaim'd to be invincible. Haveing then the honour to be one of that number, (and glorying that I am so) it would have been a preposterous course for me (who never play'd my game soe as to save my stake) to have stay'd at home or in England, when I was noe longer capable to serve him in those offices wherein I was placed, and while I had noe other prospect but that of a prison, without doeing what was impossible for me to doe, I mean bow down to Baal, or, in plain English, submit to an usurper.

This occasion'd first my flight to Carlisle, and from thence, upon its declaring for the Prince of Orange, and change of Governour, to Edinburgh, and from that citty, upon intelligence of an embargo, into France, (as is sett forth more att large in the former letter to my brother) to have the honour and satisfaction, which is noe small consolation to a loyall subject in banishment, of doeing homage to the royall family, and viewing our hopefull young Prince, who will live, I trust in God, to constrein his enemyes to confess (what they were, I doubt not, alwayes perswaded in their hearts) that he is the legitimate son of King James 2, and one of the greatest blessings which God ever bestowed on the English nation.

As for my part, (how great a paradox soever it may appear to some) I am fully convinced of the truth thereof, as I alwayes was of God's wonderfull goodness and providence in bringing his father, our gracious Sovereign, through all his troubles to the Crown. And I fear that our abhorr'd ingratitude towards God for two such inestimable blessings as the security of the succession by an heir male, and those halcion days which wee for two years enjoy'd (and might have enjoy'd longer had it not been our owne faults) under a gracious Prince of a condescending race, have above other sins pull'd downe God's judgments, and contributed towards the misery we now groan under, and the greater misery which hangs over our heads, and out of which we can never be delivered, but by the extraordinary assistance of the same mercifull and gracious God and King, whom wee have above measure provoaked and incensed.

I have never been asham'd, I thank God, to own such sentiments as these, amidst all the delusions which the generality of men of a contrary opinion have layen under, and the greatest obloquy and contempt which by them hath been cast on every one who stuck close to his Majesty, (as I thank God I have done to the utmost of my power) in asserting his prerogative. But I need not affirme this to your lordshipp, or any within your diocesse, haveing sufficiently proclaimed my judgment con-

cerning these matters in the pulpitt, both in the Cathedrall and other churches, after his Majestyes happy accession to the imperiall Crowne, and the birth of the Prince of Wales.

Towards the filling up that measure of iniquity wherewith our just God would noe longer dispense, and whereto our kings, our princes, and our prophets, nay all the people in the land, (to speak in the evangelical prophet's phrase) have contributed more or less; I know that I my selfe (a wretched, miserable sinner) have sadly help'd in every one of my capacityes, and heartily begg pardon of God, through Jesus Christ, for my share of the guilt. But it is to me an unspeakable comfort, that neither my enemyes, nor my owne conscience, can accuse me of those sinns which doe seem to be more imediate ingredients of God's wrath, and which certainly more than others have provoked him in such manner and by such instruements to punish us.

For I have heartily, and from the bottom of my soul, rejoyced att our gracious Soveraign's mounting the throne, [*and*] att God's blessing him and us with a hopefull prince. I have been all along, without murmuring, contented with his government. I have had alwayes more jealousy of the subject than of my Soveraigne. I have thought our selves (as it hath proved) nearer a rebellion than the introduceing of popery, and lastly, I am not, noe not in the thoughts of heart, guilty in the lestwise of that perfidiousness and ingratitude to my Soveraign, or injustice and unnaturallness to my fellow-subjects, of calling in forreign assistance for our preservation. Or if I had, it should have been any nation in the world rather than our neighbours of Holland, being not ignorant of their dealings with the English both at Amboina and Bantam.

'Tis highly probable, my lord, that these very things which I here alledge for my justification, and wherein I alsoe glory, will be received with derision, and objected against me as my crimes, and that mine and other men's forwardness to obey, and comply with the King, has contributed to his fall. This is a fate which I am sure it is not possible for me to avoid, since that, before I left the nation, I had this laid to my charge by some who, to justify their own fawning on the *Mobile*, out of fear or interest, began to lay all the guilt of the King and Kingdome's overthrow to the door of the King, and his most obedient subjects; as in Oates's and Tong's plott some brought in our late gracious Soveraign as concerned in a designe against his own life.

But I would crave leave here to know who are the objectors. If they are such as have renounced their allegiance to their

lawfull Soveraign, I may save the labour to answer them, they being not qualifyed to censure and accuse me for helping to what they were well pleased with, and desier'd should be brought to pass.

If they be such as will not at last submitt to the change of government, and take new oathes, tho' they have been too farr concerned in, and have too much contributed to, the setting up an usurped power, (by a greater complaisance with the Prince of Orange than I have been guilty of towards my Soveraigne) I reply that the doctrine of non-resistance, which we have alwayes till of late been fond of, set forth at large in our Church-Homilies, doth justify my behaviour; whereof any one may be soon convinced, that will be pleased to take the pains (which I have lately done) of seriously perusing, studying and analizing the Homilyes, published by authority, concerning Obedience, and against wilfull dissobedience, or Rebellion, from whence, noe more than from the Holy Scripture, can I learn any medium betwixt resistance and complyance. Hee that doth not comply with express and possitive comands of his Soveraigne, when he beleives those commands lawfull, doth in some measure resist him, that saying of our Lord in this case being certainly applicable: *He that is not for me is against me.*

But these and like censures will not, my lord, in any great measure afflict me. It hath been my fate to be from my youth inur'd to such and greater exercises of patience. Indeed I might be induced rather to suspect my loyalty and fidelity to my Soveraigne, if I should now escape scott free, and not be pelted at by those, who, out of the same mouth, can blow hot and cold, obey a lawfull prince, and obey an usurper whose unjustifiable proceedings (blessed be God) my soull doth detest and abhorr; being founded on that Laodicean temper, loathsome to God and good men, which I have laboured, ever since I have born any publick office in the Church or State, as far as it was possible for me, to oppose.

Your lordshipp, I am sure, (which is my comfort) will be none of those who shall load me with reproaches for my dutifull complyances with his Majesty, since your example, (which did out run others*) as well as your advice, did powerfully invite

* "To what the Dean says of the Bishop of Durham, 'that his example (which did outrun others) as well as his advice, did powerfully invite me, &c.,' I shall add a note or two in confirmation of it.

When the King's Declaration was appointed to be read, the most condescending thing the Bishop ever did me, was coming to my chamber (remote from his) to prevail with me to read it in his Chappell at Aukland; which I could not do, having wrote to my Curate not to read it at my living at Longnewton. But he did prevail with the Curate at Aukland to read it in his Church, where the Bishop was present

me thereto. And since, your lordshipp hath been soe kind as to attest with your mouth to his Majesty, that I was never backward to concur with you in any thing which was for the King's service. Wherefore I shall spend noe more ink to disturb your lordshipp with enlargeing on soe unnecessary a topick. But I shall take care to strive (by God's grace) to make good the character which your lordshipp was pleas'd to give of me last year to the King. You were not, my lord, any wayes deceiv'd in your attestation, neither shall his Majesty (I trust in God) in his expectation from me.

The remaining paper, then, my lord, will be more significantly employed in laying before your lordshipp and the world, the reasons why I have not governed my selfe by your lordshipp's example since October last, as I did before, and cannot be prevail'd on now to comply with the people's, as I did with the Lord's anointed, my leige and dread Soveraign.

It was, I know, sadly bewailable for persons in such publick stations, and soe nearly related as the Bishop and Dean of Durham, to draw two wayes as wee did, (I must confess) after your lordshipp was pleas'd to present a paper of advice to his Majesty to comply with the demands of the multitude.

And it was the more to be lamented that such division shou'd happen in a juncture of affairs, and conclusion of the Church and State, that requir'd the uniteing of all persons, in every body, ecclesiastick and civill, (all which strength was little enough) to uphold our Soveraign lord's Crown and dignity, which we both were stricktly, by our repeated oathes, (and pos-

to countenance the performance. When all was over, the Bishop (as a penance I presume) order'd me to go to the Dean (as Archdeacon) to require him to make a return to court of the names of all such as had not read it, which I did, tho' I was one of the number.

When the day of thanksgiving for the birth of the Prince (of Wales) was solemniz'd, the greatest and most splendid entertainment I ever saw at Durham was made by the Bishop upon that occasion, and he himself preached a very excellent sermon, exhorting all to loyalty and obedience to the King, &c. So it is worded in the Gazette, July 5 to July 9, for which reason I presum'd it to have been sent up by his secretary Mr. Peters. But having the curiosity to enquire, he told me bluntly, the account did not come from him, but was sent up by the Bishop himself. Many other instances I could add, for he (the Bishop) was really troublesome (and I sometimes weary) with his recounting his great and many obligations to the Duke, and after to the King."

These notes occur on the fly leaves of the copies of Dean Granville's book respectively contained in the Bodleian and the British Museum, and have evidently been transcribed from the original notes in the copy belonging to Tho. Baker, *Coll. Io. socius ejectus*. The editor regrets that this copy should have escaped his researches, for as Baker was a friend of Granville, and likewise a non-juror, it might probably have been found to contain some curious *adversaria*. It does not appear to be either in the University Library at Cambridge, or in that of Baker's own college of St. John's.—Ed.

sibly, more than all others, by perticular obligations, haveing receiv'd our preferments by his favour) engag'd to maintain, and which were more dangerously than ever struck at by enemyes att home and abroad.

I was astonished, my lord, at soe suddain and unexpected a change, and was, out of respect to your lordshipp, one of the last that in the citty of Durham gave credit to the reports (wherein your honour was concerned) which busyed for a while the mouth of almost every mouth [*sic*] in the county.

That that very method which wee were affraid, nay well assur'd of, before parting, was likely to destroy our present government and governours, (things portending as bad as in forty one) should so imediately (according to your owne expression) become the onely and most assur'd means of the preservation of the Kings person, and establishment of his government in Church and State, gave mee occasion beyond all measure to admire. And what should move your lordshipp, of all men in the nation, in an unusuall way to advise his Majesty soe to doe, is not yet discovered by me, tho' it often employes my thoughts.

This change of measures in your lordshipp, my Diocesan, whose counsell, example, and assistance, I did more than ever need and expect at such a desperate crisis, did wonderfully weaken me in the discharge of all dutyes incumbent on me, either as a Churchman or a Justice of the Peace, and did put me under an unavoidable necessity of abating in my zeal to attempt sundry things, and engage in severall designs, which could not be prosecuted, much less accomplished, without the concurrence of my Bishop and Lord Leivtenant.

This did likewise incapacitate me to censure, or soe much as curb, those insolent young clergymen, who, before your departure, were arriv'd to such a pittch of boldness as to expose, by undecent insinuations in the congregation, not only their Dean, but Bishop, for obedience to the King. And which impotency of mine was, the very Sunday after, made conspicuous by another indiscreet sermon, preach'd in the Cathedrall pulpitt, which I was forced to pas by without soe much as admonition, (only denying the preacher the customary respects of an invitation to my table) for fear of a second affront, since, instead of assistance from those who were sworn to give me that and much more, I met with reproaches, and was told, in the publick discharge of the Dean's office, *that I was well enough serv'd in that my Bishopp had left me in the lurch.*

I had noe small difficulty to bear up against and repell those arguements which were brought the last year, out of the other

Province, from the example of great and venerable prelates, which my intirely devoted heart to honour and obey the King would not permit me to imitate, tho' modesty would not allow me openly to condemn. But when those who laboured to shake me off from my foundation of firm loyalty, and to betray my innocence, by perswading me to enter into the herd, descern'd me void of my last support, and depriv'd of the example of myowne Bishopp and father in God, they attack't me (your lordship may imagine) with too great strength and rudeness for a single Dean, without countenance of superiour, or concurrence of inferiour, brethren, any longer to withstand or oppose with any considerable effect.

Tho' God Almighty (praised be His Holy Name) endowed me in that day of tryall with soe much courage as to attempt to doe it, in such manner as may hereafter prove to edification, never changing my note or measures (when all began to dance after an outlandish pipe) as long as I staid on the place. Witness my sermons I preach'd on the 5 and 9 of December, two dayes before I fled, and the Sunday after the generallity of the citty and country had, with open armes and mouth, receiv'd a discontented lord *, who, the week before, seiz'd on the towne for the Prince of Orange, and prophan'd both your Castle and Market Cross with the reading of a treasonable Declaration, as is related more at large in the foregoing letter.

I could not accord, I must confess, with such example of your lordshipp, nor with the example of others, in being silent, or sitting still in a time of imminent danger, warr, and tumult, when good nature, as well as good conscience, dictated to all faithfull clergymen and Christians not onely to lift up their voices like a trumpet, but to employ all their hands to have restrain'd the unruly multitude, which had gott the bitt in their teeth, and were running madly to a change of government, and deposition of their King, and in that, towards their own destruction, since the Monarchy, as well as our Church, was like to receive (as it hath done) an incureable blow by another disgrace and banishment of a lawfull sovereign, of the same stock and race which had been once before barbarously treated beyond expression, and in such degree that the English nation for a while became an object of contempt and indignation among the very Turks and Pagans.

However matters might appear to your lordshipp and other prelates above att London, (as I ought in duty to conclude, by your and their actings, that they did otherwise than to me

* The Lord Lumley. See *antè*, p. 70.—Ed.

below) I could not discover, when my eyes were most open, and clear'd by serious and fervent devotion, that any thing or course tended more to the preservation of the King's Crowne, and security of our Church under him, than our unfeigned submission to our supreme moderatour and governour, and our vigorous and constant opposition of seditious incendiaries and male-contents, who any wise irritated or inflam'd the people, or did undutifully capitulate with the King, being agitated (as was apparent) by an humour of popularity, and that republican spirit which was gone forth into the nation, which ought to have been withstood soe much the more, by how much it had gotten strength and numbers to terrify some of our greatest leaders in our very Sion, as well as our Jerusalem, who put themselves into a most dangerous post, (the head of the multitude) not out of dissaffection to the King, I am perswaded, so much as out of fear of that ungovernable beast who will make less scruple to pull off the Bishopps' lawn-sleeves and the Earles' coronetts, than either of them in the convention did to deprive their lord and Soveraign's head of the Crowne, and I must confess my selfe soe short-sighted, or hard to be convinced, that I cannot as yet see or owne, that I then made a wrong judgment of things, or on that account laboured under any errour.

Would God that all those whom I dare not deny to bee, as they think them selves, very much wiser men, (tho' they did approach as much towards rudeness in withstanding, as I did towards flattery in complying with, the king) had not too late discern'd the pernicious fatallness of the contrary errour, in endeavouring to bring God's vice-gerent to terms, whereby the soveraignity of our Defender of the Faith was soe weaken'd, broken, and shatter'd, that he was not able to protect either Church or State, or soe much as his owne sacred person from the hands of the rabble, nay not secure his very pocketts at last from the fate of me, his unworthy servant, and other his subjects, I mean from being in our flight pick'd and rifled.

Hinc illæ lachrimæ. And I make noe question but, if tears would redress what is past, thousands of those who murmured, and complained of the King, would shed whole rivers to restore the King, the Church, and the Kingdom, to the circumstances (as bad as they then thought them) which they were all in but last year. But God knowes it is now too late to make use of such feeble means for the recovery of what is lost: floods of tears being not like to prevaile, unlesse accompanyed with a holy violence, and conjoyned with sincere and hearty prayer, issueing out from a truly penitent heart and deeply humbled

soul. Wee have, God knowes, manly grasp'd our religion, our liberty, and our lawes, out of the hands of our own lawfully descended, mercifull Prince, who manifested all along, and even att the last upshot, that he carryed about with him, as he profess'd, a truly English heart, and whose interest it was (whatever was his Majestyes religion) to uphold them all: grasp'd them away, I say, and put them into the power, and att the mercy, of forreigners, whose humour and inclination it is, as well as interest, to destroy them all, whereof a few moneths are like to afford us more lamentable demonstrations, as we have reason to apprehend by the five or six that are past.

By these few honest reflections on the miserable estate of my native country, and more particularly on the Cathedrall and Archdeaconry of Durham, (which I cannot here reflect on without often sitting down and weep) your lordshipp may perceive that I am the very same that you found me when you entered on your Diocess, 17 years ago, and left me, in the month of October last, bearing the brunt of that dreadfull hurricane which was then comeing out of Holland, and struggling with that insatiable Hydra which did widely gape for the Crowne and Mytre, and is like, after devouring its supports, (like a juglar) to disgorge a common-wealth.

I am indeed, my lord, on all accounts, and to all intents and purposes, the very same I have ever been, intirely devoted to the honour and interest of the Royall family of the STUARTS, and soe unalterable and steddy a practiser, as well as professour, of the old Church of England religion, (and more especially of those distinguishing doctrines which do signally honour our Church, and which were, whilst practis'd, soe lovely in the eyes of all, as to prevail with a Roman Catholick prince, at his mounting the throne, to continue and protect her) that I can, by the power of noe temptation, or arguements of Dutch divinity, be induced to doe any certain sinfull act to preserve her, whether by way of resisting my lawfull Soveraigne, or complying with an usurper.

I say, my lord, that I am, both by nature and instinct, a perfect abhorrer of that diabolick sin of rebellion, however varnish't over by the father of lyes, and by what names or titles soever it be dignifyed or distinguished. And, in the same temper of mind, I doe here declare to your lordshipp (which I desire may be communicated to every person in your Diocese under you) that I am resolved, by the grace of the Almighty, to end my dayes.

Grieving that your lordshipp hath, by doeing homage to a superiour which I cannot owne, absolved me, in a great mea-

sure, from the canonicall obedience, duty, and respect, which I did once owe you, (and whereby I am capacitated to take greater freedome with your lordshipp than 'twas lawfull for me to doe in former letters, as well as debarr'd of begging your benediction with the same delight I have done formerly) I rest,

My Lord,

Your Lordshipp's &c.

DENIS GRANVILLE.

Roüen, July the 1, 1689.

TO THE VICE-DEAN AND PREBENDARIES

OF THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF DURHAM.

MR. VICE-DEAN AND OTHER PREBENDARYES OF DURHAM,

THO' the bodily infirmityes I now feel, as well as the great ones I have struggled with since I left Durham, (intimated in a letter from Edinburgh) have been, and are, sufficient to excuse my absence, and may justify me in the eyes of God and man for leaving for some time soe cold and moist an air as the north of England, and repairing into a clime more warme and benigne, yet I, who have been all my dayes a lover of plain dealing, think not fitt to conceal any longer the more substantiall reasons which did at first hurry me away from you, and doe still detain me abroad.

Till I was well got out of the reach of those new governours, whom I could neither owne nor obey, and from whom, for that very cause, had hopes of small favour, I was, as well as my betters, necessitated to use the most plausible arguements I could with innocence for a voyage into France, without declaring the bottome of my designe. And Providence at that time furnishing me with one very authentick, and reasonable enough, (to wit, upon the returne of a dangerous cough, to goe once more into a country from which I had received formerly considerable advantage in points of health) I should have been much to blame if I had not made use thereof as I did in order to my escape.

On this account, (in my letter to you and discourse with those I met in my journey) I insisted on little else than what related to my then growing indisposition, which was come to a great heighth, neither did I (God be thanked) meet or converse with any so unreasonable or inquisitive as to demand stronger motives than the recovery and preservation of my health, (the next valuable blessing to the salvation of my soule) to authorize my designe of hastening into this kingdom, famous for its soveraigne and beneficiall air for all consumptive constitutions. And the vertue whereof, tho' I am not got into the most salutiferous region, I now already, in a very great measure, perceive.

But tho' all I alledge be very true and reall, yet I dare not deny that other and greater matters (set forth in a precedent letter) did first put it into my thoughts, and incline me to quitt my station, and without which, had the danger of my life been never soe great, I must confess that I think I had never more thus left my charges, after soe considerable an absence heretofore (to recover my health) from my offices and cures.

In plain English then, I declare to all the world that the true cause of my suddain flight was, that I carryed about me a conscience, more untractable and less plyable to an usurpation than most I left behind, as process of time hath made too apparent. My conscience (such as it was) did oblige me to the utmost of my strength to oppose all usurp'd power, (as I did to the last, witness all the congregation in the Quire the Sunday before my departure) and then, I need not tell you, it was not fitt for me to stay there any longer. I might use the word *impossible*, rather than unfitt, since I could not with good conscience stay. *Id tantùm possumus*, (says the civilian) *quod jure possumus*.

I cannot deny that every one of you, and all those clergy in the nation which were satisfyed and resolved to submitt, that is to say, renounce your allegiance to your lawfull Soveraigne, and swear new to those who have ungodlily and unjustly deposed him, have done politickly enough to remaine at home, sit still, and hold your tongues, at a time when the right Church of England religion, (according to the best notion I have of it) nay, Christianity in generall, required all faithfull preachers to lift up their voices like a trumpet, to oppose the madness of the people, and stopp them in their carreer to destruction.

But I, your unworthy Dean, who, without doubt or scruple, beleiv'd it at that time, as I doe at present, a piece of detestable rebellion to joyne with any in a conspiracy against our King's Crowne, as well as life, (and desire to be torne with wild horses

rather than soe to doe) did as politickly (and I am sure more honestly) in withdrawing.

But I desire you to remember that I did not stirr from my post, till the citty of Durham was polluted by the reading of a Declaration, which, by a late Proclamation of the King's, was pronounced treasonable; and that there were not four publick Magistrates, nor one Minister in the towne, had the courage any wayes to oppose it, or declare their dissent thereto; a very feeble support for a Dean resolv'd (as I then declar'd I was, and now declare anew that I am,) to stick close by God's grace to the Crowne of my only lawfull Soveraigne, King James the 2, his heirs and successours, knowing noe difference betwixt the duty and obedience I owne to a prince of the protestant, and to a prince of the Roman faith.

Nay, I desire you moreover to consider, that I did not run away and forsake my flocks, as some may be apt to object, when I saw the wolfe comeing, but after I saw him come, and with open mouth ready to devour, and had my selfe, in some sort, tasted his fierceness.

I beseech you therefor to take notice, that it was not till the 11 of December, at night, that I left Durham, a day after his sacred Majesty was driven from Whitehall, by which time the wicked contrivers of this sad Revolution had accomplished what they had been long endeavouring, stript the King of all his supports, put him under a necessity, as well as his most faithfull subjects, to fly into another nation, and shewn their goodwill towards the dissolution of the government.

And farther, and above all this, though I could not stay longer in Durham without being defiled by concurring, or confin'd for opposing, I did not leave England till the 20 January, nor fly out of the King's dominions till the subject, who was tender enough of his own property, had, after innumerable violations of the King's prerogative, presum'd to dispose of the very Crown.

For Ash Wednesday* was over before I took shipping in Scotland, a dismall day, a day which I shall mark in my calendar with a note of deeper humiliation than before, a day which, by all truely devoted soules to the honour and interest of the imperiall Crowne of England, will be remembered with more regrett than Ash Wednesday 1653, a day indeed once thought fitt for the inauguration of an usurper †, who, tho' in all other

* The crown offer'd to the Prince of Orange on Ash Wednesday.
† Cromwell declared Protector on Ash Wednesday, 1653.

respects odious and infamous, had not the boldness to seize on the Crowne, nor the people of England, at that time, (tho' plunged over head and ears in rebellion) the timidity nor stupidity to offerr it to him, who, without all dispute, might then with less sinn and more prudence, have put it on his head, (it haveing for a while been deposited and unemploy'd) than somebody since snatch'd it from the head of his owne uncle, nay father.

This is, Gentlemen, the true and reall cause of my withdrawing, and if you please to be mindfull of the criticall time when, the manner how, and the cause wherefore, being alsoe soe just to your Dean as not to look barely on his goeing away, but consider it as circumstantiated, and allowing me so much charity (who have alwayes exercised greater towards my dependents) as to beleive I did att least mean well then, and doe speak true att present, I am willing to bear all other censures you can load me with for this late hazardous undertakeing, which, however it may be misunderstood in England, (over which, as of late, there seems still to hang some notorious cloud and mist which strangely obscures men's understanding) and deem'd an act of fear or folly, yet I am, God be prais'd, fully perswaded that it was the most honest, the most couragious, and the wisest, act of my whole life, and doe incessantly praise his name that he was pleas'd to endow me with his grace, (passing by many more capable to doe him service) at that very time, and in such maner as I did, to bear witness of the truth.

1. For my flock: had I (whose notion of religion and loyalty hath caused me all along to act at another rate) fail'd by a sordid and truely mean complyance, I had certainly done them irrepairable wrong, by thwarting my past doctrine and destroying the example of my whole life.

2. As for my revenue: tho' I possest the best Deanery and possibly the best Archdeaconry, and one of the best liveings in England, a faithfull Christian ought not soe highly to value them as to put them into the scales with his conscience; and besides, I doe not forget that I both received and held my Deanery by the King's favour, and doe resolve that without his favour I will never keep it.

These two perticulars granted, I leave all men to judge whether it was an unwise act of mine, all things considered, to withdraw *when, and in such manner* as I did, and I doe well assure my selfe that it will [*not*] be esteemed otherwise by all those that doe not deny the truth of this undoubted maxime, that honesty is the best policy. And I doe comfort my selfe that my poor exploded notions of honesty and religion, loyalty

to my King, and obedience to the precepts and rules of the Church, will yet come in vogue before I leave the world, (tho' I have too much reason to apprehend that, unless the change of air preserve me, I shall not be a long lived man) however they be run downe and rejected in this intoxicated age, which hath in a manner captivated men's senses, as well as their understandings.

I that am, the Lord be thanked, happily deliver'd for a while from the foggs of my owne country, (which were sadly encreased since its late alliance and communication with Holland) doe noe more doubt, than I cease to pray for, the King's glorious and blessed Restauration. That joyfull day, in spight of men and divells, will come assoon as the Church and Kingdome are, by a profound humiliation and sincere repentance, prepar'd for soe choice a blessing: and when it doth come, or is nigh approaching, it will infallibly open men's eyes, and cause them clearly to discerne their past egregious folly, and facility in suffering themselves to be soe soon overcome, by such deplorable delusion, as not to distinguish betwixt the felicity of living under an undisputable lawfull and gracious prince, (of the most mercifull and eligible race and qualifications) and bearing the yoke of an usurper, whose crowne must necessarily be maintained, as it is gotten, by the sword, and whose reigne, tho' it begins *In nomine Domini*, and is usher'd in by a shew of religion, and seeming love of liberty and lawes, soon becomes grievous, and his little finger felt much heavier than the lawfull predecessour's loyns.

It will not be needfull to pretend to the spirit of prophecy for this discovery: the last eight or nine moneths experience doth powerfully evince the truth of what I affirm. There doth seem already to be eyes enough open, if their hands were at liberty, (and good swords in them) in Scotland and England too, as well as Ireland, to deliver those miserable kingdomes from reall tyranny and presbitery, which are not like to be found much more tolerable for the late unjustifyable as well as unintelligible methods of exclusion of popery and pretended arbitrary power.

All those who were come to, and could exercise their understandings, from the year '41 to the year '60, cannot forget the unsufferable slavery which the three kingdomes underwent upon the unhappy conjunction of those forementioned unseparable twinns. The horrid rebellion of those dayes was less odious than the present one, which is accompanyed with the highest aggravations, less odious, I say, or at least less unnaturall, (than that under which the best subjects and Christians in England at present groan) in sundry respects, had not the former been

deeply dyed in the blood of King Charles the Martyr. And yet all the religion, and great ostentation of purity of the Gospell, wherewith it was introduced, and at last, after a flood of loyall blood, submitted to, by an infatuated generation, ended at length in downright enthusiasm, which, by breaking of fences and tearing up foundations, lett in a deluge of all kind of prophanenes: the priviledges and propertyes, as well as the liberty, of the subject were got into the hands of such miserable keepers as kept them all to themselves, in such sort as scarce any person, you doe well remember, could be master of them, or meet with them, but att Wallingford house. In a word, after inexpressible violence and injustice, cutting off sundry members of Church and State, and most, those well fix'd Church of England men, (clergy or layicks) who had the valour to withstand the usurpers of those dayes; all matters att last run into anarchy and confusion, and the babell which had been twenty years in building, after a short tottering at the death of their cheif upholder, fell and crush'd it selfe with its own weight, and cover'd all their antimonarchicall machinations with its ruins.

The serious and sober review of all past transactions, from the beginning of the long and Great Rebellion, home to the Dutch invasion, to wit, of the first stupendous wickedness of the enemyes of the King and Church of England, the wonderfull long sufferring of a justly incens'd God, his unconceivable goodness and compassion, at length, in a reall delivery of our nation and the Church, (from not onely the most arbitrary power which had been before exercised, but from the utmost malice of its worst adversaryes who were watching to devour her) the wretched requitall of God's mercy and love made to heaven by the most reall (I fear none can excuse themselves) as well as pretended friends of Crowne and Miter, in repaying such unexpressible bounty with contempt and ingratitude, and, at last, the most deplorable folly and madness of the people of England, in being catch'd by, nay running into, the very same snares wherein they had been once before entangled, by the subtility of the devill, almost to their utter destruction. The recalling to mind, and through consideration, I say, of such and the like passages, should have made us, methinks, wise enough to have avoided in due season the same trapp which was againe laid for us, and into which we are a second time fallen; at least, one would guess, (or else we are become perfectly stupid and insensible) should awake every one to look to his aftergame, for fear wee may be remedylessly depriv'd of the remaining part of our felicity, which is bound upp in the life of our distress'd Soveraigne and his legitimate issue by our gracious Queen-Consort,

who hath evidenced her selfe, in these and former inumerable troubles of our afflicted and thrice banish't Prince, a notable example of submission and patience, and who ought to be, for being made by God the happy instruement of bringing us the blessing of a hopefull heir-male, for ever dear to the English nation and all faithfull subjects to the Crown of England.

If such extraordinary dealings of the God of heaven, varyed to every man's capacity and condition, if neither God's speaking by a still voice nor in the whirlewind, neither by the sunshine of mercyes nor the thunder of his judgments, (that dreadfull clap whereinto the late black clouds driven into England out of Holland broke very fatally, to the unhinging of the whole fabrick of our government, both in Church and State) will reclaime us, and make us sensible of our most reall interest and happyness in a most desirable and well establisht Monarchy and Episcopacy, (and a gracious Prince according to the heart's wish of every right loyall son of the Church of England; save that he doth not profess our religion) nor reduce us to that intire obedience and submission to the King and Church which the wise dispensations of a loving and long-suffering God seem above other things by many repeated summonses loudly to call for, there remains nothing but a fearfull looking for of judgment. I know noe salve for our sore, nor can discover any thing which can mollify such stony hearts, or mortify such corrupt natures, that have lamentably defeated our Heavenly Father in all his methods to do good unto us and save us. And I, who have never been (all that know me must confess) a man of excessive fear and jealousy as to the publick, must sink down in despair, and conclude that the people of England, the other day an object of envy to all the nations round about us, are signally mark'd out for God's displeasure, and will be made a standing monument of his wrath to all succeeding ages.

But I shall not detaine you longer with reflections on the state of England. It will be a duty more incumbent on me to consider the circumstances of Durham, and therein those of the Cathedrall Church, my speciall and more perticular charge, wherein I have been by the favour of my King, rather than my own meritt, sett to preside.

And indeed I cannot thoroughly reflect on that Church and Citty, wherein I have (by God's permission and the King's kindness) had the honour for the last 27 years to be dignifyed, without melting into teares. To consider that the Bishopprick and Cathedrall Church of Durham, which had soe well approv'd themselves both to his late and present Majesty, and usually exceeded others in expressions of loyalty, should now lye un-

distinguishable and incorporated in the mass of rebellion which the wise and just God is pleas'd to permit to oppress the whole land, pierces my very soul.

It was one of the most painfull mortifications I ever mett with, the week before my departure, to discerne my selfe deserted by all the Citty Clergy, in my honest zeal for the righteous cause of my Soveraigne, in such sort as not to discover then on the place any one ecclesiastick, neither in the Cathedrall, or any parochial Church or Chappell within the precincts of that Citty, who had the courage at that time to owne openly, either in the pulpit or in his conversation, his opposed Prince's interest and honour, by shewing just indignation against that treasonable attempt which was then insolently made against his Crown and dignity, in reading publickly and with great formality the rebellious paper* mentioned in this and former letters, tho' every man, who was not a mere ideot, must comprehend that that very act countenanced was, in effect, the pulling up the sluse, and letting in a stream of rebellion, to overflow the whole County.

This was, I declare, to me a mighty exercise of patience, and did, among other pressures, which possibly contributed much to my crazy condition last winter, heavily afflict me: but when I look farther, and at this day regard the state ecclesiastick of the whole County, and discover but three of all my brethren of the Clergy through the whole Bishoprick of Durham, (as I am made beleive by report) who have had either the integrity or courage to stand their ground against a new and unlawfull oath of allegiance to a prince sett up by the abhorr'd treachery and unheard of ingratitude of the people, (subjects) who have noe authority in our ancient heriditary realme to dispose of the Crown, I am above measure astonished, and overwhelmed with greif, which grief is unexpressibly augmented, when I consider that the members of that body or comunity, whereof I have had the honour to be head, have incurr'd the same guilt; and those eminent persons which, as salt, by their examples ought to have season'd the whole Diocess, are rendered uncapable to reprove their inferiours and reprehend the sins of the times.

Alas! if resistance of the higher powers be, by some modern Divines and distinctions, refin'd into a vertue, is perjury no sin? If the sacred authority of our *earthly god* (the stile in Scripture allow'd to a lawfull Soveraign †) be faln into such deplorable

* The Prince of Orange's Declaration.

† Psal. lxxxii. 6. Cf. the Homily against Disobedience and wilful Rebellion, pt. i. (p. 493. Oxford Ed.) "As the name of the King is very often attributed and given

contempt among subjects, that there is little regard given either to their promises or commands, is the majesty of the God of Heaven become soe mean and cheap that men, nay Divines, dare cancell the obligation of an oath? And the calling God to witness the truth of what wee promise become void and of noe effect, as soon as our interest tempt us to break it? If soe, then farewell all religion, nay conversation and commerce among men. If the bonds of a sacred oath are not sufficient to hold men, surely nothing can.

The evills and mischeifs which must unavoidably attend a sin soe universally committed through the Kingdome, even by the leaders and guides of Christ's flock, are more and greater than it is possible for any to conceive or foresee.

Such a notorious contradiction of your owne past preaching and practice must, I fear, render you very cheap amongst those people, which you have drawne into a snare by a very sinfull example, and who have too much sense not to discerne the illness thereof, tho' they want courage to resist it.

I am sorry that the necessity I am putt to of delivering my soul constreins me here to declare thus much, and that you have very often in my presence preach'd false doctrine, if your present proceedings and complyances are justifyable.

It's now a more seasonable time than it was* a year agoe for us ecclesiasticks, who cannot swallow implicit faith, to teach our hearers to beware of implicit obedience. If it were dreadfull and dangerous while we liv'd under a gracious Prince of an undoubted title, whose excessive goodness and forwardness to rely on his subjects hath prov'd his ruin, is it become otherwise under the government of a prince who hath by violence wrested a crown from the very father of his owne princess, and his own near relation, who, by such an act of unparellel'd injustice, and inexcusable and palpable defect of veracity, (in having at his first entrance grosly contradicted his owne Declaration) gives more just grounds than both his uncles or his grandfather ever did, of jealousy and fear, and to conclude that he intends to rule, as he conquer'd, the Kingdome, proposing to himselfe noe other motives in his future government than he did in his first invasion, and what they were it will be needless to recite to any, but those who were, dureing the months of Oct. and November

unto God in the holy scriptures; so doth God himself in the same scriptures sometimes vouchsafe to communicate his name with earthly princes, terming them gods." —Ed.

* Preachers in the Cathedrall Church of Durham, as well as elsewhere, began to caution their hearers against implicite obedience; whereby they did att that time mean all complyance with K. James 2.

last, fast a sleep: and what will become then of our religion, libertyes, and lawes, it will be easy enough to divine.

O fortunatos nimium, bona si sua norint, &c.

The review of our past felicity, those very blessings we enjoyed, and sadly overlook'd, during the reign of our present Soveraigne, must needs greivously torment our hearts, and give us occasion of pining away with just vexation and anger at our selves: since it is not possible now for us, in all humane apprehension, to swim back to such our (sottishly neglected and lost) happiness, but through that sea of blood which tyrants and usurpers comonly shed, in prosecuteing and accomplishing their Machiavellian designes, and it is matter of noe small moment for men, especially churchmen, to examine, throughly and impartially, how much of the guilt will lye at their owne doores, as a great measure thereof must, it is without all dispute, rest at the door of every one who hath knowingly and wilfully contributed to the fall and banishment of his lawfull Prince, whereby he is putt under a necessity, out of justice to his son, to recover his owne by the sword, which by force and violence, as well as the abhorr'd treachery of his owne subjects, were taken from him.

And I doe beseech you to be assured, that in now recommending to you (whom God hath plac'd under my authority) soe seasonable and necessary a task as this sort of selfe examination, I doe manifest that I am (as I have done often in other matters) your faithfull friend, as well as

Your affectionate brother,

DENIS GRANVILLE.

Roüen, Aug. 15, 1689.

TO THE CLERGY

OF THE ARCHDEACONRY OF DURHAM.

REVEREND BRETHREN,

AMONG the many applications which, upon my withdrawing and leaveing the nation, I have been oblig'd out of common decency, as well as good conscience, (considering the publickness of my circumstances) to make to my relations, naturall and spirituall, I might without censure or blame, omitt all laborious

penning down of my thoughts for you, the Clergy of my Archdeaconry, having for more than twenty yeares together, with the greatest industry and best zeal I was able, from year to year, by word and letter, and sometimes in print, not only incited you at my Visitations, faithfully and diligently to execute your offices, but plainly and fully deliver'd my soule at my last and more memorable Visitation, on the 15th of the never to be forgotten moneth of Nov. 1688, ten dayes after our late (Dutch protestant) Gunpowder treason, brotherly adviseing, nay earnestly pressing you, to stand the test in that great day of tryall, that you might not have lost either the honour or reward of confessours for a righteous cause, in asserting whereof I am willing (and resolve by God's grace) to sacrafice my life, as I have done my revenue, if the wise God should think fitt to call me to the one as he hath done to the other.

To demonstrate undeniably to your selves, and all that heard me that day, that I was not, among all my weaknesses, affraid or asham'd to owne my past life and doctrine, and to compleat the office of a Visitor as honestly and heartily as I began, I chose, you may remember, to lay before you the cheif heads of all the good counsell and advice which I had given you, at the former conventions of the Clergy of my Jurisdiction, for four years together, even the four last extraordinary years, that is to say, ever since his gracious Majesty, our liege lord and Soveraigne, King James the 2, mounted his throne; tho' I had too much reason then to apprehend, by your long neglect thereof, and running counter to the principles and practice of your Archdeacon, it would badly suit with your palates, which at that time to my grief appear'd, and since, without all dispute, are found, not only vitiated, but poyson'd, by the leaven and magick of the age.

It was ever my hopes that his Majestyes loyall County of Durham (the appellation which my gracious Master, King Charles the 2, was wont, as I have often reminded you, to afford us) would have resisted longer than any diocesse in England, by vertue of the good government which was very seasonably, and more effectually than elsewhere, therein set on foot, at his joyfull Restauration.

How little prevalent and unsuccessfull soever my poor and weak endeavours prov'd towards your establishment, I could not imagine that the Clergy of the Bishoprick of Durham could have soe soon forgotten (much less frustrated) the precepts and example given them by soe great a confessor* and stout cham-

* Bishopp Cosins.

pion of the old orthodox Church of England as had happily reviv'd good order and conformity to the Church's rules among them.

But since wee find, by sad experience, that it is soe, and that even the very leaders have apostatiz'd from their duty to God and the King, it become me (who dare not follow their example) to doe all that I can to prevent the people of my Archdeaconry from being seduced thereby.

You know I have labour'd faithfully, and with zeal more than ordinary, to assert the King's cause, from the year 1678 (through all the combustions occasioned by an infamous impostor) home to the Dutch invasion, and at that very time, even on the 15 of Nov. 1688, brought all the wholesom advice which I had given, at severall Visitations, to your view in one address, (as before mention'd) which I have printed for your farther edification, and my owne justification: and, in the next place, I knew of nothing better that I could doe than to preach to you by my example, in leaving my station and my revenue, (when I could not be permitted longer to discharge a good conscience) rather than involve my selfe in the guilt of an usurpation; which act of mine, how greatly soever it may have been censured, I esteem as the best sermon I ever preach'd in my life, the reflection on which affords much comfort to my soule, since thereby I clear'd my selfe from the guilt of renouncing my allegiance, as the generality have done, which will prove an eternal blot to the nation, not excepting the Clergy of the Church of England.

'Tis too late now to give you cautions against perjury, or to set before your eyes how much more heinous it is in a priest than in a layman, because the greatest part of you already have swallowed a new oath to an usurper: and to inform you in the obligation that lyes on you to repent of, rather than to keep, the oath you have taken, is to conclude you (what I ought not to do) not only bad Christians, but very weak Divines.

There is noe man, that understands any thing of religion, but knows that a rash oath only obliges to repentance, whereof that there might be some meet and worthy fruits brought forth among the Clergy of my Jurisdiction, would prove to me great mater of consolation; and if it were done very speedily, it would be a very great extenuation of their crime, and afford good ground to hope they were overborne with the boisterousness of a violent storme, rather than did wilfully plunge themselves in soe horrid a guilt.

Let not the fear of loosing your possesions (which I thank God has not prevail'd on me) tempt you to lye one moment

under soe insupportable a load. The enjoyments of your liveings will be sadly purchas'd by the encrease of soe enormous an impiety, and there will be a lamentable precedent left to your flocks, if you, the pastors, have not sufficient sincerity to make a speedy confession for your sin, and courage enough publickly to owne the same, by giveing glory to God, and takeing shame unto your selves. There can be noe more effectuall way to redeem your own honour than by restoring God's. Nothing contributed so much to the glory of St. Augustin as his Confessions and retractions, and, consequently, nothing can be more to yours, than to betake your selves to this essential part of repentance, I mean the confession of your crime, whereby you have scandaliz'd your flocks.

You that have taken an unlawfull oath to save your benefices, have thereby put your selves under a greater necessity of parting with them, or retaining your guilt. For nothing less than soe [*doing*] seems to bee a sufficient evidence of your sincerity. God hath soe ordered it by his Divine Providence that a sinner alwayes misses of his aime. Those that betake themselves to unlawfull courses, to save their lives or estates, must necessarily forsake them, and enter on such as are diametrically contrary to the former, or loose their soules, which are infinitely more valuable than both. Repentance ought to be esteem'd by every ordinary Christian a returning from sin, yea, such a returning as requires the treading out the very stepps which the sinner made in order to the commission of it: and surely, then, whatsoever is binding in the disciple, must be much more obligatory in the spirituall guide.

But I shall not dive too far into perticulars, and chalk out the exact method and manner how you shall make reparation for the wrong which you have done, by submitting to an usurper, both to the King and Church of England. I have reason to beleive that all of you know your duty well enough, and many, I am sure, better than I can instruct you; since the prerogative of the King, passive obedience, and non-resistance, were preach'd up with more zeale by you in the Bishoprick of Durham, than they were by others in any diocess of England, where conformity to the orders of the Church, and execution of other lawes of the land, were soe well practis'd, (tho' not as well as they ought to have been) that the Bisheprick, which was anciently stil'd *the land of priests*, was generally reputed *the seat of thorough conformists*.

You on the place, acting, must see more clearly than I can, at this distance, (tho' your eyes have been in a great measure blinded by the smoak of a rebellion) the fittest manner and

opportunityes of makeing satisfaction for your egregious apostacy.

I shall therefor, rather than prescribe the means, mind you of your indispensable obligation to doe the thing, and soe redeem your honour, and redress the scandal you have given, to the increase of your own sin, and the unspeakable greif of my soul, who did faithfully labour to make every one committed to my charge such as God hath given me grace to approve my selfe, even an unalterable loyall subject to King James the second, as well as soe legitimate a son of the Church of England, as can never be perswaded that it can be for her interest to contradict her doctrine, which, as I have hitherto profest, and held fast among all the blasts of temptation, (from whatever point of the compass they have blowne) I am resolved, by the divine assistance, to practice unto the end, in spight of the most prevalent examples or malicious censures used now as arguements or engines to overthrow me.

That such a generall neglect of church order among the Clergy through the nation (as I long and loudly complain'd of and warn'd you against) shou'd be attended on by soe fatall an issue as an universall defection, should not be a thing perfectly new to you, to whom I address my selfe, since you your selves can be my witnesses that I have often faithfully foretold, that an universall semi-conformity would end in as universall semi-allegiance, and would God we had not found by lamentable experience that itt had done much more, by produceing that degenerate offspring who have not onely imbrued their hands in soe horrid a crime as the dethroning their lawfull Soveraign, but, like vipers, have in a manner eaten out their very Mother's bowells.

I do not doubt but that Almighty God hath by this time brought to your memory some of those seasonable cautions and mementos which I have plainly laid before you in the publick discharge of my archidiaconall office, with some greater force and effect on your spirits than they had at their first delivery. I cannot have such prejudiciall thoughts of you as to imagine otherwise, since Divine Providence often lead me to such suitable topicks as might have prevented, by God's blessing, (had they been generally insisted on by all those who had ecclesiasticall jurisdiction, and not been rejected by the people) much of our present misery: the ill effects of which are like to be felt by the succeeding generation, tho' wee shou'd be bles'd tomorrow with such undeserv'd felicity as all good Christians long for, I mean the speedy Restauration of our Soveraign, religion, libertyes, and laws. If any of my brethren prove not

onely unkind, but so unjust as to deny what I affirm, in reference to the seasonable advice which I did from time to time recomend to them, the papers which I have by me, containing the heads of my Visitation-discourses, which had better luck than some of my money and plate, in escapeing the hands of the rabble, who treated me roughly enough in my first flight from Durham, can testify for me, and demonstrate to the most malicious of my contemners or opposers, that I was, dureing my station among you, noe unfaithfull and negligent, tho' weak and unsuccessfull, Visitor.

There are many things I have said that I am sure you cannot easily forget, which, tho' they had not their first designed effect on you, may, consequently deserve some of your consideration. It would be very gratefull to me to be informed that I am not mistaken in this perticular, but that my past perswasions to doe your duty may operate, as good counsell hath often done, in length of time, and at a great distance.

Some desireable fruit in the conclusion, (which I doe not despair of) from those numerous young plants that I had, for 26 years together, with great care and pains, vigilantly water'd, will, amidst all the mortification I undergoe, revive my soule, and compensate in some measure from [*? for*] that lamentable cropp which I have hitherto reap'd from the seed I have sowne; haveing met withall, at leaveing my station, little other returne of my labours than Almighty God did, (Isa. the 5,) where, after the heavenly husbandman had dig'd and dress'd his vineyard, and graciously expected it should have brought forth grapes, it brought forth (as ours and other diocesses have done) *wild grapes*, which must be acknowledged, after such heavenly cultivation, a wretched retribution.

Heartily praying that the Almighty would strengthen those few that stand, and raise up all who are fallen, I comend my whole Jurisdiction to God's blessing, and rest

Your ever faithfull (tho' unworthy) visitour

DENIS GRANVILLE.

Roüen, Aug. 25, 1689.

Postscript.—Haveing in the preceding letter omitted to reply to one censure, (whereto I am lest willing to answer, being more desire-[ous] to justify my selfe than accuse my brethren) I cannot forbear to take notice thereof in a postscript. I mean that of singularity, to witt, that my being *the only dignifyed clergyman*

of the Church of England that doth at present attend his Master in his exile, ought to make me suspect my zeale. This is the judgement of my enemies, that is to say, of the compliers with the usurpation in England. But if any of them, or others, twit me with singularity at this time, I shall be the less surpriz'd therewith, since the non-complyance of the Clergy under my authority in that strict order and conformity which I ever thought my selfe obliged to practice, (and did observe, I thank God, in such a degree, as to evince the practicableness of those dutyes, which some men's sloth represented impossible) hath rendered me soe, for near 30 years together. And that I have been so, I mean, not discourag'd to keep up as close as I could to the Churches rules, (tho' I have wanted the example and company of any right and thorough pased conformist since the decease of my ever honoured brother Archdeacon Basire) is at this juncture noe discomfort to me. For if God had not endowed me with grace and resolution to have performed my duty in a time of peace and quiet, I should never have been able to doe it in a time of trouble, and to withstand that rageing torrent which hath over flowne our Church and State.

A LETTER

TO MR. JAMES HOPE, CURATE OF THE PARRISH OF EASINGTON, AND MR. WM. KINGFORD, CURATE OF THE PARRISH OF SEDGEFIELD, IN THE BISHOPRICK OF DURHAM, SUBSTITUTED BY DR. GRANVILLE TO SERVE THE AFORSAID CURES.

BRETHREN,

AMIDST all the mortifications and exercises of patience which have been occasion'd to me by the late revolution of affairs in Church and State, and more perticularly by the defection of the Clergy of my own Jurisdiction, nothing has created soe much disquiet, and so lasting a disturbance to my mind, as that there should happen any scandalous failure in either of you, my more peculiar deputyes, and fellow labourers in the Gospell of Christ.

Tho' the members of that community whereof I am head,

together with the Clergy of my Archdeaconry, began to take different measures from mee, which gave me too much ground to fear that they would, (as they afterwards did) *bow down to Baal*, in shakeing off their allegiance to their liege lord and Sovereign, and submit to an usurper, yet I did comfort my selfe with strong hopes that you, my immediate supporters, would stick by me, and endeavour to the utmost of your powers to uphold me, (against the violence of the storme which threatened) notwithstanding our different sentiments and apprehensions touching some matters in relation to the transactions of the year past. But after all these my expectations, that one of my crutches (give me leave soe to terme you, since I did soe esteem you,) should break, in a time of danger and difficulty, is to me great ground of grief and trouble.

That about the begining of the year 1688 I and you should sometimes differ in our oppinion of things, (when there began to be an unhappy division among the Clergy, not excepting the very Fathers, of the Church of England) afforded no great matter of wonder or admiration, but in the moneth of December following, when all eyes were (or ought to be) opened, by a reall unnaturall invasion, and saw all the hast imaginable made violently to usurp the Crowne, by the dethroning of a lawfull and gracious Prince, strikes me with great astonishment, especially considering my earnest and unwearyed endeavours by the utmost condescension and reasonings to inform you of ill designes carryed on (which I had the luck, you must acknowledge, to forsee better than your selves) against the Church, as well as King, of England;—that one of you, I say, (God be praised it is not both) with whom I had taken soe much pains to keep steddy, should, after soe plain a discovery of the bottom of ill men's intrigues to involve the nation in that deplorable misery under which it doth at present groane, should, I say, not only totter, but at last fall into soe abhorr'd a crime as perjury, doth pierce my very soule to think on't, since by such ill example there is an irreparable injury done to my flock, and to the young Clergy of my Jurisdiction, like to be influenced by the example of the Archdeacon's Curate, who, till this late epidemick apostacy, had been very exemplary in keeping up good order and discipline, according to the good old right principles of those venerable Prelates* under whom, by God's providence, I had my education.

I cannot reflect on soe unpardonable a breach of trust, tho' never soe varnish'd over with the false paint now vented in the

* Bishopp Gunning; Bishopp Cosins.

kingdom, without sore indignation; nor cease to charge the guilt of soe great a sin upon you my representative in my parrish of Sedgfield, (to whom I now singly speak) who have committed the same with many high aggravations, as the following perticulars will make appear.

First, you being a person that was happily train'd up, not onely in a (hitherto ever) loyall county *, and more perticularly in a parrish † where there had been much seed sowne which ought to have brought forth other grain; but under a family ‡ whose loyalty, till the fatall moneth of Nov. 1688, was never blemish'd with the lest staine.

In the next place, after a loyall education in the University, and the happiness to escape, by God's blessing, those dangerous rocks on which youth there most comonly splitt, (to wit, corruption in principles or moralls) were seasonably transplanted into the Curacy of a very considerable parrish in Worcestershire, where the Rector kept up exactly to the order of the Church of England, the strict practice whereof (however things have falne out) was the most likely means to have kept clergymen steddy, in such a day of tryall and temptation as our present miserable generation have liv'd to see.

Thirdly, were with much affection and honest intention, singl'd out and pitcht on by me (I haveing a great oppinion of your loyalty) to be my coadjutour, in one of the most considerable country parrishes § of England, the burthen of which trust, as well as my great concerne for the spirituall welfare of that my flock, you ought to have learn'd from the extraordinary zealous applications which I us'd, at first, to sett you, and, all along after, to keep you, right in my honest perticular notions of obedience to the orders of the Church, and of subjection to all sorts of lawfull authority. Which notions I am not asham'd now to stile perticular, since the issue of things proclaims them to be right, as well as the opposers of them notoriously in the wrong, and must be soe acknowledged by all persons who are not unhappily besmear'd with the present (religious) rebellion of England, or blinded by the mist or fumes of an unsupportable usurpation.

Lastly, had more reason than others to have resisted those temptations which overthrew the generality of the Clergy of the Diocess, since you had, in one person, your Rector's, Dean's, and Archdeacon's continuall example in your eye, to the very last minute to uphold you, moreover had a pathetick letter written joyntly to your selfe and brother, (directed to the Curates

* Cornwall.
† Kilhampton.
‡ The Granvilles.
§ Sedgfield.

of Easington and Sedgfield) from the Deanery, the very night of my departure, which, carrying with it my last and best advice and sentiments imediately before I lanch'd out into a sea of trouble, likely to attend that persecuted righteous cause whereto I was resolv'd to adhere, ought to have had as much force att Sedgfield as it had att Easington, in inspireing one, as it did the other, to withstand the shock which hath furiously overturn'd soe many of the elder and stronger Clergy both in the Cathedrall and Diocess, and scar'd them out of their allegiance unto their lawfull Prince into submission to a forreign usurper.

The last words of a dying man are usually very powerfull with all his relations, and surely the last exhortations of a departing Visitor, in such a manner, and for such a cause, should have had the like effect. If my late example, as well as zeale express'd in my Address to the Clergy, in my conclusive Visitation, (in the Church of St. Mary-le-Bow, Nov. 15, 1688) prov'd unsuccessfull and ineffectuall to perswade the Rectors of the parrishes of my Jurisdiction to espouse the cause of an oppress'd Prince, and imitate an honest leader and faithfull servant to the Crowne, who was resolved to sacrafice all, rather than desert his Soveraign in misery, yet it ought not to be soe contemptible with either of you, my owne Curates, as to be rejected; but shou'd have stopt you in your career, had you been bent to run with never so much eagerness into slavery under a Belgick yoke, nay, ought to have been esteem'd to [*? be so*] forcible to such imediate dependants as you, to whom I now speak, that it should have been hardly possible for either of you to resist it. And that either of you should and dare thus to rebuke me by your practice, and abandon all hopes and expectations of kindness from me, by betraying me, (it deserves noe milder expression) I look on as a high act of contempt, and receive with all those resentments of displeasure that are allowable in a Christian.

I did not expect that both, or either of you, should have imitated me soe farr as to have deserted your stations, (tho' I am perswaded my doeing soe was the best and wisest action of my whole life) but if both of you (rather than renounce your sworne fidelity to King James, and swear allegiance to an ambitious prince, his son in law and nephew, who had by fraud and force depos'd his uncle, nay father,) had been forced soe to doe, and desert the nation, (as I did) as well as my flocks committed to your care, it would have been a thing very edifying and gratefull unto me, and oblig'd me to have taken care of you, and allow'd you a share of whatsoever I had to support me; not

suffering you to want bread so long as I had it, which yee had noe reason to suspect that God's providence and a gracious Master's kindness wou'd deny me in the deepest adversity abroad.

I am sure that yee two, who have not been onely long resident in my house and family, but often admitted into my closet, and sometimes into my very bosome, ought to have conceiv'd such an oppinion, and should have taken it for granted, by great experience of me, without any further declaration. Tho' you had not such perticular and positive assurances thereof as I seasonably gave a certain Divine, (I much valued) to deliver him out of those temptations whereinto hee (being unhappily metamorphosed in another region) did however willfully run himselfe, to the injury of his conscience and dishonour of him selfe and friends.

You therefor, (my lapsed assistant) whom I had drawne away from my native soile, (hopeing that as you have breathed the same air you would alwayes profess the same principles) to be my comfort and support, in a remote part of the nation, for the remainder of my life, doe strangely dissappoint my hopes, [*and*] are soe much the more blameworthy since God Almighty did assist me (poor weak and unworthy labourer in his vineyard) with such a happy foresight of matters relateing to the late unfortunate change in government, that I was instruementall in the bringing to the view of all those who [*were*] related to me, such a prospect of the things, (which did att that time portend ill, as well as future miseryes) as might render a person stupid who shou'd despise or neglect them.

Your fellow labourer, who has done his part faithfully to discharge his trust in a criticall juncture, (and thereby has help'd to save the honour of the young Clergy under my conduct) will be willing, I know, to bear testimony that I did to my utmost diligently discharge the part of a faithfull watchman, penning downe my thoughts almost dayly (using him sometimes for an amanuensis) to fortify all persons under my care against the dangerous invieglements of ill men, and the plausible, rather than reall, arguements of good men, who have by their reputation contributed more to the present sad state of things (I must take the liberty to tell them) than the more malicious sinners that did originally designe to trample on the Crowne and Mitre.

And that I was noe bad prognosticator in the moneth of August 1688, you your selfe, and every body else, may without all contradiction be convinced, by a coppy of a paper which I penn'd att Durham, the 27th of the aforsaid moneth, according

to my usuall manner of dictating to one of my clerks, in my chamber, at my uprising. Which paper only contains some floating thoughts of my brain, but relating to matters of soe great importance as did, according to its title, portend very fatally to the government and Church of England, and it being the only sheet of some hundreds (penn'd in such manner and much to the same purpose) that I did by great accident bring away with me, I shall here to this my letter annex a coppy thereof, which will at lest demonstrate to all who shall seriously consider it, that I gave a better guess how things would goe than any of my censurers and opposers, who thought themselves greater politicians, but have soe much fail'd in their politicks that they (as well as others) are by this time, I suppose, convinced, how their zeale, which ran counter to mine, was very preposterous; that is to say, that the irregular and unaccountable method they took to be deliver'd from popery and arbitrary power, hath brought the whole Kingdome absolutely under the one, and in greater danger than ever it was of the other.

And that I may doe all that in me lyes to clear my selfe, both in the sight of God and man, from being the lest wayes accessory to the horrid guilt many, who have depended on me in my parrishes, or else where, have contracted, by forsaking our Churches doctrine, and the good rules which I have sett them, I shall embrace this occasion to add another paper to the former, containing the Orders and Directions which I required strictly to be observed in my parrishes respectively, which will be sufficient to evince, that I did honestly, tho' imperfectly, endeavour to have prevented the apostacy of any committed to my charge, alwayes looking on a strict observation of the discipline and rubricks of the Church as the best means, by God's blessing, to have strengthened them against those temptations that have at last overcome them, for which I now begin to value my selfe.

And a serious consideration of this method enjoyned in my parishes, added to the manner of my parting with my brethren of the Cathedrall, and Clergy of my Archdeaconry, sett forth in those Farewell-Discourses I made to them in the months of Nov. and Dec. 1688, will sufficiently proclaim to all unbiass'd persons that I was at lest an honest man, soe farr, in all my capacityes, as to have noe finger at all in the invitation of a forreigne power, and the unnaturall invasion which attended thereon, which I am desirous should remain to posterity upon record.

If the publication of such papers as were never designed for the press seem to savour any thing, of vanity and cause to beleive that I glory in haveing been more regular and constant in my duty than the generality of my brethren, let them give a

looser leave to speak, and desire them to remember and consider that the Apostle S. Paul himselfe was compell'd to boast, in a less day of temptation than the 5th of Nov. 1688, which did in a manner blow up the foundation of three Kingdoms.

I confess that I doe glory with the B. Appostle, but it is as he did, in my weakness, and the grace that Almighty God has manifested therein, carrying me through the manifold temptations which have prevailed over my stronger brethren: I doe bless and praise God's Holy Name, and will doe it, by his assistance, for ever and ever, that he did endow me with resolution to stick close to all the Churches rules and orders, (whereto I gave my assent and consent, at my first enterance into the ministeriall function in the year 1661) without governing my selfe by example of any Clergy, high or low, in the citty or in the country, liveing by the example of those who contradicted their excellent rule, being a sort of complaisance which, I bless God's Holy Name, I have never been guilty of, tho' it has been, God knowes, too frequent among my brethren, and prov'd fatall to the poor Church of England.

To take noe comfort and satisfaction in my own innocency, (which God has in a manner miraculously preserved when he has suffer'd such a multitude of abler divines to faile, who were furnished with greater qualifications to have borne witnes to his truth) I should look [*upon*] as an act of meanness of spirit, savouring more of spirituall ingratitude than true humility, who desire rather to be really thankfull and humble than to appear either.

Lett my censurers be contented with my revenue, which I have left to their mercy, (choosing to doe soe rather than betray my conscience) without depriving me of that precious ointment and more valuable treasure, a good name, which I shall, in spite of all my enemyes, endeavour, by the aid of God's Holy Spirit to secure my title to, in approving my selfe to the very end, as I have hitherto as much as in me lay, a genuine son of the Church and loyall subject to the Crown of England.

If the present generation, who favour none with their good opinion but those who concurr to the support of the present fabrick in England, will not allow me the aforsaid satisfaction, but load me with obloquy or contempt, (and one of these fates I expect from the north, where so few have followed my example) there remains yet one thing that I am sure they are not able to deprive me of, I mean the internal peace and quiet of my conscience which I have enjoyed, since I was driven from my station, (to heaven's eternall praise I speak it) in a more plentifull measure than ever I did heretofore, when I was in the

actuall possession of some of the best preferments of their kind in England. This supports me under my present pressures. It will be continued to me, I trust in God, while I continue, as I pray I may, faithfull to my Mother, the Church, and unalterably obedient to the Father of my Country.

Of these things I require you to assure the flocks I have committed to your charge, (whom I doe not faile to commend unto God in my constant prayers, and) to whom, besides my devotions, I have nothing [*to*] bequeathe but wholesom counsell and a good example. And since I have noe way left to convey unto them the first, but by writeing, (and that with great difficulty too) not to deprive them of the latter is become a duty of higher obligation.

Example is often more prevalent than precept: whether the wise God will render mine soe unto my people, He alone knows, and it depends on his good pleasure. Sure I am, that when I departed from my cures with a sorrowfull heart, I did conceive it the best way left me to preach unto them, by putting into actuall practice that peculiar sort of religion and loyalty (to use the very phrase of some of my censurers) which I had ever taught to others, and wherein I did incessantly labour to establish you, (as before rehearsed) against the then fashionable (upstart) divinity and allegiance of the age, and whereto I should not give this nor the former epithet in the begining of this letter, (my religion and loyalty, let men call them what they please, being noe other, I bless God, than the naturall result of the pure uncorrupted doctrine of the right genuine Church of England) had they not been, you know, to my reproach often soe styled by that generation of *semi-conformists* and loyalists, who could then but halfe comply with the reasonable demands of a lawfull Prince, but can now wholly conforme to the will of an usurper.

I recomend you both, with all my sheep, to Almighty God's mercy and direction, praying with all fervency to our Heavenly Father in the Churches Litany, (part of my dayly devotions, as I suppose it likewise is of the small number of orthodox clergymen in the nation) "that itt may please God to strengthen such as do stand, to comfort and help the weak hearted, to raise up them that fall, and finally to beat down Satan under our feet," applying it more especially to the case of you my substitutes, whoe are unhappily divided, to my unspeakable trouble, in your principles and practices; which renders this my present way of application very difficult to me, since it is not easy, in one joynt address, att the same time to praise and dispraise (according to the design of this paper) you to whom I write.

You then (to conclude) who have continued faithfull in your trusts and discharged your conscience*, I doe (as the best reward you can for a while expect) praise and pray for, earnestly beseeching God to strengthen you dayly, and to carry you through the remaining difficultyes you shall meet withall, and must blame (tho' I pitty) you that are fallen, conjureing you to reflect on what you have done, and desireing you to be assur'd that I can never have any complacency in your services till you bring forth undeniable fruits of repentance. Hopeing that my censures of one, as well as praises of the other, will have that kindly operation on your soules which I designe, I doe, with much Christian charity and compassion, subscribe my selfe

Your very loving brother in Christ Jesus,

DENIS GRANVILLE.

Roüen, Oct. 1, 1691.

[Copy of a paper mentioned in the foregoing, pag. 123, and penn'd at Durham by the authour, Aug. 27, 1688, by way of reflection on the, then, dismal prognosticks of the times†.]

THINGS WHICH PORTEND VERY FATALLY TO THE GOVERNMENT AND CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

1. AN universall aptitude in men to receive, multiply, and magnify fears and jealousyes of the King.

2. The generality of the subjects of England (contrary to the rule of charity) putting the worst construction on the designs and actings of their Sovereign.

3. Men's discovering by their preposterous courses (tho' they

* In the Appendix to the Life of Kettlewell, (London, 1718) Num. VI. p. xii, is "A List of several of the Clergy and others in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, who were thought not to qualify themselves upon the Revolution." Under "Durham" occur the following names, amongst which it will be seen that Mr. Hope's appears:—"Dr. Dennis Greenvile, Brother to the then Earl of Bath, Dean of Durham, Archdeacon of the same, and Rector of Easington. Mr. John Cock, Vicar of St. Oswald's in Durham. Mr. Kendal, Curate of Elwick. Mr. Grey, Curate of . . . . . in Newcastle, went into France and changed his religion. Mr. Thomas Baker, Rector of Long-Newton. Mr. Charles Maddison, Vicar of Chester in the Street. Mr. John Hope, Dr. Greenville's Curate of Easington. Mr. Luke Mauburn, Rector of Crayke. Besides Mr. Johnson of Kellow and Mr. Davison of Norton, who afterwards complied."—ED.

† This paragraph, and the subsequent passages which are similarly distinguished, by being placed within square brackets, do not occur in the MS. copy of Dean Granville's Letters now edited, but are found in the Rouen imprint.—ED.

dare not speak it with their mouthes) that they think their allegiance to the King (because of a different religion) not the same that it would be to a protestant prince.

4. An industrious endeavour for a long time throughout the land to alienate the subjects' affection from their Soveraigne.

5. The spirit of popularity at present soe universally reigning as to overthrow many honest and good men, who seem affraid any longer to doe their duty to their King, and act according to their principles, for fear of the *Mobile*.

6. An extraordinary forwardness, both in Clergy as well as Gentry, to dispute and rudely to contend with their Prince, nay insolently to insult over him, upon the lest success; made too apparent by the issue of the late tryall of the Bishops in Westminster Hall.

7. The itch of disputation, infinitely prevailing in this age, above the spirit of Divine charity and true devotion, men relying too much on their arguements and too little on their prayers.

8. Men being now agitated more than ever by an intemperate zeal against popery, as heretofore against fanaticisme, shewing much more aversion to their adversaryes than love to their own religion.

9. Most men, even divines, manifesting an excessive fear that popery will come in, and yet all the while neglect to betake themselves to the most assured means to keep it out, to wit, *amendment of life, and exact conformity to the Churches rules, and training upp the young generation by the exercise of Catechisme.*

10. Too many flying to unjustifyable means to preserve their religion, and proclaiming by their actions that they are resolved to rebell, rather than lett it goe.

11. People using their strength and number to bring their Soveraigne to termes, and endeavouring by all means possible to *hough-band* him, (if I may be permitted to speak in the northern phrase), I mean, not to leave it in his power to hurt them, either in their religion, lawes, lives, or estates, which is, in plain English, to unking him.

Durham, August 27, 1688.

[Copy of another paper, mentioned p. 124, that the authour publishes to show the *singularity*, for which he was censured by some, as before related, and despised by others, (for hee knows himselfe guilty of no other) was for practising this very follow-

ing method himselfe, when present, and imposing it on his Curates, when he was absent, to be by them also used in his parishes: or for other such like unfashionable observation of the Churche's rules, and performance of his duty. Which, upon strict enquiry into the authour's discharge of his offices, (since his first settlement in the north of England,) will be found to be true; and may serve to evince, that as hee hath had the hard fate to be deposed, for following his Soveraigne into France, and sticking to the Crowne; so hath hee had as hard a fate, heretofore, for cleaving to his Mother, (and regarding, more than others, the precepts of the Church) even to be oftentimes unjustly opposed, and sometimes reproached by his brethren (citty and country Clergy) merely for over doing it, as they have usually term'd it. That is, in plaine English, because his conscience would not give him leave to omit those duties, which they, and the generality of the Clergy in the nation, (I will, and may, now take more liberty than ever to speak out) have, to their everlasting shame, scandalously neglected. And by the neglect whereof (in a word) have betrayed their Mother the Church of England, the Head of Reformed Christendom; a very odd kind of way to accomplish, what people pretend, the support of the Protestant Religion.]

DIRECTIONS WHICH DR. GRANVILLE, ARCHDEACON OF DURHAM, RECTOR OF SEDGEFIELD AND EASINGTON, ENJOYNS TO BE OBSERVED BY THE CURATES OF THOSE HIS PARRISHES, GIVEN TO THEM IN CHARGE AT EASTER VISITATION, HELD ATT SEDGEFIELD IN THE YEAR 1669.

THAT the Mattens and Evensong shall be (according to the rubrick) said dayly, in the chancells of each his parrish churches, throughout the year, without the lest variation.

That the houres for dayly prayer on working dayes shall be six in the morning, and six in the evening, as the most convenient for labourers and men of busyness.

Except as followeth:

On all vigills and holyday eves, as alsoe on all Saturday afternoons, (which anciently were halfe holydays) three of the clock shall be the hour for Evening Prayer.

On all Wednesday and Fryday mornings, both throughout

Advent and all Lent, and on the three Ember dayes in each Ember week, the hour shall be nine.

On the Rogation dayes one hour at lest earlyer, by reason of the perambulations.

That alwayes att nine of the clock and three of the clock prayers aforsaid, (when there shall be some additionary exercise of devotion, requiring a greater number than ordinary,) two bells shall chime to intimate the same to the people.

That at six of the clock prayers, one bell only shall toll, beginning a quarter of an hour before.

That there shall be alwayes catechizings * after the 2nd lesson on Sunday and holyday afternoons, with some explanation of the Church Catechisme, (after the third collect, *Lighten our darkness*) unless there be some exposition of the Scripture or rubricks, some profitable exhortation, or discourse *de tempore*, drawn from the service of the Church, or else that the 39 articles of religion, or canons, are to be read, according to order.

That one quarter of an hour is sufficient for such exposition, exhortation, or discourse; and that it shall never exceed halfe an hour.

That on all aforsaid dayes when there are prayers at nine in the morning, and two bells chime, there ought to be some additionary exposition or discourse to the people, (and if *de tempore* the better) which ought not to exceed the time appointed for the explanation of the Catechisme.

That there shall be sermons on all festivalls or holydayes, (except there be an Homily †, which shall not be oftner than to countenance the book, or assert the King's supremacy, according to the canon, which may very commodiously be done in some of the Homilyes concerning Obedience, or against Disobedience, being the very words of the Church) which sermons shall never exceed halfe an hour.

That the sermons, even on Sundayes, shall be shortened to halfe an hour, when there happens any concurrent offices which require it, but never the lest omission of one tittle of the service, or variation from the rubricks.

That the Curate when he bidds Christmas, Easter, or Pentecost, with their festivalls, as alsoe when he gives notice of

* Note, that the Dean's injoyning here, and in some other places, things which were before expressly commanded by the Church, was to declare that he judg'd them of such moment as that he would never dispense with the non-performance of them in his own parish, however other did, too frequently, elsewhere.

† As people grew more fond to hear sermons than to amend their lives, Homilies were more frequent.

Ember weekes, Passion week, or perambulation or Rogation dayes, or other times extraordinary, he shall come downe to the desk, (after the Nicene creed) and doe it in a more solemne manner than when he bidds the ordinary holydayes at the table, makeing a short speech *de tempore* to quicken the people's devotion.

That on Advent Sunday, and Quinquagesima Sunday, he shall doe the like, to prepare the people for the devotion of the following holy seasons.

That besides the severall Sacraments at Christmas, Easter day, Holy Thursday, and Pentecost, there shall be at lest five* other Sacraments: which Sacraments shall be administered on the severall dayes here nominated, viz. on New-Year's day, on the first Sunday in Lent, on the first Sundays in July, October, and November.

That Easter shall be the time alwayes for the admission of youth first at the Communion, who are never to be admitted till they have repair'd upon summons to the Minister, to receive private instruction, on Wednesday and Fryday mornings, after service, during Lent.

That the young people be confirm'd, after due instruction, before they receive, if possible; but when that cannot be contriv'd by reason of the Bishop's absence or otherwise, that they and their friends be enjoyn'd faithfully to send them to the first confirmation whereof they shall have notice.

That none shall be admitted to the Sacrament till 16 years of age, unless the Minister shall see extraordinary cause for the same.

That the 39 Articles and canons be read, according to injunction. That the canon about excommunication be read, and excommunicates be denounced, according to the said canon.

That his Majestyes Directions to Preachers be read in the congregation, at lest once in the year, which I by mine owne authority take upon me to enjoyne as Ordinary of the place.

That when Citations, Excommunications, or Absolutions, are read, the Curate shall consider whether he may, by any occasional reflection out of the desk, or from the pulpitt, improve the same to the people, to the deterring of them from the like

* This practice changed into a monthly Sacrament, at the combustions in the year 1679. [This note and the two preceding ones are not in the MS. copy in Dr. Hunter's collection, now edited, but are found both in the Rouen edition, and in the MS. copy of the Dean's "Five Letters," in the Rawlinson Collection (Letters, 67) in the Bodleian Library.—Ed.]

offences for which the persons mentioned in the said Acts of Court are proceeded against.

That the Curates do summon the Churchwardens twice at least between Visitation and Visitation, to read and consider the Visitation Articles*, and to quicken and assist them in the due discharge of their offices.

That the Curate takes a particular notice of the absence of Churchwardens from the church on Sundayes and festivalls, and signify the same to the Rector, their Archdeacon.

That when the Churchwardens are negligent, and suffer irregular behaviour dureing Divine service, that he admonish them of such their neglects, and cause them to goe out of their seates, sometimes, in the very time of service, to mind people publickly of their disorder, and soe shame them into a complyance, if milder and private admonitions prove ineffectuall.

That the Curate makes enquiry oftentimes of the Churchwardens what persons are sick, or detained from the church by any infirmity, (people being negligent to informe the Minister voluntarily) and to repair to them accordingly, (tho' they should not give notice) to assist them in reference to their spirituall state.

That the Curate shall on Sundayes and holydayes (at least) observe a course of personall application (according to his promise at ordination) to the *whole* as well as *sick*, visiting after Evening Prayer one family (if not more) on that account, observing, as far as he shall be able, the venerable Mr. George Herbert's method and rule, to that purpose prescribed in his 'Country Parson, or character of a holy priest;' which book, as I recommend to all the Clergy in my Jurisdiction, so do I more especially to my Curates, for their rule and direction in order to the exemplary discharge of their function, haveing alwayes made it mine.

That the Curate shall consider frequently, at lest once a quarter, what rubricks or canons be most neglected and contemned by the parishoners, and that he doth (besides the ordinary explanation of the servise once a year, in obedience to his Majestyes Directions to Preachers) read att convenient times the said rubricks to the people, that is to say, between the first service and litany, or between litany and second service, or before or after sermon, (omitting if occasion require the psalm then

* The Articles of Visitation and Inquiry addressed by Dean Granville to the Ministers and Churchwardens of the several parishes in his archdeaconry will be found in the Appendix.—Ed.

usually sung) and that he shall zealously (but mildly) stir upp the people to the better observation of the same: and that when he discovers these public admonitions ineffectuall, that he make it part of his labour in private, with personall applications, to reforme such irregularityes; and that he shall frequently, as hee can, (when presentations are to be made) make such applications, publick and private, (as shall appear most convenient) to the offenders, in order to the prevention of their shame and expence, which I desire alwayes may be done without further prosecution, unless the thing cannot otherwise be reformed.

That such discourses as he makes about the rubricks and constitutions may be usually out of the desk, or, if occasion requires, in the pulpitt, after the sermon; which I would not have burthen'd often with these smaller matters, relateing only to good order, but reserved for more substantiall and essentiall truths, as the doctrines of Faith, Repentance, Love, Obedience, Temperance, &c.

That he doth not take notice of the people's breach of rubricks, or such disorders, in publick, when he can reform the same easily in private; unless they are notorious and scandalous: in which case he is sometimes to give perticular persons even publick reproofs, in the very congregation.

That when there is ground of suspition that the Churchwardens will not faithfully doe their dutyes in searching the ale-houses, &c., that he goe out of the church sometimes with them, for the more effectuall prevention of disorders.

That he cause the Clark to enquire (when notice is given of Baptisme) whether the witnesses have all received the sacrament, and alsoe to informe the Parson (if the Churchwardens do not) when any excommunicated persons enter the church or churchyard, to which end and purpose there shall be a list kept in the vestry of all persons excommunicated.

DENIS GRANVILLE.

[IN reference to the foregoing Directions, Letters and Discourses the reader is desired to note these matters following.

First, that here were intermingled, with the above said Directions for the Curates, sundry advices for the Churchwardens and Parish Clarks, not judged so necessary to be printed. These being sufficient to accomplish the forementioned end of their printing, (p. 124) and convince those Clergy (and others) who would not allow the authour to bee worthy of his

station, (when he was admitted into his Deanery) that he did, notwithstanding the great power of their evil example, (whose semi-conformity first poisoned the nation) at least endeavour to be what hee all along chiefly aimed at, that is to say, a diligent Country-Parson, if not good Archdeacon: he taking effectuall care, (and with no ill success) that these his rules should be, as they were, better observed by his Curates, than the Church Cannons or Rubricks were by them, and the generality of the Clergy of the nation; and consequently in due time might have become a *tollerable Deane*, by God's blessing, if the citty rebels, joyning with the invaders, had not driven him with his Master out of England.

Secondly, the reader is desired to take further notice, that this last letter, (to wit, to his Curates) was not printed when the others were, (as first intended and mentioned in the title page) in the yeare 1689, but was, for certain reasons, underwritten, deferred to be put into the press, till the month and yeare mark'd in the conclusion of the said letter, to wit, Octr. 1691, some months after the Dean's deprivation; which delay, among other things, hindered the more speedy publication of all the other papers, and was occasioned upon the three ensuing accounts:—

First, the Deane imagined, on second thoughts, that so plaine a rebuke as the faithful discharge of his conscience, in the delivery of the Discourses hee hath printed, and the penning of the foregoing Letters hee hath published, in his own name, did, by reflection, cast on many considerable (spirituall and temporall) supporters of the usurped authority in Church and State, was an undertaking too mighty for him, who never delighted to expose or reproach his superiours in any manner; nor should have dared thus to have done it, at this time, had not too many of them, manifestly departed from and contradicted the very doctrine of the Church of England, which they, as well as hee, had sworne to maintaine.

Secondly, he long expected that some eminent person in England, better qualified, would have saved him the labour of such an application, as he hath here in print made to the people under his authority, by publishing, ere this, some substantiall work that should have strenuously asserted the cause of King James 2, and that Church of England whereof he is supreme Governour, by unmasking the wickedness, injustice and ingratitude, nay unnaturallness of dethroning their lawfull Soveraign, and under a religious pretence usurp his Crowne; the aforesaid person not sticking to set his name thereto, tho' it might have cost him his life, to proclaime undeniably to the

world, that what hee writ he believed to be such truth of God, as hee did dare seale with his bloud. Which desirable peice of charity to the soules of the poor people, who were unhappily drawn into perjury, by the powerfull example of their leaders, the authour hath not yet discovered to be done by any, tho' he thinks ought to have been performed long ago, (whatever had been the issue) to have given right measures to the people of the land, while they were staggering, and not quite fallen into the abominable sins of perjury, and renouncing their allegiance. Which Christian work, if it had been acted, in due season, would, among other good effects, have edified also the Dean's flocks, and rendered unnecessary what hee hath said to keep those steddy who stand, and to restore those who are fallen, for want of timely underpropping. The authour's earnest longing, and waiting with great impatience, to have seen such desirable fruit of primitive zeal, did detaine him awhile from plunging himselfe over head and ears (though hee had many offers so to do) into that deluge which did overspred the land; thinking himselfe a bad swimmer in such troubled waters, and moreover like Elihu, (Job xxxii. 4.) being very unwilling to speake out thus boldly, and shame the silence of his elders, till hee had given them all sufficient opportunity to speak and write; tho' his boldness and zeal (as may be observed by the way, and is before noted) was not levell'd, directly, to any but those under his own charge and care, (or nearly related to him) to whom such a hearty application, such plain reproofs, even in the very language of the letters, became so necessary, that hee could not in good conscience have wav'd them. And therefore he conceives that people have the lesse reason to be disturbed thereby.

Thirdly, after the authour had made a considerable progress in printing the Letters and other Discourses, he was forced to undertake a hazardous journey into England, Feb. 1689, (whereby hee got a small supply of money to subsist awhile abroad, without defiling himselfe with an oath of fidelity to the Prince of Orange) tho' with much trouble and danger, occasioned him by an impertinent and malitious postmaster, who discover'd him in Canterbury. Which voyage made it absolutely necessary to lay aside, till his returne, his designe of publishing the papers he had penn'd at his first coming over, unless he would willfully and unavoidably have run his neck into a halter, which all know, was the fate lately of a right honest and loyall man *.

* Mr. Ashton.

Thirdly, all sorts of readers may hereby be informed, that these papers are, at this time, the more hastily published without polishing, because the authour hath had this summer, after a long intervall, some returne of those infirmities that he brought out of England: which being seasonable mementos of the mortality of his condition, and uncertainty of his life, have caused him, without any more ado, or longer delay, thus plainly and honestly to *deliver his soule*. The comfort doth to him abundantly ballance the uneasiness of any obloquy, which may accrew from the provoked friends of the new Government in England, where he desires to appeare no more, (unless it please God to restore his Soveraign) as all may be perswaded easily to believe, by his present manner of proceeding.

Fourthly, all those who shall blame the Dean's undertaking, may, in a word, satisfy themselves, that hee had never thus exposed himselfe to their censure, if he had believed that a dignified Divine, in his circumstances, (being the only one here abroad out of the reach of England, and whose conscience would not permit him to swallow any new dispensatory oathes or distinctions) could, without the just censure of all right Church of England men, and loyall subjects to King James 2, have remained silent; since hee hath not now those prudentiall considerations that others have, to stop his mouth, or stay his pen; his own person being secure and his revenue lost. Whereas honest Divines and men in England (where hee hopes there be many that *never bowed the knee to Baal*, tho' hee be ignorant who they are) cannot attempt what he does, without the hazard of their lives or ruine of their familys. And therefore concludes that a weak and bad performance, as this, of so good and spirituall designe (the more incumbent on him) would be better than none at all, and be graciously accepted, through Jesus Christ, by that Almighty God who can make the poorest enterprises, in His Name, successfull to accomplish his will.

Fifthly and lastly, the Dean's innate indignation to many former and late preposterous unaccountable procedures on the subjects of England; to wit, First the *non-conformity*, or rather *semi-conformity* of the Clergy, (who did with zeale more than enough, and sometimes too bitterly, inveigh against non-conformists) which ingendred that brood which are the authours of our misery: secondly, their forwardness to dispense, throughout the nation, with the Church discipline as they pleas'd, where, and when, there appear'd no necessity, nay the very rubricks of the Liturgy, whereto they had all, since the late review, given a solemne assent and consent; sadly presaging that in time of necessity they would, as they have done, dispense

with the very doctrine, tho' they would not allow his Majesty in extraordinary cases a less dispensing power: thirdly the pragmaticallness of the most Common-Lawyers (whose duty and interest it was, as well as of the Ecclesiasticks, to joyne in the support of the crown of their Soveraign, the fountaine whence all their law did proceed) in endeavouring industriously by all manner of quirks, to diminish the King's prerogative and authority, even coining wicked distinctions, and raking up obsolete laws to dethrone him, (when there were enough of such which they would not willingly have reviv'd against the people or themselves) nay flying to the reign of an Usurper for acts of Parliament to justify and colour over their fullsome proceedings; as if a dispensing power in the people was like to be found more tollerable than in the King, or that such a kind of supremacy as the multitude contended for, (and which must be either in Prince or subject) is less liable to tyranny, and other abuses, when it is in the subject, than in the Soveraign.

These, and the like, perversions of law and religion, did cause, the authour professeth and is desirous to proclaime, so much disgust in his soule, as hurried him over all the difficulties and dangers that he met with, in his way to this publication, in such a degree, that the consideration of his book's reflecting on the new Government (which was designed to edify the people within his own province) hath pushed him on, instead of deterring him, to send it forth into the light, (committing it and his reputation to the mercy of a gratious God) amidst a crooked and perverse generation, which hee is willing should learne thus much by his boldness, (or fool-hardiness as it will be possibly termed) to wit, that God hath given him (among a multitude of infirmities) the grace not to be afraid or ashamed to do his duty or discharge his offices faithfully, whoever may be rebuked by the doing thereof; and that hee is sure, hee had done neither, if he had not, as hee hath done, deliver'd his soule without mincing, in such plaine and intelligible language, at such a juncture, as to allot everything its right epithet and appellation; giving the very names of *Rebellion* and *Usurpation* to what hee was perswaded in his conscience deserv'd such denominations; and that are so, (even rebellion and usurpation) if ever there were such things in the world. Yea, such a Rebellion and Usurpation, that no good Christian can, hee is also satisfied in his conscience, joyne in the first or uphold the later, and consequently that no body can receive the Communion, without injury to his soule, in the use of those prayers, which pray for the maintaining of both; since hee that receives the blessed Supper of the Lord, in the office of any Church, sets his

seale to all the corruptions that are crept into that Church, and doth, in a higher manner, profane God's sacred Name, by using that holy ordinance to so impious an end, (as to beg of God by vertue of his Saviour's body and blood, the destruction of his lawfull Prince) than hee that barely swears allegiance to an usurper; which yet, by the way, whoever does, (let him understand) doth in a manner, abjure his lawfull Soveraign.

Which is a case of conscience which the authour will, in God's name, now venture here publickly to decide, (as he hath long since done to some in private) and put his name to the decision, whatever comes of it, since nobody else hath done so, for the sake of those many thousands of soules, under his authority, in the Jurisdictions belonging to the Archdeacon and Deane of Durham; whereof non can deny but that hee hath a call from God to take care. And consequently to undertake this difficult province, since nobody else dos. Who, if they are not satisfied with his judgment in this particular, (which as poor as they may esteeme it, will yet hee trusts, in reference hereto, be found orthodox) ought to consult, as it concernes them, some abler casuist, without being scared, (as heretofore in some other cases) with frightfull consequences, administered by the universality of the defection, and such like considerations; to wit, *empty churches and thin altars.*

For if it be a wholesom truth which is recommended, by the authour, to their thoughts, it cannot, he is sure, in the conclusion produce ill effects to be repented of. And he begs pardon, if he cannot prevaile with himselfe to judge the last recited effects to be ill, as matters go, and things stand. For hee makes no doubt, but that the churches in England must become empty, and the altars thin, &c. before his Soveraign is like to return to Whitehall; or his unworthy subject (the writer) reenter his Deanery*, since people's loyalty and allegiance can never be hearty to that Prince for whom they do not heartily pray. And as certaine it is, that people can never heartily pray for their lawfull Prince, so long as they can reconcile themselves to the devotions which are solemnly in Gods House, even at the very Communion Table, and in reception of the Holy Mysteries, offer'd up to Heaven for the prosperity of his enemies and deposer: whereto all say, *Amen*, in the very act of communicating, tho' they do it not with their mouthes at any other time. For by that sacred act of theirs, (this Sacrament, as well as the other, being a seale) they do approve of the whole new religious scheme of hypocrisy; even of the very design and

* N. B.

performance it selfe of deposing, keeping out, and extirpating, if it were possible, the rightfull owner, and his posterity. Which, to be done by the people that pretend to retaine in their hearts love for their banisht King, the authour conceives no better than a mere gally-moffry of religion. And that if this be not *halting betwixt God and Baal*, he knows not what is.

But what talk, noise, and disturbance, these positive conclusions, contrary to the genius, and current of the times, may occasion, he is sufficiently sensible; as hee also is, that the prevention of men's talk would be too dearly purchas'd by the loss of his innocency. The Deane, then, would have all remember, that hee hath already declar'd, that the thoughts of mortality, and a more serious preparation than ordinary for an other world, hath incited him to go through with the attempt in hand, to the perfect unburthenning of his conscience, and that he dares not any longer, (in such perillous times) trifle with God and his soule, putting off a work of so high importance from day to day.

Hee is not apprehensive, that reproach, or opprobrious words, will create any disturbance to him in the grave; but comforts himselfe that an act of virtue, and christian charity to the soules of his countrymen and fellow-subjects, (as he believes without any doubt this to be) will have a sweet odour and edify the living when he is in the dust; and contribute to the increase of that felicity and glory, which hee hopes to attaine by the assistance of God's grace and through the all sufficient merits of his Saviour Jesus Christ, who teaching him by the mouth of his Apostle, in the New Testament, *to honour* (without exceptions) *his King*, as well as *feare God;* as the Holy Spirit doth in the old, that he must *not run with a multitude to do evill.* And being thus taught of God, he is (without regard to humane policy, learn't by the precepts of men) firmly resolved (by the aid of the Holy Ghost) to endeavour to persevere, as well as he is able in unblemish'd loyalty to his prince; and by the uniforme practice of that pure and undefiled religion, which hee hath ever profess'd, to keep himselfe unspotted from the world: being as willing to sacrifice his reputation and life as hee hath his preferment, to maintaine that righteous cause he suffers for, and for the common good and true spirituall advantage of his Christian brethren and fellow-subjects (rightly inform'd or deluded) in the three Kingdoms. For whom he is more heartily concern'd and griev'd, (considering what an unsupportable load of guilt and misery they lye under) than he is for the loss of his possession.

Which is all the authour hath in his mind, at this instant to

advertise the reader of; saving that he hath endeavour'd all a long, so far as he could, with fidelity and justice to the cause he ownes, and the other hee opposes, to avoid unchristian reproaches and biting expressions; he himselfe never delighting in bitter invectives, not liking them in others.]

FINIS.

SOLI DEO GLORIA.

MISCELLANEOUS CORRESPONDENCE,

AND

OTHER PAPERS.

No. I.

BREACHES OF RUBRICKS IN THE CATHEDRAL *.

1st. HAVING only a monthly Sacrament, when it is expressely injoyn'd by the rubrick to have one at least weekly.

2ndly. The omission of the second lesson, and sometimes the psalms, when there is a funeral, and taking in the psalms and lesson for that office, which ought to be used also, without the omission of the other.

3dly. Using part of the Visitation office for the sick, in the Cathedral, which the Church only designs to be done in the sick man's presence.

4thly. Baptizing children on the week-days without any necessity.

5thly. Observing a Vigil or Fast, and using a collect for the following Festival, when the Church appoints none.

6thly. Observing the Vigil on Sunday, when the Holiday falls on Monday, which should be observ'd on Saturday.

7thly. The Priest that officiates, and the Sacrist, ordering the bread and wine, for consecration, at other times when not appointed by the rubrick.

Some of these breaches may seem to be but of small moment, but yet however they being breaches of our rule of conformity, our Common Prayer-Booke, to which we all give our unfeigned assent and consent, must needs be (as I am sure I find them) of very bad consequence. For when the bounds are once broken, and such breach authorised by the Cathedral Church, (which should give law to the whole Diocese) it must needs give a great wound to the uniformity of the country.

Some other omissions and irregularities, which I conceive worthy our consideration, in order to the rectifying of them.

1st. No sermon on Ash Wednesday, nor on Good Friday

* This paper is without date, but the Editor places it first, as it is no doubt anterior to Bishop Cosin's Visitation of the Cathedral in July, 1665. It is throughout in Granville's handwriting.

neither, sometimes, whereas there were sermons heretofore in this Cathedrall, on all Wednesdays and Fridays, throughout Lent and Advent, according to the example of our Metropolitan Church of York, and some other Cathedralls in England.

2ndly. No prayers for servants in the Cathedrall at six a clock on Sundays and Holydays, when there are a greater number than ordinary detained at home, (especially in the time of Residence) to dresse dinner, and when people have a greater obligation than on other days to be at prayers. This is wondred at (to my knowledge) by some people, both in the town and country, and judg'd very unaccountable.

3dly. People's making the Church a common throughfair to carry burdens.

4thly. Walking in the Church and Cloysters, even on Sundays, in time of Divine service, and making much noise, many times, to the great disturbance of it.

5thly. Boys playing very rudely in the Cloysters on Sundays; and sometimes on other days playing in the very Church it self.

6thly. Slovenly behaviour of some Petty Canons, in sitting on their desks, with their backsides towards the Quire.

7thly. Singing-men seldom wearing their gowns under their surplices, and both boys and singing-men wearing surplices so nasty and dirty that it gives much offence to people *.

These are things for which I, in the execution of my office, hear the Church much reflected on, and therefore think myself in conscience bound humbly to tender them to your consideration, there being no Prebendary that hath more particular reason to doe so than my self, who do suffer much hereby in the comfortable execution of my office.

DENIS GRANVILLE.

* Dr. Basire's answer to Bishop Cosin's Visitation Articles of the 17th July, 1665, reports that "some of the lay-singing-men have been admonished by Mr. Deane, and promised amendment about decent surplisses." Hunter MSS. 11. 86. D. and C. Library, Durham.

No. II.

THE ANSWER OF DENIS GRANVILLE, M.A. PREBENDARY OF THE FIRST STALL, TO THE ARTICLES OF ENQUIRY EXHIBITED BY BISHOP COSIN TO THE DEAN AND PREBENDARIES OF THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF DURHAM.

JULY 17, 1665 *.

IN answer to your lordship's Articles of enquiry exhibited to the Deane and Prebendaries of the Cathedrall Church of Durham, &c., July 17th, 1665: viz.

To the 1st, concerning the full number of those persons whoe are to be susteined in the Church: the 2d, 3d, and 4th, concerning the Deane: the 5th and 6th concerning the Prebendaries: the 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, concerning the yearly officers of the Church among the Prebendaries: the 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, concerning the Minor Canons, Clerks, Ministers, and other officers of the Quire: the 20th concerning Divine offices: the 21st, 22d, 23d, 24th, 25th, 26th, concerning the fabrick and repaires of the Church: the 27th concerning the Evidences, Charters and Muniments of the Church: the 28th, 29th, 30th, 31st, concerning the letting of lands, mannors and tenements, keeping of residences and hospitalitie, expending the monies appointed for charitable uses and making accounts: the 32d, 33d, concerning keeping of Chapters and registring of Acts there made, with Acts of Visitation: the 34th, 35th, concerning the better provision for Vicarages and appropriated churches: the 36th and 37th concerning offenses and crimes of ecclesiastical cognizance: as also the additionall Articles,—I have nothing more to say at present than what I said formerly in the answer which was delivered to your lordship by Mr. Deane, Augt. 21st, in the name of himselfe and each of the Prebendaries.

DENIS GRENVILE.

* The articles of inquiry which Bishop Cosin issued on his Visitation of the Cathedral in 1665 are not extant in Hunter's Collection, but a tolerably accurate idea of their nature may be derived from the Bishop's "Comperts and considerations" upon the answers given in by the Dean and Chapter, in their corporate capacity. This characteristic paper will be found in the Appendix; as also the Visitation Articles of 1662 and 1668, and a curious memorandum of Bishop Cosin, concerning the privileges of the Church of Durham, which have been preserved amongst the Hunter MSS. They are documents of considerable interest.

No. III.

Letter from Denis Granville, Archdeacon of Durham, to Isaac Basire *, D.D., Archdeacon of Northumberland.

Nov. 7, 1674.

Quære. Whether the child of a person excommunicate for fornication, and continuing obstinate, without the least remorse, or shew of repentance, the said child being born during the said obstinacy, which renders the parents as heathens and publicans, whether the child may bee baptized before the parents' reconcilement to the Church? I resolve it affirmatively. However, I desire your better judgement.

You will see, Sir, in the inclosed letter of one of the Cleargy of my Jurisdiction the case more at large. Hee supposes it the same case with the child of an infidell, or pagan, whoe, being out of the pale of the Church, cannot entitle their children, before they can answer for themselves, to Baptisme. I am now buisely employed to repay the debt which I owe you and which I resolve to doe by the assistance of God on Sunday come sen'-night. Wherefore I beg pardon if I come not in person. Sir,

* A native of Rouen. Bishop Morton was his early patron. From this prelate he received both deacon's and priest's orders, and became his chaplain, whilst he was Bishop of Lichfield. Mr. Basire accompanied his patron when he was promoted to the see of Durham, and was collated by him in 1636 to the Rectory of Egglescliffe. In 1640 he had the degree of D.D. conferred on him at Cambridge, by mandate, and was shortly afterwards incorporated in the same at Oxford, about which time he was made chaplain in ordinary to King Charles I. In 1644 he was appointed Archdeacon of Northumberland, and in 1646 was inducted to the Rectory of Stanhope, on the presentation of King Charles I. On the breaking out of the Rebellion he was sequestered, plundered, and obliged to flee. During the Usurpation he was an exile, and underwent many hardships in his travels in Europe, Syria, and Palestine. He endeavoured to propagate the doctrines of the Church of England wherever he went. Whilst in exile he became Professor at *Alba Regalis*. At the Restoration he held his Archdeaconry, the Rectories of Stanhope and Egglescliffe, and the seventh stall. Dr. Basire preached Bishop Cosin's Funeral Sermon, from Heb. xi. 4: *He being dead yet speaketh*, which was afterwards published, with several particulars of the Bishop's life, and an extract from his will, under the quaint title of *The Dead Man's real Speech*, Lond. 8vo. 1673. He was also the author of several other tracts and discourses. He died 12th Oct. 1676, aged 69, and was buried in the Cathedral church-yard, under a stone which bears the following inscription:—Depositum Is. Basire, S.T.P. Archidiaconi Northumbr. hujus eccl'iæ canonici & regibus augg. Carolo Imo. & Carolo IIdo. à sacris, qui obdormivit 12 die Octob. Ao. D'ni 1676, Ao. ætat. suæ 69. I Thess. iv. 14. Deus eos qui dormierunt per Jesum adducet cum eo.

I heartily beg your prayers in reference to the pulpitt, and in a multitude of other respects, for really, Sir, I am badly treated, wherof you were a witnesse yesterday. It was harsh language I received to bee accused of *writing untruthes to the Bishop, and of being quarrelsome.* As for the first lett your owne children, my brother* and cosen Basire cleare me. I never writt any thing to the Bishop but they have seen itt. And for the latter, it is the injustest calumny in the world, unlesse I was quarrelsome in asserting the honour and priviledges of the Church in the buisnesse of my late odious arrest. If I must be esteemed contentious because I will not betray the priviledges of [*the*] Church and church men, I will continue soe (by Gods grace) whilst I breathe. And if I will not consent to have a slur cast upon my very good lord of D[urham] (to whom I have particular obligations) I must be accused for seeking an occasion of quarrel, I cannot helpe it; but recommend my cause to God, whoe knowes the integrity of my heart in this particular.

Sir, I humbly beg your countenance and favour in reference to our contests in the Chapter. I will never maintaine any cause but what is honest. You see they are cruelly sett against mee, and soe prejudiced, that I cannot have credit with the D[ean] in any thing I say; when Mr. Neile† and Stapilton‡ (and some others of the same latitude of conscience) speake nothing but what is authentick. Begging (in this great exercise of my patience) your prayers and benediction, I rest, Sir, your most faithfull humble servantt,

D. GRENVILLE.

To the Rev. Mr. Archdeacon of Northumberland, humbly present these.

(Indorsed "Durham, Nov. 7, 1674. From Mr. Archdeacon of Durham: 1. The case of baptizing the child of parents excommunicate. 2. Elenchus about the Installation, &c.")

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* Isaac Basire, Esq., LL.B., Official of the Archdeaconry of Northumberland. He was Dr. Basire's eldest son, and married Elizabeth, daughter of Bishop Cosin, and was therefore brother-in-law of Dean Granville. At the time of her marriage she was the widow of Samuel Davison, Esq. Mr. Basire succeeded his step-son John Davison as keeper of Frankland Park in 167.

† Grandson of Richard Neile, Archbishop of York. He was an attorney-at-law, and Under-sheriff of the County of Durham by patent. He was engaged in Bishop Cosin's service after the Restoration. He lost his place of Under-sheriff for his share in Dr. Granville's arrest, as already mentioned in the Introduction. He was afterwards of Plessey Hall, co. Northumb. and Sheriff of that county in 1687 and 1688; was knighted in the latter year, and died in London, March 3, 1692. See Surtees' Hist. Durham, vol. i. Gen. Hist. lxxxix.

‡ Miles Stapilton, Esq. Formerly Secretary to Bishop Cosin. He, as well as Mr. Neile, was summoned before the Council for being a party to Dr. Granville's arrest.

No. IV.

From the same to Isaac Basire, Esq.

St. Thomas' day, 6 of the clock in the morn.

My dear Brother,

This comes to enquire (with all seriousnesse) whether you and yours are alive and well, that I may have occasion (on your account) to praise God in your behalfes; as I hope that you will doe in mine, and the behalfe of this honest family. Whiles we were fooling last night, too much indeed for the tyme, (a time of danger) and the day (a day of devotion) it pleased God that the wind blew downe Misse's chamber, the roof chrushing the very bed flat on the floor. *Te Deum laudamus, te Dominum confitemur.* Had Dr. Brevint*, and his good lady and sweet child been at home, they and their whole family, with mee their (and your) unworthy servant, had been in all probability hurried into another world. For it happened just about the houre that the whole family usually assembled together in that roome in order to some devotion preparatory to their bed. I see that it was a good angell and a kind Providence that carried them away, and which kept Mr. Chancellour from accepting the civility which they designed him, (they allotting that very chamber for his use) and may the same still watch over us all, and engage us to make a due returne to Heaven for such pre-

* Daniel Brevint was born in the island of Jersey, in 1616, educated at the Protestant college of Saumur in France, and afterwards became fellow of Jesus College, Oxford. He was a staunch loyalist, and a pious and devoted Churchman, and was consequently a sufferer during the evil times of the Great Rebellion. Refusing to take the *Covenant*, he was obliged to fly from his college, and taking refuge in France he became the pastor of a Protestant congregation in Normandy, where he remained till the Restoration. He was then made prebendary of the tenth stall in Durham Cathedral, by Charles II., *sede vacante*. In 1661 he was created D.D. at Oxford, and in 1681 was appointed Dean of Lincoln. He lies interred in Lincoln Cathedral under a stone with this inscription:—"Here lyeth the body of Daniel Brevint, D.D. late Dean of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln, who departed this life May the 5th, Anno Dom. 1695, aged 79. *I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord.* Gen. xix. v. 18." Mrs. Brevint is laid near her husband, under a tomb-stone thus inscribed:—"Here is the body of Anne Brevint, the widow of Dr. Brevint (late Dean of Lincoln) who departed out of this life Nov. 8th, 1708, in the 79th year of her age."

Dr. Brevint's principal works were, 1. The Mystery of the Romish Mass laid open &c. 2. Saul and Samuel at Endor, or the new ways of service which tempt men to Rome truly represented and refuted; and, 3. The Christian Sacrament and Sacrifice.

servation. If this comes early to disturb your rest, and provoke you to a like devotion, 'tis noe more than my coat will justifie, being an act nether unbecoming the Christian nor Divine. And if wee doe *all* in our several stations betake ourselves alitle this morning thereto, it will be noe more than our dutie doth oblige us to; to make amends for the unseasonable vanity and airy-nesse of last night. The man, (not to say the master) was a litle more *merry* than *wise*, (it must bee confessed) considering the then threats of heaven, and both peccant in spending any part of soe sacred a day, in juvenile and light divertisement, when a Letany had been much more propper. *A subitaneâ et improvisâ morte, libera nos Domine.* I will learne hereafter, what ever my man doth, some of your last night's gravity, (which, upon serious and second thoughts, I cannot condemne) which in good earnest, as this time proves, (a time of common calamity) rebukes the Archdeacon, with his Archidiaconall (and Episcopall) servantt, for not keeping the very mirth, where they are present, within its due bounds, when either of them, by their present circumstances, have particular obligations thereto. Here you have my confession, let mee have your absolution, as you have my praise. And I doe promise you that I will endeavour to keep hereafter my selfe, my company, and my man, from any such irregularity and excesse, which, by the unseasonablenesse, (though not otherwise) becomes blameable. The storme continuing thus violent, wee must expect to heare of a multitude of accidents throughout the nation. And in good earnest, upon reflection, I wonder at my selfe and others, how wee can (at a time of imminent danger to ourselves and a multitude of our brethren) divert ourselves with airy, nay apish, tricks and discourse, when there is a call from Heaven, if not to expresse devotion, yet to some sober, grave, and sapid conversation.

Doe not wonder to find mee scared into a second sermon. The danger of this family and my selfe, hath roused up all the litle devotion that is [*in*] my soule, and if I should not communicate some part of it to my friend, I should bee unkind and unjust. Wee have all, that have been exposed to this west wind, (as the houses of this rowe are) layen in danger of [*our*] lives; for the chamber that is fallen seem'd to us as strong as any standing, and was not only the repository of the Dr.'s dearest jewell (the child) but the place of their winter evening conversation. And after such a breach the remaining part (though never soe strong before) can't bee perfectly secure. Blessed be God for this or any other deliverance vouchsafed to mee, or any other of his poore servantts, and make us all (in

consideration of his goodnesse) zealous of our great Preservor's honour. God blesse you all. I am, my dearest Br . . . .

Your most affect.

D. GRENVILLE.

I sent out into the Colledge, especially to Bishopp Carleton's *, whose house is very infirme, to give them notice. And I wish that all that have weake houses would yet leveam; the wind (methinks) being not yet alleyed.

I think it were not amisse that my man John saw this sermon. It might save mee the labour of another. For hee shall have his share.

For Issac Basire, Esq. These.

(Indorsed "Bro. Grenville's pious Letter after ye fall of Dr. Brevts. House, Decemb. 1674.")

No. V.

ISAAC BASIRE, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF BATH.

Durham, St. Stephens day ('74.)

MY LORD,

THE Archdeacon of Durham being wholly imployed in attending the holy offices at this good time upon both his cures of Sedgfeild and Easington, hath desired mee to returne your lordship his particular and very hearty thanks for your late effectuall recomendation of him to the King for a preferment, which, if it shortly happen, will restore him to a condition free from all those incumbrances wherewith he is at present clogg'd. Haveing the honour of this opportunity to write to your lordship, I cannot omitt the doeing Mr. Archdeacon that comon justice

* Guy Carleton, D.D. was presented to the 12th stall in Durham Cathedral by King Charles II., *sede vacante*, and installed Nov. 2d, 1660. He was a native of Cumberland, and was educated at Carlisle, from whence he was sent to Queen's College, Oxford. In 1671 he was consecrated Bishop of Bristol; and in 1678 was translated to the Bishopric of Chichester, holding his prebend *in commendam*. He died July 6th, 1685, aged 80, and was buried in his Cathedral Church.

of acquainting your lordship that since his last returne into the north he hath acquitted himselfe of all his undertakings, both in private and publicke concernments, with so great prudence and descreet management, that I doe assure your lordship he hath absolutely rectified a great many mistakes and wrong measures which were made of him and his actions. Six severall sermons hee preach'd in the Cathedrall in six monthes, for two whereof hee happened to be very signall; the one was the Assize-sermon, which hee undertook to performe at two houres warning, and did it with a generall applause: the other happened on Sunday last, upon a failer in the Bishop of Bristoll's turne*, when four of our prebends were present, after hee had sent about a verger to them to know if any of them could undertake that sermon, he ventured into the pulpit, without departing from the Church till hee had done that good worke, to our great surprize. I must in the next place (craveing your lordship's pardon for my prolixity) certify you, that the Archdeacon hath far enough kept himselfe within the limits prescribed him by his relations, touching his revenues, that to my knowledge he hath received but 150*l.* of his new salary for three quarters ending at Candlemass, yet hee hath out of this sum returned to his wife within six monthes neare 80*l.*, and payd off 50*l.*, old debts designed to bee discharged out of the other revenue. I should not have given your lordship the trouble of this accountt, but that I cannot want so much good nature as to neglect an occasion to doe a person right who I know hath certainly been severly misrepresented and injured without any colourable grounds, even by some of his brethren, who dread to see him grow great and envy him for it. Thus assuring your lordship that I shall always bee devoted to the service of your noble family, I humbly take leave to rest, my Lord, your lordship's very faithfull and most humble servant,

ISAAC BASIRE.

The Archdeacon wrote a letter of thanks to the Bishop by the last post.

My father presents your lordship with his humble service. I was with the Dean † last night. He still continues ill, but most

* In the answer of Dr. Basire, Prebendary of the 7th stall, to Bishop Cosin's Visitation Articles in 1668, amongst other suggestions which he makes with reference to the Cathedral Statutes, is the following:—"*Ad cap. xv. de concionibus, &c.* I humbly move that a certaine course may be settled for the supply of the vacant Sundays and holy-days, either by a sufficient licensed preacher, or otherwise: wee being sometimes put to an extemporary provision."

† John Sudbury, born at St. Edmundsbury, in Suffolk, in 1604. He was edu-

infirme of his legg, wherein a swelling draws to a head as bigg, he says, as halfe an eggs, and he expects it breaking.

(In dorso " Decemb. 26, '74. Letter to my Ld. Bath.")

No. VI.

From Archdeacon Granville to Col. Blakiston.

Easington, Feb. 11th, 1674 [*O. S.*]

My worthy Freinde,

As I have received very particular obligations from you, soe I have alwayes had as particular an honor and esteeme for you. And as your kindnesses doe oblige mee (in gratitude) to love you, soe I am goeing about in the surest manner to evidence my love. If I am rightly understood; you are soe much a gentleman (I will not say Christian, that is an absolute word out of fashion) as candidly to interpret so good an office as I am now undertakeing, at least civily give mee the heareing. I am not goeing (I doe assure you) *ultra crepidam*, I meane, to medle with you or your concernes, farther than my cassock doth authorize me. All that I am attempting is to deliver my own soule and conscience, by representing some things (which [*the*] best of us cannot but condemne in your conversation) nakedly and faithfully to you. And here I must take my rise from the late irregularity (Feb. 1.) wherein you were (as I am informed) the ringleader. Really if any man in England but Coll. Bl. had played such a pranke I would have said it had been scandalous. But though I scarce dare say it to one of his Majesties Justices Itenerant, I shall with the honest Welchman (with the good Collonell's leave) pay it with thinking. Nay—presume (with my penne) a little to expostulate the businesse. Hath not there been enough of your past yeares (my noble freind) sacrificed to vanity and folly, but that you must be so sollicitous to give the devill a legacy out of your elder which should bee your wiser and better dayes? Nay, if nothing can content you

cated at Emanuel College, Cambridge. On the promotion of Dr. Barwick to the Deanery of St. Paul's, in 1661, he was preferred to the Deanery of Durham. Dean Sudbury prosecuted with great vigour the work of improvement in the Cathedral.

but that you must needs play the old foole, is it not enough for you to play the sinner among those whoe you have already (by your ill example) made bad, (or are already by others made so to your hand, a province possibly large enough) but that you must contribute to the undoeing of such whoe are as yet gotten but halfe way to hell, and whoe may be recovered, by good examples and faithfull instructions, if they have the good luck to escape those which are ill? Nay, (my freind) must you intrench on my Jurisdiction? I meane pervert such as I professe to take more peculiarly into my charge. Fye upon you; you are an unreasonable man. Sure you have forgott that you have gray hairs under your perriwigg. You touch my copy-hold here, (I assure you) and you must not expect to escape scotfree. I, poore man, am labouring to draw an honest innocent soule or two (or at least not altogether defiled) out of the snare of [*the*] divell, and Coll. Bl. wonn't let mee. Though I have left my *sword and belt*, (which I had the other day by my side at London) yet I carry alwayes with mee that of the Spirit, and wherewith I shall sometime or other (if you doe not avoid these boyish tricks) mawle you. Doe not provoke mee. I send you this paper as a caution: you have fair play; the next time I discover you are guilty I shall quite confound you. In good truth, my honest bondsman, I intend henceforth to take a little care of your soule. For I see you are noe good keeper, tho' you doe not seem to understand the value of soe great a treasure. If you did, you would not thus squander it away. Expect therefore henceforth a gentle rebuke sometimes, when such misdemeanors come to my eares. For till you are a perfect *swine* I shall not cease to fling my pearles before you. When I judge you are soe, I shall leave you to the rest of the herd, and not trouble you with these sollicitations; which I intend as a *vade mecum* for you in your London jorney. Really, (honest Trojan) a little wholsom councell in your pockett will doe you no disservice. For if you can play the debauched here in your country, in your owne Bishop's Castle, among your owne kindred, and they younger men, and at soe *unseasonable* an houre as one of the clock at night, I say, if you can sinne here thus, with these aggravations, in the very sight of the sun, (or of the moon at least) I may shrewdly suspect you to play odd pranks above (as demurely as you carry it in the presence of your mistress) and to take greater liberty there where you will not meet with such interruptions in your career to hell. Farewell good friend, this shall suffice for the present; but if I doe againe discover more of your irregularities I professe I will make affi-

davit of them before Madam D. God bless you, and make you a better man. I am

Your faithfull monitor and servant, D. G.

Postsc.:—I thought to have a fling at your swearing (that damned insipid vice) and your bawdy songs (that cursed profanation of your melodious voice which you would better employ in the entertainement of the chast eares of Madam Dalton * with some sonnetts which are savoury and ingeinous) but I shall dismisse you now, with an injunction to send mee an account when you sett forth, for I will not faile to provide some letters for my freinds.

My prose is dull, duller $\frac{\text{this}}{\text{my}}$ rhime is
Yett t'will serve for a *Nequid nimis.*

(Indorsed, "Coppy of Dr. Grenvls. Letter to Coll. Blakiston †. sun.† Debauch.")

No. VII.

From the same to the Bishop of Durham §.

My Lord,

Among the crowd of beggars which doe (I suppose) ever persecute your lordship, give me leave (I doe most humbly beseech you) to intrude and begg a boon. Example being like (I am afraid) to make me impudent too in time, but the request I have to make is noe other but that your lordship would bee pleased out [*of*] your great grace and favour to grant mee the

* Madam Dalton was in all probability a daughter of Thos. Dalton, D.D., one of the Prebendaries of Durham.

† Col. William Blakiston, of Old Malton, co. York, who had been an officer in the service of Charles I., and afterwards resided at Pidding-Hall-Garth, and acted as a justice of peace for the county palatine of Durham. He was of the ancient family of Blakiston of Blakiston, co. pal., and represented the city of Durham in the parliament of 1679-80. In his petition to the commissioners for a renewal of his lease, he states "his owne loyalty and long service to his Majesty, of which he carried markes about him." It would appear from Dr. Granville's letter that he carried about him also some of the less honourable marks of a roystering cavalier. "Justice Blackston, in Old Elvet, departed this life 1st Jan. 1634-5."—*Bee's Diary.* See Sir C. Sharp's Knights and Burgesses of the County and City of Durham.

‡ *? Sunday:* Feb. 1, 1674, being on a Sunday.

§ Undated, but probably written in 1675.

liberty of disturbing you with an impertinent letter sometimes, (though noe great affair or buisnesse should require) to keep my selfe but warme in your lordship's memory, and beg a benediction by my pen, being deprived, at this distance, of any more formall addresse. If your lordship doe not finde mee an honest faithfull (though a poor and inconsiderable) humble servant; and a true hearty lover and honourer of you, lett mee bee eternally branded and proclaimed for as great a villaine as I, or any of my friends, have been represented by my enimies, whose envy and malice is still rampant against mee, and all that owne mee, I perceive; as by many peevish, indirect meane courses they take to asperse mee and those that love mee, is apparent, soe more particularly by their late malitious impudence of disturbing even your lordshipp (as I heare) with a notorious untruth concerning my brother in law, (and faithfull champion in our late contest) Mr. Isaack Basire. In good truth (my lord) since these spleenatick people have defiled your lordship's eares with such a dirty and ridiculous story, I shall presume to take away their imployment, and bee your informer (but a more faithfull one) how it was. You may bee pleased then to understand (my lord) that his Majestie hath a notorious sott to his train-band captain and your lordship to your prothonotary, pardon my boldnesse, called Wright*, whoe having gotten his noddle as full of drinke as his heart with folly and mallice, (to my brother and our worthy Chancellour Ireland†, for zealously asserting my cause) and having received some false intelligence from his correspondents Stapilton and Neile, concerning our hearing before the King and Counsell, 7ber 4th, could not satisfy him selfe with crying in the very streets that his patrons where come off with flying colours, but rudely and impudently thrust himselfe in to their chamber to affrontt them, and hector them with insolent language and reproaches, for having owned mee and my odious causes, insomuch that after some civill entreaties to depart their roome (his carriage and language beeing intollerable) my brother in law takes him by the shoulder to turne him out of doores, and this Wright, being highly distemper'd, had not strength enough to endure a small thrust, but falls downe on the floor, without receiving any harme, or undergoing any other violence. And here (my lord) is the truth (as I am informed)

* Thomas Wright, of Windleston, æt. 26, 1666; bapt. 11 June, 1640, at St. Andrew's, Auckland; will dat. 13 July, 1689; bur. 15 Jan. 1690, (at St. Nicholas', Durham,) "called Captain Wright:" Prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas.—Surtees' Hist. of Durham, vol. iv. p. 153.

† Thomas Ireland, LL.B., Spiritual Chancellor and Vicar General to Bishop Crewe. He was appointed in 1675, and died the following year.

of that famous counterscuffle which hath had the honour to reach your lordship. To speake my thoughts, (my lord, by your lordship's favour) Mr. Basire seemed to mee too mercifull in contenting himselfe with discharging his chamber of a beast. I would have made bold to have hansled the stocks with one of his Majestie's drunken captains; as hee and his cronees had the jaole with one of his Majestie's chaplaines. In good earnest, my lord, this punishment had been calculated well enough for the meridian of the creature, whoe (as I am told) fell downe in the streets afterwards, without force, to the greate scandall of people and his employments. And now I thinke your lordshipp more damnified by these impertinent and ridiculous stories, than the Captain was by the Justice, Mr. Basire, whose asserting my intrest (which he hath done very hansomly) is one of his greatest accusations. But to conclude, if I can clear him, yet I can not cleare myselfe of somewhat of impudence in thus assaulting your lordshipp's patience, for which I humbly begg pardon and rest, my lord,

Your lordshipp's most obedient humble servant

DENIS GRENVILLE.

No. VIII.

ISAAC BASIRE, ESQ. TO THE BISHOP OF DURHAM *.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I AM given to understand that your lordship hath received some imperfect intimation touching a patent I have within the Diocese for being Keeper of Franckland wood, whereupon it becomes mee to signify the true state of this matter, lest your lordship should receive any wrong impression of mee or this concerne, wherein I should not have troubled your lordship but that I am well inform'd of the false suggestions of revengefull persons at this conjuncture, occasioned by my assisting and owning the just cause of the Church and my brother Grenville, at [*the*] Councill Board, against the malitious attempts of those that were ingaged therein.

* Undated, but probably written in 1675.

My lord, my case is shortly thus: the office of Keeper of Frankland wood hath been anciently grantable for life, and hath been granted particularly in the family wherein I am placed by three severall patents for life, to Mr. Davison for his life, after his death to his eldest son for his life, and since his death, and my intermarriage with the late Bishop of Durham's daughter, (mother to the son deceased) to mee for my life, which I obtain'd from the King, to prevent Mr. Neil, who had clandestinely procured his Majestie's warrant for the depriveing us of it; since which time I have built up a new house at my owne charge, (the former house being totally ruined to the ground) for the better preservation of the wood by the inhabitants thereof. At your lordship's coming into the country, you will find by the severall patents which I have ready to produce that I have given a very true information of this matter.

Craving your lordship's pardon and benediction, &c.

(Indorsed, "Coppy of Letter to my Ld. of Durham touching Frankland.")

No. IX.

AGREEMENT BETWEEN DR. GRANVILLE AND MR. BLAXSTON.

Feb. 28, 167⅞.

DR. GRENVILLE and Mr. Blaxston then agreed that Mr. Blaxston was to give the Dr. 518*l.*, and to have an hundred pound a year during the Dr.'s life for it; and to have an hundred and fifty pounds a year of Dr. Grenville's estate, *made over by lease to him*, for the payment of 100*l.* and that Mr. Blaxston is to redemise this estate to Dr. Grenville or his assignes, upon a reserve of 100*l.* a year to be paid out of it; and there is this provisoe; that Dr. Grenville hath a power to redeem this 100*l.* in paying in the money upon 3 months warning; the time to comence next Lady-day; and the payments to be made, to be paid quarterly; but yet they are not actually to be paid but every halfe year; only this is done to secure a quarter's payment out of the personall estate in case of death.

DENIS GRENVILLE.
ROB. BLAXSTON.

Memorandum, that Mr. Blaxston hath the power to have another 50*l.* a year, upon the same tearmes, according to proportion, that is, for 259*l.* in mony.

(*In dorso*) Feb. 28, 167⅞.

Dr. Grenville owed Mr. Blaxston upon Bond, 563*l.* It. Interest of this for halfe a year next Lady-day, 22*l.* 10*s.* It. More for another debt, 250*l.* It. Interest of this till next Lady-day, which will be for a twelvemonth, 20*l.* Total, 855*l.* 10*s.* Out of this you are to deduct for an annuity of a 100*l.* a year for Dr. Grenville's life, 518*l.* So there remains due to Mr. Bl. 337*l.* 10*s.*

No. X.

From Archdeacon Granville to .....

London, March 16th, 167⅞.

Honoured Sir,

I have received your's, and am astonish'd to understand Mr. Neile's rudenesse towards you. I shall not faile, according to your just expectation, and mine owne ingagement, to keep you harmless from any damage which may accrew to you. If it lyes in my power ever to recompense the trouble which may be occasioned you, I shall bee as forward to doe it, as you were to pay mee. I am very sensible of the greate respects of your worthy family. With the presentation of my most humble service, and thankes to your selfe and them (praying for you all, and begging your prayers) I rest, worthy Sir,

Your most affectionate humble servant

Denis Grenville.

My wife presents your selfe, lady, and daughters with her humble service. I had the happiness to see your son before his departure. I pray God blesse him.

No. XI.

FROM THE SAME TO ISAAC BASIRE, ESQ.

London, Apr. 20th, 1676.

MY HONOURED BROTHER,

IF you doe not interpret my silence an argument of my confidence in you, rather than neglect of you, you are not just to me. I understand by Will. Mason that you were very zealous for mee in your discourse with Mr. Morland *; I returne you my most heartye thankes; and assuer you that you shall not finde mee peccant in any substantiall concernes of your's, tho' not allways over cerimonious in letters, &c. Pray continue your kindnesses, in advice and assistance, when ever my cosen Beaumont † or Will. Mason, shall repaire to you for itt, as I have order'd them to doe in difficult cases. You are the man of law whom I relye on, and one that will pardon and take in good part, I hope, the troubles occasioned by mee or my agents. I rest, Sir,

Your very affectionate servantt and brother,

DENIS GRENVILLE.

(turne over)

Postscr.:—I am my ladies' &c. My most affectionate humble service to Mr. Chancellour. I am likewise his &c. Hee hath quite beaten mee out of the feild with mine owne weapons. His last long letter of Feb. (since which I never writt) struck mee *dead*, or *dumb* at least. But not with reason, (for I am sure hee is in the wrong) but with his prolixity. To which I cannot reply without greater, and therefore, before I doe it, and dispute the point, I desire to know of him which he will take in best part, either a long epistle of three or foure sheets, or my farther silence, which if I once breake, I can't hold, I shall be at him. A sound Archdeacon sure (if he contest) will rowte him, since hee cannot hold his owne against a lame D. [*? Dean.*] This

* George Morland, of Windleston, Esq., eldest son of John Morland, an Alderman of the city of Durham. He was M.P. for Durham city, 1688—1690, and was Mayor in 1690. He was buried at St. Oswald's, 26th March, 1711.

† The Rev. Hamond Beaumont, Curate of Sedgefield. He appears to have contemplated a memoir of the Dean. See Surtees' Hist. Durham, i. 175.

losse of ground argues a great decay, and if his reversion was not already begg'd, certainly this would give an occasion. As to Mr. Stapilton's demand I doe affirme that I owe him not a farthing. I have consulted Dr. Davies, whoe was my agent. And neither of us can remember a penny unpaid of any money I ever had of him, or any other person by his order. And therefore I am in great admiration at this talke of 50*l.* I know nothing of itt. Let them produce any thing under my hand, which they can surely, if there bee any reallity in their pretences. I shall observe your advice in signing no acquittance.

For his honoured friend, Isaac Basire, Esq.,
at Durham.

(Indorsed, "Br. Gren. Apr. 20, '76, about Jo. Crosbie's detain' of moneys recd. &c." Seal of arms, Grenville, Gules, three organ rests, or; impaling Cosin, Azure, a fret or.)

No. XII.

Tanner MSS.
xl. 181.

From the same to Archbishop Sancroft.

May it please your Grace,

Though I am incapacitated to discharge personally that duty which, among others, I should have very readily paid to your Grace, had I been in England, yet I cannot thinke myselfe soe totally exempted, by any distance of place, as to omit this kind of presentation of my most humble duty and service; which I hope may suffice to assure your Grace that I joine in those dutifull respects and congratulations, which any of my worthy brethren may offer you at home. My brother, who hath obliged mee by the information of his Majestie's kindnesse to the Church in the promotion of your Grace, can alsoe informe you of the reasons of my absence; and how that the King did not only grant mee (upon my coming abroad) his gracious dispensation; but that both of their Majesties were pleased to give mee incouragement, from their mouthes, to undertake this present journey. I shall not presume to add any thing to your Grace's farther interruption, but an assurance that, notwithstanding I am a great many miles distant from my cures, I doe yet however soe well remember my duty to God and the Church as to

imploy my time (as far as my poor brain and body will permit) in the study of the sacred scriptures, and such usefull learning, as may best quallifie for the future discharge of my duty, and a good conscience after my returne. Heartily begging your Grace's benediction on my honest designes and poor endeavours, I crave leave to subscribe my selfe, Your Grace's most obedient and dutyfull humble servant,

DE. GRENVILLE.

Aix in Provence,
Feb. 1st, 167⅞ S.N.

No. XIII.

FROM THE SAME TO JOHN BASIRE, ESQ.

Scarbrough, August 7th, 1682.

I WRIT to you by Hixon, that after Sunday the thirteenth of this instant, you might come away when you please, and fetch us home, and now I think fit to repeat the same by the post, to let you know that wee shall be ready by that time, if you are ready with beasts and money to come and fetch us; but if you see any reason for a day, two, or three's delay, I give you liberty to choose your own day of setting forth, and the road that wee shall return by, provided wee have our own coach, at least, to receive us at some convenient place the last daye's journey. Twenty pound, the sume you mentioned in your paper, for Scarbrough expences, will bee the least that you can bring along with you, and where to get that, and the other necessary sumes you best know. The waters * do very well with us all, and I hope will do my wife more good than any remedy that shee has made use of a long time. The Germane Doctor is exceeding civil to us and does deserve to bee very handsomely gratified by us. All other matters in relation to our journey whether in point of conveniency, good husbandry or grandieur, I refer to your selfe and rest

Your affectionate friend and servante,

DENIS GRENVILLE.

My wife gives you her service.

For John Basire, Esq. at Durham.

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* The mineral spring at Scarborough appears to have been in some repute at this period. A book entitled "Scarborough Spaw" (12mo. 1660) was written by Robert Wittie, Doctor of Physic, of King's College. He died in London in 1684.—Wood's Athenæ Oxon.

No. XIV.

From the same to Isaac Basire, Esq.

Easington, January 15th, '8¾.

Honoured Brother,

I thank you for your letter, and account of the transactions at the Sessions at Morpeth. I think it a matter of great moment to have the loyal party of the bench countenanced; and if I get to London before the decision, I shall doe my poor indeavour towards it.

Mr. Lambton * at the Sessions press'd much to have all things perfected, as concerning security, &c. without any further delay; as for adjusting of matters, I told him that was not my buisinesse, but to shew my willingnesse to doe any thing within my sphere, I promised him, that tho' I had buisenesse to bee at home Thursday night, I would stay til Saturday; which I did accordingly, much to my prejudice, but Mr. Lambton did not appear, Mr. Cradock left the town, and you, who had the justest reason, I conceive, came not before I took horse, tho' I staid til almost five o'clock.

Next Saturday I am to come in againe to Chapter, and if you see any necessity of my coming sooner, either upon the account of the affair with Mr. Lambton, or the citation served on mee, out of the Consistory Court, (whereof Proud can informe you) I shall come in on Friday, if you judge it necessary, and shall soe advise mee; but I desire to bee excused from all journeyes and buisiness which are not of absolute necessity.

There's nothing that I could more willingly undertake, than the task which you require of mee, in reference to your father's books, but when I was preparing myself by my solitude and retirement for the undertaking of the thing, according to my talent, the consideration of my obligation to preach before the King, (which I now see is unavoidable) and wherein my honour and interest, as well as my conscience, are as much concerned as in any action of my life, came into my mind with so much force, and fill'd my head with soe many variety of thoughts of

* Of the ancient family of Lambton of Lambton, eldest son of Henry Lambton, Esq., and grandson of Sir William Lambton who fell in the royal cause on Marston Moor. He represented the county in seven parliaments and died unmarried in 1724.

that nature, that I was fit for no other buisinesse, which required invention, before I had discharged my head of them, and did accordingly, on a new text whereon I had never preach'd, runne of halfe a sermon, at leisure hours last week while I staid at Durham; and if I could but have secured another week here at Easington, before I had met with any thing that had disturb'd my head, and put mee out of tune, I do not doubt but I should have runne of the other half, in the same straine, and made it all of a piece, as I am afraid now it will bee hardly possible for mee to doe. For your brother's want of this 100*l.*, which I think is grounded upon undeniable reasons and necessity, does at present soe much disturb my brain, (tho' I know of nothing that I can doe to the promoting of it, but saying to Proud, as I have said, *Let it bee done, if it bee possible to bee done,*) that I can hardly think of any other thing; notwithstanding it bee wholy out of my sphere, I having a little of that they call good nature, which is very ungovernable in mee, and makes mee feel sometimes some other people's sufferings for mee more than I should, especially when they are persons that have given mee a demonstration of their love, as your brother hath done. Hee is, I find, at an extraordinary pinch, and I am, in an extraordinary manner, concerned for him, which is all the consolation I can give him. Hee knows I cannot manage, nor mind these money affairs, and therefore will not blame mee, if it bee not done. I send in Proud (on whom I do relye chiefly of all my domesticks, to take of these troubles, about my revenue, from mee) to waite upon you and to represent unto you the utmost that wee are able to doe. The moneys he has is absolutely necessary for dayly expences, and where wee shall get more for the house in my absence, or for my journey up, I cannot yet foresee; both which must bee taken care for likewise, with all expedition; and I hope Proud and you will take it into consideration while you are together; for I would faine beginne my journey, if possible, this day fortnight, and spend a few dayes, before I take coach at York, with Dr. Comber, concerning the stile, phrase, or method of my sermon, who shall bee the only person I shall consult about it here in the north.

As for the comission, I beseech you to mind it in the absence of Mr. Brown.

Mr. Cradock prevailed with Golding to stop that buisinesse, in his hands, til fresh applications were made to Sir William Und'hill by your brother above, concerning which I writ to him by last post.

Blacket never came to mee, nor sent to mee, tho' I heard by Tho. Cradock, that hee was in town.

I have put your black box sealed up, safe into my study. I will try whether it bee possible for mee to discharge my head of other thoughts this week, and set about that the next following. Wishing you a good stomack to your veneson, I rest,

Your affectionate brother, and humble servant,

DENIS GRENVILLE.

Really I am so far from being unconcern'd for your brother, that I could contentedly betake my self to my old bad husbandry, and give 20 ℔ cent., rather than hee should longer want it.

No. XV.

Rawlinson MSS. miscell. 103.

AN IMPERFECT JOURNAL OF DR. GRANVILLE, FIRST ARCHDEACON, AFTERWARDS DEAN OF DURHAM. R. R. *

[1683, May.] 22th. I waited againe on the Primate of Scotland †, and after some discourse on the wonderfull Pro-

* This heading is in Dr. Rawlinson's handwriting.

† Alexander Burnet, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, was son of Mr. John Burnet, a parochial minister, who was of the family of Barns. His mother was of the family of Traquair. He was born in the year 1614, and is said to have been chaplain to the great Earl of Traquair. After the troubles began he retired to England, and had a living in Kent, from which he was ejected on the score of loyalty in 1650. He afterwards went abroad, and was of some service to Charles II. in bringing intelligence from England and other parts. Upon the Restoration he became chaplain to his kinsman General Rutherford, who was afterwards created Earl of Teviot. When this nobleman was made Governor of Dunkirk, Mr. Burnet had an English congregation there. In Sept. 1663, on the death of Bishop Mitchel, he was made Bishop of Aberdeen, and was soon after translated to Glasgow, and after the murder of Archbishop Sharp to the see of St. Andrew's, where he died, Aug. 24th, 1684, and was buried in St. Salvator's college chapel, near the tomb of Bishop Kennedy. See Keith's Historical Catalogue of Scottish Bishops, Russell's edition, p. 43.

The Presbyterian Kirkton bears this testimony to Burnet's character. "To give every man his due, he was certainly one of the best morals among the present clergy. He was a mighty bigot for the English ceremonies and forms, and as forward to have all the usages of the Church introduced to Scotland, as if he had been educated by Bishop Laud; yea, to have his fancy pleased with those pageantries he could almost have submitted to the old claim of the see of York over the Church of Scotland. At his first diocesan meeting he put five or six curates publickly in orders, after the English Pontifical, to enure the west of Scotland to these novelties." Kirkton, p. 221, quoted by Stephen, History, vol. ii. p. 551. To understand this it is necessary to bear in mind, that though the orders had been restored to Scotland after the Restoration, there were neither service-books nor vestments.

vidence of God in raising up soe considerable a number of able persons in the Church of England to maintaine her doctrine

Burnet, though a mild and Christian-like man, was indeed a strenuous upholder of the rights of his order, and of the Church of which he was a minister. For these offences he was in 1669, immediately after the passing of the Assertory Act, suspended from the exercise of his office as Bishop, or of any jurisdiction within his diocese of Glasgow, during his Majesty's pleasure. The Archbishop demurred, but, being threatened by Lauderdale, surrendered his office, and his name was also expunged from the list of privy-councillors. Leighton, then Bishop of Dumblane, whose name does not read well in history, was, after a slight demur on his part, appointed commendator and administrator of the see, and in 1671 was elected Archbishop, though the election was never ratified by the King. Next year, however, he resigned his post into the King's hands, but was persuaded by Lauderdale still to act as administrator of the see. Burnet was restored in 1674, on the occasion of Lauderdale's being threatened with impeachment by the House of Commons, with the double view of keeping the outrage he had sustained in the background, and to purchase the support of the Bishops of England and Scotland, whom Lauderdale had greatly offended by his arbitrary interference with their rights and privileges.

The causes of Lauderdale's anger against the Archbishop were, 1st, his efforts to save the misguided fanatics from the violent measures of the Privy Council after the battle of the Pentland Hills in 1666. Having failed with the Council, he brought the matter under the notice of the English Secretary of State, Sir H. Bennett (afterwards Earl of Arlington), exposing the acts of the Council. 2nd, His opposition to the Black Indulgence, which seems to have been suggested by Leighton. This was a plan for allowing the discontented Presbyterian ministers in the west to occupy certain deserted churches, from which the clergy had been driven by popular violence, and to hold synods, &c. apart from the diocesan clergy. 3d, His opposition to the Assertory Act, which was designed apparently to save the Council from the consequences of their violation of the law in the matter of the Black Indulgence. It asserted the King's supremacy in most extravagant terms, declaring "that his Majesty hath the supreme authority and supremacy over all persons and in all causes ecclesiastical within this his kingdom; and that, by virtue thereof, the ordering and disposal of the external government and policy of the Church doth properly belong to his Majesty and his successors, as an inherent right of the Crown . . . . . any law, act, or custom to the contrary notwithstanding." The Indulgence was dated the 7th of June, and the Act passed on the 16th of Nov. 1669.

The Archbishop attributes his disgrace (if such we may call it) to his appeal to the King for more merciful measures in favour of the rebels; for, writing to Sheldon on the day of his resignation of his archbishopric, (of which after his suspension he retained the name and style up to Dec.,) he says, "My great crime was the information I gave his Majesty in your Grace's hearing. Yet I bless God, most men here think my integrity is my greatest crime." It is possible, too, he may have told the King what he is said to have written to the English Bishops, that the great obstacle to the return of peace was the countenance afforded by many in the Council to the rebellious acts of the Cameronians.

On being suspended by this extraordinary exercise of the royal supremacy, the Archbishop called together his clergy and told them "he was not to act for some time as their Ordinary among them, till the King should be pleased to allow him." Shewing at once his Christian temper and his conscious rectitude. By will he left a piece of land in the neighbourhood of St. Andrew's for the benefit of the poor of the Guildry, which is still called "Bishop Burnet's Acre." The poor however do not get the benefit of it, the Corporation applying it to the general expenses of the burgh. Archbishop Burnet's successor was Arthur Ross, who was deprived at the Revolution.

The Editor has to thank his friend, the Rev. Canon Humble, of St. Ninian's, Perth, for directing his attention to the particulars respecting Archbishop Burnet embodied in this note.

and discipline, notwithstanding the great intervall of religion and learning during the times of rebellion, and that it was soe great a mark of God's love that it gave us some considerable ground of hopes, that wee might yet see England a happy and well settled nation, whereof wee had noe reason to despair, since wee saw, blessed bee God, London metamorphised soe much for the better, &c. I humbly offer'd, as the best completing of such felicity, the great necessity of a strict conformity, according to the Acts of Parliament, without any exercise of prudence farther than was allowed. His Grace perfectly agreed with mee, very much condemning the liberty that ministers took in varying from their rule, and adding, that, as St. James saith in reference to the law of God, *hee that offendeth in one, is guilty of all*, soe it would hold in reference to the Magistrate and Churche's authority, that hee that lived in the constant breach of any one clear law of the Comon Prayer-Book, confirm'd by Act of Parliament, was to be look'd upon as a contemner both of the King and the Church.

I alsoe recomended to his Grace's consideration, the breach of rubrick in the King's Chappell, which I conceived was a very bad example to the Clergy of the nation, occasioning them to take false measures: and when I particulariz'd in the cutting of of the first lesson and letany constantly on Sundayes, and great part of the Comunion-service at all celebrations, hee greatly wondered, saying, that what ever liberty the King took in his private closet, that it could no way be justified to take any in the publick Chappell, whereto, without doubt, the Act of Uniformity did extend.

Lastly, I demanded his Grace's judgment concerning Dr. Steward's little piece, 'The old Puritan &c.,'* which I perceived hee had never seen, and promised to send it to him; but hee runne on very largely in commendation of the author, as an incomparable preacher, and person of very sound principles and good life.

24th. I sent the little piece of Dr. Steward's before mentioned to the Archbishopp, and met with him the same day at court, in the King's withdrawing roome, where hee gave mee thanks for the book, and said hee was perfectly of his judgment, and that it was fit for ministers to goe one way.

* Richard Steward, or Stuart, LL.D., Dean of Westminster. The work alluded to was published anonymously. Its title is as follows: "The old Puritan detected and defeated; or a brief treatise shewing how by the artifice of pulpit prayers our dissenters at all times have endeavoured to undermine the liturgy of the Church of England. 4to. London, 1682."

27th. Being Whitsunday, I dined with Mr. Secretary Jenkins, where I met with Sir William Dugdel, Sir William Basset, and two other gentlemen; and after much discourse about a great discovery of coyners and clippers in Wilkshire, [*sic*] Dorcetshire, and Summersetshire, Sir William Dugdel began some discourse concerning his progresse into the north which hee made in the year [1666 *] and spake much in comendation of Bishopp Cosins and Dr. Basiere, highly comending the conformity of the place, and more particularly the observation of the 55th canon, and telling me a story of Dr. Burnet, how hee took an occasion to admonish him for omitting, in the first volume of his History of the Reformation, the Bidding of Prayer in Edward the 6th's time, &c., and that Dr. Burnet confessed it an error, and promised to take notice of it in the publication of the second volume, but that the Doctor failed to doe it, and thereon censured him to bee a man very deficient in integrity. Sir William did voluntarily inlarge very much upon this point of Bidding Prayer, and confessed that the contrary practice was a shiboleth whereby to distinguish the fanatick party, and that if the liberty which ministers take, bee not seasonably check'd, it may ones more runne down the liturgy. After this, wee had some discourse concerning Newcastle; and upon my informing him that it was brought to a very great degree of conformity by the zeal and diligence of the Officiall of Northumberland † and Vicar ‡, whereat hee did heartily

* He was at Bishop's Auckland on the 4th Sept. 1666.—Surtees' Hist. Durham, I. clvi.

† Isaac Basire, Esq. See his Injunctions to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Northumberland hereafter, in the Appendix.

‡ John March, B.D. was Vicar of Newcastle from 1679 to 1692. He published several sermons: 1. A Sermon preached before the Mayor and Aldermen of that town on the 30th Jan. 1676-7. He was then Vicar of Embleton, co. Northumb. 2. A Sermon entitled "The Encænia of St. Ann's Chappel in Sandgate," preached May 3, 1682. 3. Another Sermon on the anniversary of King Charles' Martyrdom, entitled "The false Prophet unmask't, &c." in 1683. 4. A Sermon on the like occasion in 1689, advocating passive obedience and non-resistance. These three discourses, like the first, were preached before the Mayor and Aldermen. The one last named occasioned some letters between the author and James Welwood, M.D.

The wretched state, as regarded Church matters, in which Northumberland was found after the Restoration, may be gathered from the Informations given in by some of the Clergy to Archdeacon Basire in 1662, which the reader will find in the Appendix. It is evident from Dean Granville's testimony that Bishop Cosin's vigorous administration produced some good fruit. And it is not uninteresting to find that after the lapse of a century the good order and discipline then set on foot were not utterly extinct. In Wallis' History of Northumberland (published in 1769) we find that at St. Nicholas', Newcastle on Tyne, there were then "prayers twice a day; a catechetical lecture in every week when there are no holidays; and a sermon twice a week, on every Wednesday and Friday, in Advent and Lent, preached by all the clergy of the town in their turn." At All Saints', in the same town, the

rejoyce, hee demanded some questions concerning Mr. Isaac Basire, whether hee was a man of parts, &c., which was a topick whereon I did inlarge not to the prejudice of Mr. Isaac Basire and family.

30th. On the 30th of May Dr. Cullam came to my lodging, and brought with him Mr. Wyat, the University Orator of Oxford, who was to waite in the month of June, as deputy for his son, and discoursing somewhat of the liberty which was taken in retrenching some part of the service in reading the Closet prayers, hee told mee a story of Dr. Ansley, when hee served as Clark of the Closet to his Majestie, while his Majesty came to St. George's Chappell; how Dr. Ansley sent to the Deane of Windsor, and another time to himself, to curtaile the service by leaving out the lesson at the King's ordinary Closet prayers, and reading only the litany upon Wensdayes and Frydaies; but that they refused to receive any orders from him, and afterwards made application to the King, and the King approved of what they had done, and upon their informing him that hee never had the litany in his own Chappell on Sunday mornings, shewed some displeasure thereat.

June 2. Saturday being the second of June, my brother Grenville * carried mee into the Bedchamber, to take my leave of his Majesty. As soon as I had made a low obeysance upon my entrance, the King comes away imediatly to mee from the farther part of the roome, and spake to me very kindly to this effect, which I have penn'd down in the very words, as near as I can remember. 'You are now returning I suppose into the north.' I replyed to his Majesty, Yes, and that I did intend to leave the Court Monday following, whereupon the King added, 'I am very well satisfied with the loyalty and conformity of the country, and with your own in a particular manner. Remember mee kindly to all my hearty friends, and incourage them to doe

same writer tells us there were "prayers every day, at ten o'clock in the morning, and four in the afternoon." Vol. ii. pp. 224, 230. As regards the use of the Bidding Prayer, moreover, on which Dean Granville laid so much stress, the observance of the 55th Canon beyond the precincts of a Cathedral was not wholly extinct even within living memory. The Editor has been told by Dr. Thorp, the present Archdeacon of Durham, that his father, the Ven. Robert Thorp, Archdeacon of Northumberland, who died at the age of 76 in 1812, invariably used the Bidding Prayer before Sermon, both in his own parish churches and wherever else he might preach. He also had daily prayer in his church of Gateshead. *Ex uno disce omnes*, or at least *multos*. The Archdeacon of Northumberland's father was a beneficed clergyman in the diocese of Durham, and both were no doubt representatives of a class of clergy to whom had been transmitted many of the principles and practices of an older generation.

* The Hon. Bernard Granville, one of the Grooms of the Bed-chamber to King Charles II.

their duty, assuring them from mee, that I will stand by them. Farewell, God bee with you; I thank you.' Whereupon I kneeled down, and his Majesty gave mee his hand. Imediatly before the King said, 'Farewell, &c.,' I replyed, wee had great incouragement to doe our duty in the Bishoprick of Durham, and should bee more than ordinary to blame, if we did not doe it, it being more easy than elsewhere, it being without dispute the most exemplary county for good order and conformity of any in the nation. 'I believe it,' says the King, with a gracious nod, and then spake as I have mentioned, 'Farewell, &c.'

June 3. Sunday morning, waiting in the Closet, as soon as the Minister began prayer in the pulpit (the King's attention whereto I made lesse conscience of interrupting than other parts of the service) I took an occasion to speak to the King, first making Dr. Montague's excuse, as hee had desired mee, and therewithall presenting him with Dr. Stuart's little piece against pulpit prayers. The King asked mee how I did know it was Dr. Stuart's, I told him that the bookseller for whom it was printed did informe mee soe. The King shaked his head, and said that was not enough. I then added, that Sir William Heywood did informe mee soe. Says the King, 'Did Sir William Heywood tell you soe? that's somewhat; I'le read it:' and thereupon glancing his eye on the title page, and turning two or three leaves of it, held it in his hand till the sermon was almost ended, and then put it in his pocket.

Sunday evening, attending by the Duke's Bedchamber, and watching an opportunity to take my leave of his Royall Highnesse, Secretary Jenkins came in, and waited there a considerable time to speak with the Duke. I took an occasion to let him know that I was going for Oxford, and would take it as a great honour if hee had any comands for mee. 'I pray give my service,' saith hee, 'to my Lord Bishopp of Oxford, and Mr. Vice Chancellor.' After this, observing the Secretary to wait there a considerable time, some mutuall discourse passing on such subjects as did occasionally present themselves, no body being present with the Secretary, but Mr. Cary, the Master of the buckhounds, and myself, I took an occasion to ask of him whether hee had ever met with a little piece of Dr. Stuart's, (shewing the mischieves of pulpit prayers) which I had taken the boldnesse to put into the King's hand that morning while I did my duty in the Closet. Hee told mee hee had never seen it, before hee saw the King reading it in the Bedchamber: whereupon I took one out of my pocket and presented him therewith, saying that I thought it a subject very worthy of consideration, especially now at this criticall time, when men

seem to bee convinced by sad experience of the necessity of a higher pitch of conformity than has been generally practised of late in the nation. Hee reads the title page, and says, 'Truly soe it is:' adding, after he had glanced his eye on some parts thereof, 'it is to bee wished that the clergy did goe all one way;' and more especially, says I, in his Majesty's Chappell. 'Mr. Archdeacon' (says the Secretary) 'you are in the right:' which gave mee an occasion to say severall things, concerning God's service and conformity, to the Secretary, who gave very great attention; which may, by God's blessing, in time doe the Church some service.

The same evening my brother Grenville told mee that the King had some farther discourse concerning mee, speaking some kind things of mee, in approbation of my honest zeal for his Majesty's and the Churche's service, and incouraging mee to give an account sometimes to the Secretary of such persons as were most negligent in the discharge of their duty.

After this I went to give a visit to my Lord Primate of Scotland, who according to his wonted manner received mee with a great deale of kindnesse, and in his discourse took an occasion to repeate his comendations of the good order and conformity of our Diocesse, saying that Bishopp Cosins was a great man, and an excellent governor; and invited mee to dine with him next day, which I did accordingly: and having an opportunity to discourse many things, concerning the good order and regularity of a Churchman, which his Grace seemed well to approve of, I was much confirmed in my notion of conformity. After which I took my leave of him, humbly craving his benediction.

4th. On Monday the 4th my brother came to my chamber, and I demanded of him whether the King had read the little piece which I presented to him the day before in the Closet, and what his Majesty said concerning it. My brother told mee that the King had read the greatest part of it, but was not throughly satisfied that it was Dr. Stuart's, tho' hee seemed well pleased that I had presented it to him, saying to this effect, 'I see your brother is a lover of order and a strict observation of the Churche's rules, which I like very well, and hee does very well to indeavour to tread in the steps of Dr. Stuart, for hee cannot set before his eyes a better patterne than that worthy man, who was one of the best preachers that ever I heard in my life, and one of the best men that ever I knew, giving himself up wholly to devotion.'

13th. On Wednesday the 13th I came from Taplow (where I had spent a whole week in assisting my good old aunt Dennys in her sicknesse) to Beconsfield, where I waited for a passage in

the London coach to Oxford, and had the honour to bee received into the coach of a young Prince of Sueden, son to Prince Adolphus, uncle to the king of Sueden, who being present at Windsor, when I preach'd before the King, and attended at the King's elbow in the Closet, remembred my face, and being told that I was a brother of the Earle of Bathe's, from whom hee had received some officious services, shewed mee great favour all along the journey. Hee demanded of mee, after I came into the coach, what languages I could speak best. I replyed that I understood the Latine, but could explaine myself better in French, whereupon hee and a Germane lord with him, as allsoe his chaplaine, which seemed to be a very learned man, discoursed with mee oftentimes in French, and sometimes in Latin. They seem'd all to bee very much satisfyed with the order of the Church of England. I demanded of the Chaplaine whether hee had ever read our Liturgy, and hee told mee hee had seen it, but never read much of it: whereupon I took out my Latin Comon Prayer-book. Hee seemed to bee much satisfyed therewith, and confessed wee had retained very much of the practices of the Primitive Church, and more particularly that wee had retain'd Confession, Absolution, and soe many Feasts and Fasts, all which hee said their Church did observe, unlesse the four Ember-weeks, but hee told mee that hee was a little scandaliz'd that the people did not better observe the Feasts, according to the order of the Church, saying that hee was much offended to find Ascension-day very much contemned by the people of London, observing the shops in the town to be generally open on that day.

15th. Friday the 15th. The University having ended all their complements and ceremonies in the reception of the Prince, and admitting him and his retinue to severall degrees, I went to wait on the Bishopp of Oxford* and beg his benediction: and after I had thank'd him for the obliging letter hee writ mee about the weekly celebration of the Comunion in Cathedralls, &c., and hee had inquired whether I had succeeded in my honest attempt in reviving the rubrick, at Durham, that does injoyne the same, wee entred upon some discourse concerning the usuall objections which are made against soe laudable and pious a practice, and hee declared that hee did not think any of those that had been offer'd to mee by the Deane and Prebends valid, condemning that which they seem'd to lay the greatest stresse on, namely that there was no likelyhood to have a sufficient number to keep up the dignity of that Holy Mystery, saying

* John Fell, S.T.P. consecrated Feb. 6, 1675. He died in July, 1686.

that wee should be first concerned for the essence of the thing, and administer it with the smallest number rather than not at all. As for any arguments they brought against it upon the account of desuetude, or innovation, he thought very weak and frivolous; and having comended my designe, and cautioned mee against all boistrous proceedings, hee proposed to mee the stirring up some devout people, ladyes or gentlemen, to desire the same from the Deane and Chapter, as the best expedient to effect that good work, saying that the Deane and Prebends could not justifye the denial thereof, and besides it was a very plausible way for them to steale into their duty, without exposing themselves for their past omissions and neglects.

The same night I begunne some discourse, about the same subject, with my worthy friend Dr. Bury, Rector of Exeter College, and did, almost daily, during my stay there, talk with him, more or lesse, about it. His zeal seemed much to outstrip mine in this particular, and was exceedingly positive that it ought to be a constant concomitant of all Feasts, as well as the Sunday, &c. But this shall suffice concerning Dr. Bury's judgment, since it is soe fully declared in the two editions of his usefull and learned treatise, 'The constant Communicant.' Vide the book itself*.

18th. Monday the 18th. I went to the Publick Library in Oxford, where I found out the first Common Prayer-book of Edward the 6th, which I had searched for a great while, with great diligence, but could not discover; and there, among many other usefull observations, which I pen'd down, I met with what I sought after, namely that there was at that time in Cathedrals, and some other places, a daily celebration of the Comunion, whereof I never before had any assurance, tho' I was alwaies apt to believe it was soe, from the rubrick which saith the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel for the Sunday, shall serve all the week after.

During my stay at Oxford, I had frequent occasion to discourse with the Bishopp, and many others, concerning the worthy zeal and diligence of the Official of Northumberland and Vicar of Newcastle, in having brought that town to an exemplary state of conformity, considering it is a sea-port town, and a Corporation; which is a topick that I much oftner discoursed on than is noted in this book.

20th. Being the day before my departure from the University, I went to give a visit to the learned Mr. Dodwell, who,

* The constant Communicant: a diatribe proving that constancy in receiving the Lord's Supper is the indispensable duty of every Christian. By Arthur Bury, S.T.P. 8vo. Oxford, 1683.

tho' a man of no extraordinary presence, yet hee appears to bee a person of great learning and sincerity. After a complement at first entrance, in relation to those learned books that hee hath published, I demanded his judgment concerning conformity, and the Holy Sacrament. First, whether the Comon Prayer-book does give any liberty for the exercise of prudence. Secondly, whether that strict conformity which the book requires is not at present very seasonable to bee practised. Thirdly, whether it was not both pious and prudent to restore the celebration of the Sacrament weekly in Cathedralls. Hee answered the first in the negative, and the two last in the affirmative.

21th. Upon my returne from Oxford to Taplow I went to see Mr. Bradock, Curate to Mr. Levet, Minister of Taplow, where I found Dr. Evans, Prebend of Windsor, who in his discourse concerning some greivances of the Church did instance in a clause which was now left out in Acts of Parliament, to the great prejudice of the Cleargy. In the first Acts after the King's Restoration, there was provision made that there should no damage ensue to the Clergy by levying money without the consent of the convocation: but in these latter there was (as the Doctor inform'd mee) no mention at all made of any thing to that purpose; which ground lost wee all judg'd would bee very difficultly recover'd. Mr. Bradock made mention at the same time of an Act of Parliament wherein there was a grosse error and mistake as to point of time, which Hickeringill * takes notice of, and is in the right.

23th. The three and twentieth, being Mid-summer eve, I lodg'd at Mr. Bull's at Moreclack, where I preach'd the day following, and was much satisfied to find that place, which had been very factious, supplyed by a worthy person, one Mr. Jones, who reads the service very orderly, observed daily prayers, and celebrated the Sacrament monethly, and had been instrumentall a little while before in suppressing a very considerable conventicle.

From thence I went down the river to London, and the first

* "Die 22 Octob. 1662 Edmundus Hickeringill Cler. admiss. ad Vic. de Boxted, Com. Essex.—quam resignavit ante 12 Dec. 1664.—Idem Edmundus ad Rect. omn. Sanctorum in villa de Colchester, 21 Octob. 1662. And fearing he should be outed out of All Saints' by taking the Vicarage of Boxted without dispensation, he procured a presentation under the Great Seal of England to the Church of All Saints, and was again instituted thereto the last day of Decemb. 1662. He was, Jan. 20, 1691, instituted to the Vicarage of Fingringho in Essex which he afterwards resigned, but still continued Rector of All Saints, 1700. He was a man, though episcopally ordained, yet publickly bade defiance to the Prelacy, and that of his own Diocesan in particular; an impudent, violent, ignorant fellow, very troublesome as far as he could to his Diocesan, and to all that lived near him." Kennett's Register, Vol. I. 809.

Sunday after my arrival I went to Dr. Beveridge's *, for the satisfaction of receiving the Sacrament, which he celebrated weekly in his parish-church, and I found, much to my satisfaction, that the worthy Doctor had, in complyance with some arguments that I had used, changed his practice of addressing himself to God in a precatory way before his sermon into the canonical form of Bidding Prayer, according to the 55th Canon; whose example, I doubt not, will prevaile upon most of the Clergy of the City, who goe a contrary way.

July 3d. I went to wait on Sir Thomas Exton, who upon our discourse concerning Mr. Midford's interrupting mee in time of Divine service, declared that the instructions which Judge G. gave to the Jury were very od, and that hee admired how any body could fancy what was done in the midst of Divine service, was not done in time of Divine service.

(*Cetera desunt.*)

No. XVI.

Tanner MSS.
xxxiv. 146.

FROM ARCHDEACON GRANVILLE TO ARCHBISHOP SANCROFT.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

BEING perfectly assured of the great zeal that you have, not only for the interest of the Church of England in general, but of the particular affection and regard that you have to the Diocess of Durham, I am incouraged to undertake this present piece of boldness in disturbing your Grace with a letter to beg your countenance in an honest design for the House of God. The good advice which I have had many times from Bishop Cosins, and sometimes from yourself, to study my Comon Prayer Book, hath engaged mee soe heartily therein for many years

* William Beveridge, D.D. afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph, was born in the year 1636, and was a sizer of St. John's College, Cambridge. He and Dean Granville received deacon's orders together at the hands of the celebrated Bishop Sanderson in 1661. The former received priest's orders in the same year from Bishop Sheldon, who then presided over the see of London. By the latter prelate he was preferred to the vicarage of Ealing in Middlesex. In 1672 he became Rector of St. Peter's Cornhill. He was also Archdeacon of Colchester. On Bishop Ken's deprivation Beveridge was offered the see of Bath and Wells, but although he had taken the oaths to William and Mary he scrupled to accept a bishoprick which still had, as he believed, a lawful occupant. He became Bishop of St. Asaph in 1704. He died 5th of March 1707. His great collection of the Apostolic canons and Decrees of Councils is too well known to need any lengthened notice.

past, that I now see soe much beauty in that incomparable composure, and find soe much pleasure and profit in the consideration of the matter and method, the design and history of the book, that I find it impossible for mee to desist from the prosecution of the same as long as I live, which is a task I find more than enough for the longest life. And in the view and serious consideration of the rubricks of the Comon Prayer, I have been often struck with great admiration, that soe many of my brethren of the Clergy should skip over two rules which are methinks of essential obligation to every church-man, namely, for *Daily Prayers* in Parish Churches, and *Weekly Sacraments*, at least, in Cathedrals. If they could forget the solemn promise they make in the presence of God, and face of a congregation, when they give an assent and consent to all the rules of the Book (which I have ever esteem'd little inferior to an oath) it is strange they should be altogether unmindfull of those duties which are, above all others, incumbent upon every good priest; I meane to offer up daily prayers and praises to Almighty God, in behalf of the whole Church, as well as the particular congregations which they serve; and to administer the Holy Eucharist soe frequently as the circumstances of the people or place where they live, do require, or will allow of. These omissions of dutyes of such high moment among the greatest part of the clergy of every diocess, has occasioned oftentimes much grief to my soul: the dislike whereof in others has stirr'd mee up to indeavour to rectify the same within my Jurisdiction; which (I bless God) I have done, in some measure, having gotten in the most considerable country parishes Daily Prayers and Monethly Sacraments; and I could prevaile with many other places to observe the like good order, if our Cathedral did not authorize the breach of law, in having no weekly Sacrament. Hereupon, my lord, I have for late years, often address'd myself to Mr. Deane, and my brethren of the Chapter, to reform this irregularity, but without success; and now do, in most humble manner, address myself to your Grace that you would bee pleased to give some little intimation to Mr. Deane of Durham (who has a great veneration for your Grace) that hee would comply in this particular, and permit the weekly celebration in his Cathedral, whereto hee has been often moved: or, if you would judg meet, rather to give some hint to my Lord Arch-Bishop of York, to restore this holy practice in that Cathedral *, it would not only have influence over Durham, but

* The following letter from Archbishop Dolben to Sancroft (Tanner MSS. xxxiv. 185) shews that Granville's earnestness on this subject produced some result.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,—Although the welcome lasts still in its impor-

the whole Province, the Church of Durham and some other Cathedrals alledging, in their own defence, that there is no weekly celebration of the Sacrament in the Metropolitical Church, which ought to lead others by her example. My lord, I should not dare to give your Grace this trouble, were not this an extraordinary conjuncture (I mean at the establishment of a new Arch-bishop) which would trouble my conscience to let

tunity, even to the exclusion of necessary businesse, yet was your Grace's diversion, as most seasonable, soe most pleasing to me, because it gives me a pretence of great authority to propose what hath bin this fourtnight in my thoughts. To deale plainly with your Grace, I wanted some such assistance. The men I have to deale with being an odde sort of people, which made me deferre the mention of this matter, till I get Dr. Comber amongst them. He will be enstalled * the next Tuesday. After that I will consult with him which way to conduct our designe. I know it will not please and yet hope it will succeed, because it must. I beg your Grace's leave to produce your letter, which I think answers beforehand all objections.

My lord, soe farre I had written when Dr. Comber came to me. I shew'd him your Grace's letter, told him my thoughts upon it, and shew'd him likewise what I had written in part of an answer. He seem'd much affected to the designe, acknowledg'd the expresse obligation from the rubrick, yet said that Archdeacon Grenvile could not prevaile in Durham, and that (notwithstanding the rubrick) it was call'd an innovation, I am sorry to say by whom: and if by him, sayes he, what shall we expect from our secular b[rethren]? what from Mr. C. who agrees now perfectly with him upon the deare principle of worldly interest? He concluded with a promise of his utmost assistance, which will availe us litle, till he come to reside, which will not be till Candlemas. One objection we both apprehended that the thing will grow into contempt, if the communicants be few, which we have too much cause to feare, for want of zeale in ———— beside other reasons. To this I know your Grace hath already answer'd in your mind, we must hope, and endeavour, and pray. Upon the whole matter, when your Grace hath an account of your owne Church, I beseech you advertise me of it, as solemnly as you please. and together send me a copy of your circular letter. I must again say all help will be litle enough. I was afraid to be particular concerning persons for feare my letter might miscarry. But if it doe, I have said too much already, wherefore I will adventure a little further; my purpose is to begin in private with the most hopeful man, *Man* †, yet even of him I am not confident. *Conveniunt in aliquo tertio.* On St. Luke's day I heard your old sizer preach in the Cathedral. Truly he is a good preacher, and my Chancelor assures me he hath bin heroically honest in the late yeares of trial, quite contrary to Mr. C. for whom somebody desired your Grace to speak to me. He is a politique demagogue, who yet may be useful had I credit and art enough to manage him. God Almighty guide and assist us all. I beg your Grace's prayers for, Your Grace's most faithful humble servant, JOH. EBOR.—Octob. 20.—For the Most Reverend Father in God William, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury his Grace, at Lambeth.

The subjoined extract from a letter of Tillotson to Sancroft, written from Canterbury, Oct. 11th, 1683, shews the Primate's anxiety for the general establishment of the practice. "As to the rubrick concerning the Communion in Cathedral churches every Sunday, I moved it last week to the Chapter, and we resolved to begin it next month, which was assoone as we could engage a convenient number of communicants; and I am very glad your Grace designes it throughout your Province, because it is plainly requir'd, and will, I doubt not, be of good example; and of great efficacy to promote piety."—Tanner MSS. xxxiv. 187.

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* As Precentor.

† Probably the Rev. Charles Man, who was a great friend of Dr. Comber. Mr. Man was then Rector of Scawton. He was Vicar of Gilling when he made his will in 1709.

slip, since my Jurisdiction would receive soe much advantage thereby. I had thought, my lord, often when I waited upon your Grace at Lambeth to have moved you herein but want of confidence or opportunity did hinder mee, whereat I have been much disturb'd. Dr. Beveridge, who I hope will do mee the favour to deliver this letter with his own hands, will say, I trust, somewhat for the promotion of this good work. Begging your Grace's pardon and benediction, I subscribe myself,

Your Grace's most faithfull, obedient and humble servant,

DENIS GRANVILLE.

Durham,
25th Sept. 1683.

No. XVII.

FROM THE SAME TO SIR WILLIAM DUGDALE *.

Durham, November 3rd, 1683.

WORTHY SIR,

BEFORE I had the happiness and honour to meet you at Mr. Secretary Jenkin's (when I was at Windsor) I was sufficiently assured both from your works and report, that you were a person of great integrity, as well as learning; but til that time I did not understand you to bee (what is very hard to find even among the clergy, I meane) a true Church-man, a lover of order and exact conformity, not allowing any liberty to exalt private prudence above the Church's.

This encouraged mee to present you with a small treatise, before I left London, of Dr. Stuart's, concerning Bidding of Prayer, hoping that soe considerable a man as yourself might put a helping hand to the banishing the irregularity out of the King's Chappel. And the same consideration doth now again invite mee to recomend unto you, as I have done to some learned clergy, this inclosed paper of Quæries, touching the Holy Comunion, humbly beseeching you, if you can now, or hereafter, give me, or procure for mee, any light in all, or any, of these particulars, that you would be pleased to convey it to mee in a line or two, directed for Dr. Grenville, Arch-deacon of Dur-

* This letter has already appeared in Hamper's Life of Sir William Dugdale (4to, London, 1827), but its relation to a passage in the Dean's Journal, and to his letter to Sancroft of the 25th Sept. 1683, may perhaps be allowed to justify the Editor in reprinting it.

ham, at Durham. The occasion, Sir, whereof is this. I am informed, that his Grace, my lord of Canterbury, hath determined on the setting up a weekly celebration of the Holy Comunion, according to the rubrick, in the Church of Canterbury; and that my lord Arch-bishop of York is likewise doing the same in his Cathedral, and that they are both writing letters to the Bishops within their provinces, to follow their example; a noble work of piety, which will prove to their everlasting honour, and very much facilitate conformity in the land, which hath been very much wounded by the bad example of Cathedrals, who have (for the most part) authorized the breach of law, in omitting the weekly celebration of the Eucharist, which hath not been constantly celebrated on Sundayes, in any Cathedrals, but Christ Church, Ely, and Worcester. The revival of this rubric hath been very long the burden of my thoughts, and it hath now rejoyced my soul to understand that wee are now in soe fair a probability for having this good and pious work re-established, which hath been too long neglected, to the great decay of devotion and conformity. And I am now (since the receipt of this intelligence, concerning the Archbishops' seasonable zeal for God's worship) using some fresh indeavours to prevaile with Mr. Deane and the prebends of Durham, to rectify this great irregularity in our own Cathedral, and the better to prevaile with them to celebrate the Comunion weekly, (which some think a mighty work of supererogation) I am forced to trace out the history of the Eucharist from the very beginning of the Reformation, believing that people will cease their wonder at a weekly celebration, when they are convinced that there was a *Daily celebration* of the Sacrament established in all Cathedrals and Collegiate Churches, in the beginning, and never abolished, but only faln to the ground by the indevotion of the age, and bee ashamed to oppose weekly Sacraments, when the rubrick (if it bee strictly examined) doth, at this very day, suppose daily ones. Vide rubrick after Comunion.

Your assistance, Sir, in this particular, would bee an extraordinary obligation to mee, and some other clergy-men, who joyn with mee in the address, and the prosecution of the very same design. And the solution of these quæries will bee of importance, not only to our own Church here, but likewise to some others in the other Province, who startle at the very mention of a Weekly Comunion, crying out, it is the way to make people believe wee are bringing in the Mass. Some wise men of the clergy of these parts, are of opinion that you are the fittest person in England to help mee on this account, or at

least to recomend mee some books or persons, who can inform mee herein. The books that I and some others, are, at present, turning, in order hereunto, are Heylin, Cyp. Red. and Reform. of the Church, Bishop Jewel, Fox's Martyr., Paul's life of Whitgift, Bishop Andrews' life and works, Burnet's History of Reformation, Q. Elizabeth and Edward the sixth's Injunctions, Goodwin's Lives, &c. If you can inform mee of any better authours to make a discovery of what I seek after, I shall heartily thank you. I know, Sir, that the disturbance which I give you with soe long a letter, may seem neither prudent nor mannerly. But I perceive you soe tenderly affected, towards the interest of the religion established in the Church of England, that I presume on your pardon; since all that I aime at, is only the honour of God's service, and the edification of my Jurisdiction; the most populous towns whereof I do not doubt to raise to monethly comunions, when our Cathedral (which hath been famous for conformity in all things but this) is once come up to a weekly celebration; which was the only considerable matter in our Cathedral or Diocess, which Bishop Cosins left uncompleted. Sir, I have had a very hard game to play, these twenty years (which time I have been Arch-deacon of Durham) in maintaining the exact order which Bishop Cosins set on foot here, since arguments have been brought against mee oftentimes (no Diocess in England having kept pace with us) from the practice of the generality of eminent clergy elsewhere, and sometime from the practice of the very Cathedrals. In consideration whereof you will bee soe kind, I hope, to a poor, feeble Churchman (that would faine make good that ground which was happily gained here by our worthy deceased prelate) as to afford him a little countenance and assistance in those matters which you have been conversant in, in relation to Bishop Cosin's notion of conformity, which I find very few to approve of, or understand.

It did very much rejoyce my soul, when I discovered among the laity so eminent a champion for our Comon Prayer Book, as yourself, who appear to mee very right set in all things, and particularly in the matter of Bidding of Prayer, the very criterion of a true Church of England man. Praying to God to increase the number of such good friends to the interest of our Church, and reward you and yours in an especial manner for your real love to our poor despised Liturgy, I do, with great sincerity and affection, subscribe myself, Sir,

Your most faithfull humble servant,

DENIS GRENVILLE.

Sir Willm. Dugdale.

Certaine quæres touching the Holy Communion.

1. How long the Daily Comunion in Cathedrals, and other places, (established instead of the Mass, by Edward the sixth, vide 1st Common Prayer Book, Edw. 6th) did continue?
2. Whether it did ever obtain in all Cathedrals?
3. In what Arch-bishop's time that holy practice began to bee neglected?
4. Whether Weekly Comunions on Sundayes and Holy-dayes in Cathedrals, were not observed, after the Daily Comunion fell into disuse?
5. Whether some Cathedrals did not (down to our late rebellion) still keep up this holy practice, in celebrating the Holy Comunion, at least, weekly, and which they were?
6. Whether there were not in Cathedrals, at least in the metropolitical Churches, Comunions, on the Festivals, as well as Sundayes, after the Daily Comunion fell into disuse?

No. XVIII.

From the Bishop of Durham to Sir R. Floyd*.

Sir R. Floyd,

The week before I left London, I had the opportunity of waiting on the Earle of Bathe, and at the same tyme of discoursing with his lordshipp concerning his brother [*the*] Archdeacon, his circumstances and pretensions to the D[eanery] of D[urham] on next vacancy. I have so great an honour for that noble family, that I could not but mention what I thought most advantagious for his brother, and as I remember 'twas this, that if the Archdeacon was willing to quitt his claime to the Deanery; and would give over all his intrest for Dr. Mont[ague] † to suc-

* Sir Richard Floyd, or Lloyd, son of Andrew and grandson of Richard Lloyd of Aston, co. Salop, was fellow of All Souls', Oxford, and took the degree of LL.D. in 1662. He was an advocate of the Arches, and afterwards Chancellor of Llandaff; Spiritual Chancellor of Durham, 16th Dec. 1676; M.P. for the city of Durham from 1679 to 1685; was made Official of the Arches, Sept. 1684, Dean of the Peculiars after the death of Sir Robert Wiseman; and Judge of the Admiralty in the room of Sir Leoline Jenkins. He died in Doctors' Commons, 28th June, 1686, and was buried in the church-yard of St. Bennet, near Paul's wharf.

† The Hon. John Montague, D.D., fourth son of the Earl of Sandwich. He was nephew to Bishop Crewe, by whom he was collated to the Mastership of Sherburn Hospital, in the county of Durham, in 1680. In 1683 he was made Master of

ceed there, the Hospitall of Sherburne, according to the Comissioners rule for ecclesiasticall affaires, as well as the Dr.'s other preferments, would become void by such a promotion. This Hospitall is free from trouble and attendance, and lyes conveniently betwixt Durham and Easington. The value of it I am well assured is better than 300*l.* per annum cleare, besides the casualities of fines. This falling to my disposall, I shall most willingly conferre it on Dr. G[renville] as an addition to what he now injoyes. All these together I am very confident are considerably beyond the Deanery; espetially considering the way of living the D[ean] will bee obliged to. My lord seemed well pleased with this proposall, and was inclinable to move his brother as well for the sake of Dr. Montague, as for his brother's sake. What his lordship hath done in this, I know not, and therefore must desire that you would favour mee, as at your first conveniency, to communicate the contents hereof with my most humble service to his lordshipp, who was pleased to give mee leave to doe this. Whatever determination my lord and his brother Dr. shall make herein, will be satisfactory; and they may bee assured of my reall services on all occasions. I am

Your affectionate friend and servant,

N. DURESME.

Durham Castle, May 24th.

Dr. Grenville is now attending at Court this month, which is allmost expired; so that I hope you will speedily send mee an answer, least hee should bee gon northward againe.

(Indorsed, "Copy of Bp. of Durham's letter to Sr. R. Floyd. May 24th, 1684.")

No. XIX.

DR. COMBER* TO ARCHDEACON GRANVILLE.

York, Jun. 23d, 1684.

SIR,

THE reason of my not writing was the uncertainty of your

Trinity College, Cambridge, and Prebendary of the 4th stall in Durham Cathedral in the same year. He eventually obtained the Deanery of Durham, in 1699. He died Feb. 1727, æt. 73, and was interred at Barnnoll, the burying place of the family.

* Dr. Comber's name has already occurred (pp. 163, 176). He was a native of

abode, and now I shoot at rovers, nor have any businesse but only to desire you to enquire of Mr. Clavell how the preface came to be left out of the Folio, for it was not by my order, nor did I misse it till you told me of it. If you come to Scarborough before Lammas I shall not see you, for it will be the 6th or 7th ere I can be there, my residence ending not till the 4th of August. I will not complain that while you are at London the Commissioners give away a Preb[end] of your Church, and you did not speake one word for a man you use to wish were your neer neighbor, for 'tis now too late, and that person is content, only he makes some remarks of his friend's vigilance. I have found in our old books a very mortifying record for your design, for in searching them I find no footsteps of any Weekly Sacrament at York, and not so much as a Monthly Sacrament till Dean Meriton's* time, for it is registered, that for the future, from the 7th of Septemb. 1617, there should be a Sacrament at the Cathedrall on the first Sunday of every month†, and so it continued untill the warrs and was restored with the King, and now continues. Whence it is cleer that before that yeer 1617 there were no Sacraments but only at the great Festivals: and it should be considered whether this age will bear greater height of duty then was required in K[ing] James his time? I confesse if men would take care to prepare duly, the oftner they came the better, but I see that many of those who use frequent communion grow slight in the performance, and spend the Saturday till late at night in accounts, visits, businesse and idle talk, which is an offence to me, who have more satisfaction in doing it well once a month, with a due care to prepare well the day before, then in all the other four times if I should thus come to it. However I shall not oppose the weekly Sacrament,

Kent, and was educated at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, where he proceeded M.A. in 1666. He received the degree of D.D. in 1678. He was Rector of Stonegrave, and Thornton, co. York, and Precentor of York Cathedral. He became Dean of Durham when Dr. Granville was finally deprived, in 1691. He was the author of several books and tracts, but the work by which he is now chiefly known is his 'Companion to the Temple.' He died in his 55th year, in November, 1699. A good deal of correspondence took place between Dean Granville and Dr. Comber on the subject of the restoration of Weekly Communion in Cathedrals.—See Memoirs of Dean Comber, by his grandson, Thomas Comber. 8vo. London, 1799.

* George Meriton, S.T.P. was admitted to the Deanery of York, March 25th, 1617. *Reg. Ebor.*—See Le Neve's Fasti.

† Twenty years afterwards the Holy Communion was not more frequently administered in Durham Cathedral. In Bishop Morton's Visitation Articles of 1637 the following occurs amongst the Inquiries addressed to the Dean and Chapter:—"Whether have ye a Communion the first Sunday of every month, accordinge to the lawes in that behalfe?"

but rather promote it * as soon as I see our great ones encourage the thing, and in the mean time you must think of *benè* as well as *sæpè*, or else religion will rather loose then gain by reviving this long sleeping rubric. I could say more, but suppose you will think this too much yet 'tis nothing but what should be considered by you as well as by

Sir, your faithfull friend,

THO. COMBER.

My service to my brother Lane † when you see him. I was assured you would be pleased in his conversation. My wife and little girle is now at S. Mungo's Well ‡. Pray let me know if you go to Oxford, for I will give you a little trouble there.

To the Reverend Denis Greenvil, D.D.
Archdeacon of Durham, now at London.

(Indorsed, "Dr. Comber's Lre. June 23rd, 1684. *Benè* as well as *sæpè*. To bee answered.")

No. XX.

FROM THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO SIR RICHARD LLOYD.

Auckland Castle, Thursday, June 26th, 1684.

SIR RICH. LLOYD,

ACCORDING to my promise last post, I now send you my mind as fully in answer to your inclosed paper as the straitnesse of the time would give mee leave. Nor can I thinke of any better method for enforcing my former proposall than what Mr. Archdeacon himselfe hath used in his deliberating thereon; who, to doe him right, hath said as much as the thing can possibly

* In May 1684 we find that Dr. Comber wrote upon this subject as follows to Archbishop Sancroft:—"We are here very happy in him, [Archbishop Dolben] for he is very active in his station, but still the weekly communions do not take. I have moved it with modesty, and am not denyed, but the thing is deferred for a while. I hope it may shortly do."—Tanner MSS.

† "He [Dr. Comber] contracted an happy friendship with Mr. Joseph Lane of the Middle Temple, afterwards comptroller of London; which being grounded on the principles of piety, the only sure foundation of a lasting friendship, soon encreased to such a degree, that they addressed each other by the endeering name of brother."—Memoirs of Dean Comber, p. 60.

‡ There is a place of this name close to the Railway between Linton and Longniddry, near to the Drem Junction, on the North British Line. It is not *very* far from the Border, and may possibly be the place alluded to. C. B. R.

beare. The inclosed will shew you my arguments on either side, and I can only add this farther, that if my Lord of Bathe and his brother Dr. shall bee pleased to promote my nephew's being Deane of Durham, I shall most willingly bee kind to their nephew Sir George Wheler, in assuring him of Dr. Grey's prebend, whenever it falls into my disposall. Nay, farther, I shall as readily give Mr. Archdeacon an opportunity of pleasuring any freind with Dr. Grey's living of Weremouth, reputed commonly about 200*l.* per annum, as soon as it falls into my gift, hee recomending a very worthy person unto mee for it. Both these probabilities (considering the great age, and often infirmities of Dr. Grey) as soon or *before* the Deanery, which together with Sherburne for the Archdeacon himselfe, when Dr. Montagu is Deane, are the only advantages I can thinke proper in this case; unlesse this may be reckoned another, that upon my nephew's being Deane, I shall gladly substitute Dr. Grenville to attend the Closet in my absence, *sometimes*. This, I confesse, may bee a very great step to his future preferment, and will much lessen his expences, during the time of attendance, there being a constant diet with the chaplains for the Clark of the Closet and two servants, and when the Court is at Whitehall hee may [*have*] the conveniency of my appartment there, where he will bee in the midst of his relations. If what is here proposed bee not answerable to expectations, I shall rest as well satisfied in bestowing Easington and Sedgefield upon Dr. Montagu, when void by Dr. Grenville's being Deane, and that Dr. Montagu should quit his hospitall to his brother James, the youngest son of the late Lord Sandwich. When these changes may happen, God knows. For tho' the Deane hath lately been very much indisposed with a lame leg, yet he is recovering to a wonder, and is very hearty. I pray favour mee once more in waiting on my Lord of Bathe with my most humble services, and acquaint his lordshipp with the contents of this letter and with the inclosed. I am,

Your very affectionate friend and servant,

NATH. DURESME.

The advantages of Sherburn Hospitall.

1st. The present manager of this Hospitall, Mr. Delavall, offers to rent it of Dr. Montagu for seaven yeares together, at the rate of 340*l.* per annum, cleerly providing all things necessary, according to custom and statute, for the poor brethren, except repaires, which, according to the Bishop's Injunction in

his last Visitation there, are to bee made substantiall, whatever the charges bee to the present Master.

2. The casualty of fines (which were considerable last yeare) are wholy belonging to the Master.

3. This is free from tenths, first-fruits, residence and duty.

4. The Master is the sole patron of 2 or 3 livings *, and hath the nomination of a Chaplain in the Hospitall, who is maintained, as well as other servants, upon the House stock. These, with the Curates and Deacons in Easington and Sedgefield, may be looked on as so many preferments for his friends.

5. The Master of this place is as great an Almoner as the Deane of Durham, there being thirty two Alms-men in his disposall, sixteen whereof are allowed fourty shillings yearely and to live where they please, the other sixteen are sufficiently provided for within the Hospitall.

6. 'Tis a place of retirement upon an occasion; and the addition of this to the other preferments will more easily advance than one entire Dignity can; because the Deanery, tho' great, is only a provision for one; whereas Sherburn, the Prebend, Sedgefield, and the Archdeaconry, are singly, by themselves so considerable, that they are credittable substantiall preferments for somany severall persons, who by the variety of their interests can without difficulty shove a man up higher into a very good station.

7. The goods and cattels belonging to the House, left by the late Master, were valued at 200*l.* and ought to have been worth four hundred according to custome; but the Bishop, in consideration of the suffering of that Master, who was plunder'd for his loyalty, was pleased to dispense with a lesser stock, which yet may be advanced againe, according to the old custome, whensoever the present Master leaves it, which is to carry on the charges of the House, and to bee left to succeeding Masters.

Disadvantages of the Deanery.

1. Whatever the Archdeacon's present preferments are valued at, hee best knowes; but I am well assured that the Deanery, at the utmost, is not above thirteen hundred pounds per ann. and is likely to bee lesse, considering the decay of rentes in his Corpse, and the dayly growing expences in repairing an old Church †

* The Vicarages of Bishopton, Grindon, and Sockburn, and the Perpetual Curacy of Ebchester, all in the Bishoprick of Durham, are in the gift of the Master.

† The total amount expended by the Dean and Chapter of Durham in repairing "the waste places" which Puritan misrule had left behind it, must have been very large

and makeing a new costly organ*, in all which charges the Deane payes a double share.

2. The Deane's negative voice is questionable in many things; and to bee sure can dispose of litle without the consent of the Chapter, which may often create troublesome disputes, and may perhaps cause lapses of livings.

indeed. The reader will find in the Appendix an account of the expenditure of the Body in this way from the Restoration to June 1663, and it appears that in 1684, more than twenty years after, the work was still going on.

* The "new costly organ," which the Bishop mentions, is still in the Cathedral. It was built by the celebrated Father Smith. The following letters from him to Mr. Wilson, the Registrar of the Dean and Chapter, may not be altogether uninteresting.

Suffolck Stret, the 12 *of Nove.* 1686.

MR. WILSON,—I cam save hom last Saturday, out of the contree, wher I found your kind letter and the bill in closet, wher for I give you humble thanck for your kesn [*? constant*] and grat kindnes, which I all wayes knolleg. I have receeved the hondert and fifty pound yisterday. I shall be all wayes ready to serve you and yours when so ever it may be your pleasur. As for the organ I have mad for your Catedrall Church, I know it is so good and sound mad as anny is in the holl worrelt. I must confes I have out gon the pris, for this I declare, that it cost mee a bove a thousent pound, lett anny boddy think or say what the plees. For carving and painting I have been too curius, in which I could have savet tree part in for, and no bodd should have found foult with it: but what I have don, I have don for the honner of Mr. [*sic*] Lord and the Dean and Chapter. In ded I was adviset by some gentelman to have it don so good as could bee, for the will chorn [*scorn*] to see mee a looser, aldo the contrack be other wayes, and so I have don also in the organ, for ferriety of stopes and quarter nots, that no organ has but yours and in the Temply that I made.

Sir, I pray you to consider thos thing. It would be hard to tak all that keer and pains and be a looser. It is more esier for menny then it gose over one. The littell cher [*choir*] organ went to York. I have got twenty pound, and that is all, for I have sent ther fore new stopes of pipes, which anny man would have payd mee in Londen treecher pound for it, and the setting op cost twenty pound, so there is left twenty pound: that is all, so that it is not word a man's whill. As for the grat organ, I will sell at anny rate as it is, for to mak it a good organ will cost monnes. I beg your pardon to give you this truble to say so much, only when I will consider the pains I have taken, it dus not bare the truble of it, but I hope the Dean and Chapter will not see mee a looser. Sir, your kindnes may doe a grat deal in it. So I conclud, with my and my wife's hartely love and humble servis to you and yours, from your humble servand to commande, BER. SMITH.

Pray, Sir, my humble duty and servis to Mr. Dean and the rest of his brederen. Particular my master Morton.

Suffolck Stret, the 20 *of Decemb.* 1687.

MR. WILSON,—I have receeved yours the 16, which is datet the 6 of this, wherin I find that the Dean and Chapter has orderet mee 50*l.* which has ben dew a grat whill sins. I did ex speckt an other kind of sum. Noboddy in the worrelt can thinck that it is paintet for that sume, and besides the quantety of more worck then there was a greed fore. As for my part there is noby that worckes for mee but I pay honnesty for. How ever, lett it be what it will I desire of your favior and kindnes to sent mee this 50*l.* and the 5 guinnes, in a bill of exchange, with kear. I shall tak it for a grat favor, and I shall be alwayes ready to serve you in anny thing that lyes in power. In so doing you will verre much obleg how is your faitfull friend and humble servand to command, BER. SMITH.

My hous is over again the Cock, in Suffolck Stret, near Chering Crose.—Hunter MSS. 10. 151, 173. D & C. Library, Durham.

3. 'Tis soe small a mark of favour to exchange the title of Archdeacon for that of Deane, (these seeming not consistent in the same person in the same Cathedrall) that hee may reasonably hope for a better Dignity, considering, as I said before, the variety of preferments, and allso the attendance in Closet, as my letter mentions.

4. In answer to the great expences in severall preferments, I thinke the great hospitality, and the way of the living whereto the Deane is obliged by oath according to the statutes, very neare amount to as much extraordinary.

5. Suppose something else might be held with this Deanery, (the greatnesse of which will hardly give leave for such a proposall) yet whatsoever is so held must beare its share in all inconveniencyes of a distinct preferment; as to curates, tenths, procurations, sesses of all sorts, repairs, removalls, spoyling goods, charges and board-wages of servants.

6. The charges in passing the Great Seale for the Deanery patent, and fees and intertainment at his installation, will cost at least an hundred pounds, whereas the addition of Sherburn will be quiet, and litle or no charges.

7. If the Deane happen to dye soon after Michaellmas the whole yeare's revenue of his Corps, which is valued at 1000*l.*, till the following Michaelmas, belongs to his executors and not to the succeeding Deane: such a casualty as this may happen.

No. XXI.

Tanner, xxxii. 180.

FROM ARCHDEACON GRANVILLE TO ARCHBISHOP SANCROFT.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

IT being no small mortification to me to want your Grace's hearty approbation to any preferment that I should either seek after *, or keep, I do (my lord) humbly present a few things to

* Sancroft seems to have been by no means favourably disposed to Granville's preferment to the Deanery of Durham. "When Dean Sudbury died, my lord [Crewe, Bishop of Durham] got the Deanery of Durham for Dr. Greenvill. The Archbishop of Canterbury said to my lord that 'Greenvill was not worthy of the least stall in Durham Church:' my lord replied, 'He rather chose a gentleman than a silly fellow, who knew nothing but books.' Says the Archbishop, '*I beshrew thee.*'"—Life of Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham, &c., p. 50.

your consideration to procure the same, if possible; without which his Majesty's intended favour in reference to the Deanery of Durham, after Mr. Dean's death, will receive a great allay, and be mightily mitigated unto me.

My lord, Sir George Wheler and Sir William Haywood have informed mee, that your Grace was pleased to say, your Grace *would not be my enemy*, in my pretentions to hold my Archdeaconry with my other preferment. But (my lord) I can nowayes content myself with that, without labouring as much as in me lyes, that you may be my friend: which I do not despair my lord but you will be, when your Grace has thoroughly examin'd my case, and it shall appear unto you that I desire to hold nothing with the Deanery but what is as consistent therewith as it was with the Prebend; and whereof I can certainly discharge the dutyes much better than I did before, by reason I shall not be removed to any greater distance, tho' advanced to a higher station, which will afford me much greater authority and better advantages, to struggle with all those difficultyes which I met withall in the past execution of my office.

I will not say (my lord) that by the past managery of my revenue, I do deserve a greater: but it is so notorious that I do greatly need it, that I can in no good conscience, while I am in debt, consent to the parting with what I can honestly keep. I do (my lord) confess to God, and your Grace, that it is my great sin, that I am so much and so long in debt: but if your Grace knew all that hath unexpectedly befallen me, for these twenty years past, you would, I am assured, mix your censures with great pitty and compassion. I will say no more in justification of myself, than I am in justice bound; namely, that I have not spent my money in leudness, or debauchery, and that most of my particular expences have been such, that they would have been laudable, if they had not exceeded my income.

For God's sake, my lord, forgive what is past, and do not despair of me. I am four and twenty year elder than when your Grace first knew me, and wise enough I hope by God's grace to avoid the chief errors of my past life.

My lord I should have waited on your Grace in person (and the sooner because my worthy friend Dr. Comber desired me to deliver the inclosed letter with my own hand) but that I am entred into a course of physick; which I must by the advice of Dr. Barwick continue in a few dayes.

In all probability (my lord) the next post may bring in the news of the death of worthy Mr. Dean of Durham. And I humbly beseech you to think of Dr. Comber, and, if your Grace

have any arguments to prevail with my Lord Bishop of Durham to bestow a Prebend on him, that you would use them.

If his Majesty should be graciously pleased to remove me to the Deanery, there will certainly be a vacancy, and there cannot be a worthier person than Dr. Comber found to fill it up. I made bold to name him the first of three deserving persons to my lord of Durham; but I perceive that my lord is fixed as to his chaplains, or Lincoln Colledge men. And if my lord confines his kindness to Lincoln Colledge, I wish his lordship would (now or hereafter) think of Sir George Wheler; and the more because hee doth not think of himself.

Begging your Grace's benediction I rest, my lord,

Your Grace's most obedient servant,

DENIS GRENVILLE.

Novembr. 26th, 1684.

No. XXII.

FROM J. BASIRE, ESQ. TO THOS. CRADOCK, ESQ.*

DEAR SIR,

IT was noe small surprize upon me to receive the inclos'd from Mr. Dale, at a time when I was thinkeing it might be seasonable after the receipt of your Martinmass rents, to have refreisht your memory in laying a greater obligation on our honourable frend B. G[renville] by the loane of 250*l.* more, being he is soe sensible of your laite civilities, both to himselfe and his noble sons; who, in a letter to me of the 25th instant from Paris, express themselves thus: wee beg you would make our complyments in the most respectfull manner to Mr. Cradock, whom wee understand is a particular frend of yours. Besides it was but a few dayes since Mr. Grenville receiv'd the favour of your money, which was payable here upon my gossip Jackson's bills of exchange; soe that if I could be soe weake as to beleive you in good earnest, that you intended I should repay

* Of the City of Durham, son of Sir Joseph Cradock, Knt., LL.D., Commissary of the Archdeaconry of Richmond. He was a Barrister-at-law, and Attorney-General to Bishop Cosin, M.P. for Richmond 1678, 1679, 1685. Died 25th Feb. 1689.

back 50*l.* of that summe almost as early as our frend was possest of the benefit of your money, your kind curtesie, which he now esteems a great favour and frendship, might hereafter appear to be otherwise. I have not yet seen Mr. Dale, your letter, or bill, but I hear that he has been both yesterday, and this day, very frequently and sawcily makeing inquiry after me. I am in the darke, till I know seriously your minde as to this matter: therefore pray let it be speedily convey'd to, my true frend,

Your most obliged, very passionately affectionate and faithfull servant

J. BASIRE.

London (Thursday)
26° Novr. [1684].

P.S. You have the services of all that noble family, and I have a token from my lady Grenvile for you; which is, a sollid peece of silver out of her ladyship's mine, to be made into a snuffe box for Mr. Cradock.

On Sunday last Sir Peter Wyche was restored to his Resident's place at Hambrough: (he is) the Earle of Bathe's brother in law.

The same day my Lord Lansdown, the King declar'd in Councell, should goe envoy for Spain. They both kist his Majestie's hand upon their imployments.

Yesterday my lord of Bathe returned from the west to Whitehall, well loaden with western charters*.

His Majestie declares that Mr. Archdeacon Grenvile shall succeed the Dean of Durham in that Denary, (in case of his death) and he is likewise in a fair way of holding with it both Sedgfield and his Archdeaconary, tho' the Bishop of D[urham] puts in for both (as 'tis said) for Dr. M[ontague] his nephew.

This day the King declared Sir Philip Howard Governour of Jemaco, which goverment is said to be worth 6000*l.* per year.

For my highly honoured frend Thomas Cradock, Esq., at his house in Durham.

(*Ad calcem*, "Dec. 2nd. Answered that he pay 50*l.* to Mr. Dale.")

* Charles II., as is well known, brought writs of *quo warranto* against the Charter of the City of London, and by intrigue or intimidation obtained the surrender of that and almost every other charter throughout the Kingdom. Lord Bath, no doubt, had been exercising his influence in the counties of Devon and Cornwall to this end. The new charters granted by Charles II. generally gave the King an absolute veto on the election of Mayor and Aldermen, and power to get rid of any obnoxious member of the Corporation.

No. XXIII.

From Dean Granville to Mr. Wilson*.

Whitehall, Janry. 24th, 168½.

Mr. Register,

I send you here inclosed a particular of what rents are in arrear, and will become due to me, from time to time, betwixt this and next Martin-mas; and do impower you to receive them all, but those that are assigned Mr. Wilkinson, as also to manage the whole revenue of my Deanery, Archdeaconry and Parsonage of Sedgefield, which I do, with much willingness and satisfaction, commit to your care: desiring you to pay of the severall summes of money specified in the paper as fast as you can with conveniency, and those first that have been longest due, and wherein my honour is most concerned. My brother Bath remembers kindly to you, and told me that he would write to you by this, or the next post, when you shall hear more largely and effectually, from

Your very reall and affectionate friend,

Denis Grenville.

Give my service to all my brethren, and let Mr. Subdean in particular know that I did receive another very long epistle from Dr. Cartwright† by last post, whereto I shall return as curt and resolute an answer as I did to the former.

Next Tuesday I am to marry Sir William Blacket to Sir

* Registrar to the Dean and Chapter of Durham, and LL.B. He was made Spiritual Chancellor of the Diocese in 1690, but did not long enjoy his office. "Mr. William Wilson in the Bailey was drowned the 27th Nov. 1690, Thursday at night as supposed, and was found the 7th Dec. neare Coken Boate, being Sunday, and buried that night in the Nine Altars."—Bee's Diary. He left a son and heir, Sudbury Wilson, named from his god-father, Dean Sudbury.

† Thos. Cartwright, D.D., of Queen's College, Oxford, became prebendary of the 5th stall on Dr. Dalton's resignation in 1672, to which he was appointed by King Charles II. *sede vacante*. He was also Chaplain in Ordinary to the King, and Dean of Ripon. He was ecclesiastical commissioner, and one of the delegates to enquire into the affairs of Magdalen College. In the year 1686, he was consecrated Bishop of Chester. At the Revolution he fled into France, and came with King James into Ireland, where he died April 15th, 1689, at Dublin, æt. 55, and was interred in Christ Church.

Christopher Conyers's fine daughter *, a fair and vertuous lady, with a considerable fortune, whom I baptized in the Bishopprick of Durham, but never had the happyness to see since I had her in mine arms at the font.

For Mr. Wilson,
Register to the Dean and Chapter of Durham, Durham.

(Indorsed, "24 Jan. '8¾, Mr. Deane's Letter to impower me to manage his whole Revenue.")

No. XXIV.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

MR. REGISTER,

I WAS yesterday all day, till 5 of the clock (as I use to bee on Sundayes most commonly) at Ely House; but left word here at the Closet where I were. And I have staied within, this day, till 12 of the clock, thinking that you might call here. But I am now gone to St. James's, where I shall dine, and stay till evening, and do expect to see you this day, if you hold your resolution of going to morrow.

I shall bee well pleased that the Bishop and my brother (by whom I must bee guided in that affaire) and you do agree as to the farme; now or hereafter. But where you do or no turne farmer, I am resolved to imploy you as steward of my revenue, and to bee as kind to you as my predecessour; and I am exceeding glad that I have gained so great a point as both their approbations.

I desire to authorise you to act in all my concernes.

* * * *

(Cetera desunt.)

(Indorsed, "Mr. Dean's Lettr. at London, wherein he positively tells me I shall be Steward.")

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* Julia, daughter and only child of Sir Christopher Conyers, Bart., of Horden, in the parish of Easington, by his second wife Julia, daughter of Richard, Lord Lumley. Lady Blackett married secondly Sir William Thompson, Knt., Recorder of the City of London, and one of the Barons of the Exchequer.

No. XXV.

FROM THE EARL OF BATH TO THE SAME, AND COPY OF MR. WILSON'S ANSWER.

St. James'ses, Jan. 27, 1684.

MR. WILLSON,

I AM very sorry that your sudden going out of London hindered a conclusion of the treaty which was begun betwixt my brother the Deane and your selfe concerning the better management of his affayres in your hands, whereof however you will sooner comme (I hope) by correspondence of letters to a good understanding, and finish the same to both your satisfactions, which I wish and very well approve.

You may remember I spoke to you in the busines concerning Mr. Willkinson's debt, but had not time then to say soe much as I would on that subject, deferring it to another opportunity which your hasty departure would not permit. I desire you therefore to speake with the said Mr. Willkinson, and to let us certainly know with all convenient speed his resolution about the 1000*l.* borrowed of him for which he hath receaved soe much money more (as he well knowes) then the ordinary rules of the law doth allow, and however he may yet have a faire end, if he please, on those termes we last did discourse, without bringing his name on the stage; my brother, for neighbourhood and kindnes' sake, being (I find) more inclinable to have a reasonable proposall made to him from Mr. Willkinson rather then from another, and therefore forborne to proceed about raising money for payment of debts till we have further information from you there. I need say noe more, only I shall be glad to meete any occasion of doing you any good office or kindnes within my power, remayning

Your very loving frend

BATHE.

For Mr. Willson, at Durham,
Register to the Deane and Chapter of Durham.

(Indorsed, "27° Jan. 84. My Ld. of Bath's Lettr. Mr. Wilkinson's Barg.")

Copy of Mr. Wilson's answer.

Yours of the 27th with which I was honoured came not to me till the 2nd instant, and then I cou'd not meet with Mr. Wilkinson till

yesterday, with whom I then discours'd the business fully. But I cou'd not bringe him to any proposalls concerning the clearing off of his debt, further then that he was ready and willing to take his principall, according to covenant, and the arreares due, for he says he is abundantly satisfied that there is neither law nor equity against him for his haveing his bargaine, and therfore he will not recede from it. But he is willing to advance what moneys Mr. Deane has occasion for at the rate of six yeares' purchase for an annuity for Mr. Deane's life, and the rather, as he pretended, because he heard that Mr. Deane and I had made a bargaine for his whole revenue. I told him such a bargaine as that was noe kindenesse, for that I was willing to doe that myselfe, which made him more earnest for it, soe that I veryly believe he will give somewhat more than 6 yeares' purchase, when wee come positively to conclude with him, thoe he wou'd promiss noe more at present, nor agree to any composition for his debt.

(Indorsed, "My answer to my Ld. of B.'s Letter.")

No. XXVI.

From Dean Granville to the same.

Whitehall, Jan 29th, 84.

Mr. Register,

The inclosed letter from my brother Bathe, was designed to bee sent, as you will perceive by the date, last post; had not my attendance on the nuptialls of Sir William Blacket and my lady detained me too late to inform my brother how hee might direct his letter. And I do not doubt but that you will give his lordship a good account of that affaire.

I shall bee very well pleased, that my brother and you, do adjust all matters concerning the farming of my revenue. Such a course is very agreable to mee, having no objection at all against your person. But whether or no such a kind of settlement go on, I am satisfied in an extraordinary manner that I have obtained so full a consent and approbation, from both Bishop and brother, that you shall bee the person who shall manage my revenue. If my domestic steward prove halfe so suitable to my mind, I shall thinke my selfe exceeding happy. But let him prove how hee will, it will not hinder but that I shall make all that use of you which I intended, by way of advice and otherwise.

I desire that you would, with speed, appeare both at Easing-

ton and Sedgefeild, and informe mee how you find matters there, and if you perceive any affaire to require a more speedy determination than the consulting mee will admitt of, I do authorise you to use your discretion. The clark of Sedgefeild is lately dead, and I am not yet resolved how to dispose of the place. Mr. Beaumont can best informe you of the state of that parish. I would have you advise with him concerning the clarke's place and the schooll; and afterwards to write freely your thoughts. I would have Mr. Sisterson performe the duties of the place for the present; but I cannot yet resolve to bestow the place upon him, (as I heare hee desires) tho' I know that hee and his family are great objects of charity and compassion. Walker, for whom the parish do move, is, I feare, a very drunken fellow; and tho' otherwise able enough, no wise quallified on that account. Poor Sisterson is, I know, a weak brain man, and doth still, I feare, often faile in point of drink; but I conceive the poor man as harmlesse and innocent a drunkard (if hee deserves the name) as any in England: and if I do bestow it on Sisterson, it shall bee for the sake of my godson, his son Denys, to bee supplied by him till the young man bee of age; and in the meane time I would have the lad addict himselfe to song, if hee have any voice; whereof I would have you and Mr. Beaumont make some triall, and to give mee some account thereof. I have a kindnesse for the boy, and intend when hee is a better schollar to take him into my house. I hope Mr. Battersby takes a speciall care of him, as I have desired him. I have received another very long letter from the Deane of Rippon since you went, to the old tune, whereto I shall returne no other answer than I have to his former ones. With my services to Mr. Subdeane and all my brethren, I rest,

Your very affectionate . . . . . d,

DENIS GRENVILLE.

Remember me kindly to all my freinds, your neighbours; and very particularly to my cosen Allenson, his wife, and doughter your wife *.

* In his will, dated Jan. 3d, 1689, Marmaduke Allenson the elder mentions his son-in-law, William Wilson, Spiritual Chancellor of the Diocese of Durham.

There was a connection between the Allensons and Mrs. Granville's family, which accounts for the Dean's use of the term '*cosen*.' Ralph Allenson, a steady loyalist, Mayor of Durham in 1635 and 1642, was married at Brancepath, Sept. 9, 1635, by Dr. Jo. Cosin, afterwards Bishop of Durham, to Mary Blakiston, a sister of Mrs. Cosin. They were daughters of Marmaduke Blakiston, Prebendary of the 7th stall in Durham Cathedral.

Remember me allso kindly to my cosen Beaumont and family; and tell my goddaughter I send her my blessing.

To Mr. Wilson, Register to the Dean and Chapter of Durham.

(Indorsed, "Mr. Deane, 29 Jan. '84. His Bror. B.'s Letter. My being his Manag.")

No. XXVII.

From the same to the same.

Whitehall, 10th Feb. 168$\frac{4}{5}$.

Mr. Register,

I earnestly desire you, as soon as possibly you can, to take one journey more both to Easington and Sedgefield, (and if Mr. Beaumont will accompany you, I shall take it kindly from him) to fit and prepare the parishes to be advised by me in reference to the next Election. I pray call together at least some of the leading men and make them understand how graciously our present King begins his reigne, and how happy our circumstances may be, if it please God to blesse us with an honest Parliament. Remember me kindly to my Curates, and all my loving neighbours, and tell those at Sedgefield that I have so good an opinion of them that I do not suspect any opposition from them when I recomend any Knights of the Shire to their election, which I am like to do very speedily. And tell those of Easington, that I do well remember that at last Election, I had but three people that would vouchsafe to accompany me to Durham, and two of them voted against me; but I hope the temper of my parish is a little altered, as well as that of the whole Kingdome. I shall be ready to imitate the clemency of my late gracious Soveraigne and Master, in forgetting all that is past, tho' I have been very badly used by them, provided they will do their duty and be governed by me, as far as reason and religion requires, for the future. Do your best, I beseech you, (with the concurrence of Mr. Beaumont, who very well understands the temper of both parishes) to further this seasonable piece of service to the King and Kingdome. Captaine Midford *,

* Of Pespoole. A gentleman of considerable estate in the parish of Easington, and a zealous parliamentarian, who seems to have exercised a good deal of influence over the whole parish.—Cf. the Dean's Journal, July 3, 1683, *ante*, p. 174. See Surtees' Hist. Durham, i. 12.

having lost his lieutenant, Stothard, would hardly oppose me now, I guesse, if I were upon the place, and made an addresse to the people, betwixt the Nicene Creed and the Sermon; or, if he did, he would hardly passe muster so well before my Lord Chief Justice as he did before Judge ——. I have divers heads of *scribenda's* in reference to my private affairs; but the circumstances of this place and my present temper of mind (who have as much reason to mourne as any man in England) will not permit me to inlarge on them, I shall therefore in a postscript only send you some minutes of them, and rest,

Your affectionate friend,

DENIS GRENVILLE.

1. To let Mr. Wilkinson know that I have received those two letters wherein he desires to be my malt-man, and am willing to gratifye him in buying my malt of him sometimes, when he has the best malt, and so shall my nephew Sir George Wheeler.

2. To examine the controversy betwixt Mr. Sisterson and Sir Edward Smith's tennants, wherein Mr. Beaumont may be helpfull, and so accommodate it according to your best discretion.

3. That I received your account, concerning your inspection into my affair at Easington, and am very well pleased with your determination.

4. That if Sir Christopher Conyers do not make some voluntary application to you, that you would, over a while, make some application to him, to receive an answere of the affaire I recommended to him, when he went for the north with Sir William Blacket.

5. That in case I should draw a bill upon you, payable at Midsumer, that you would accept it, and take care for the payment of the same out of the Pentecost rents, which I will not do if I can possibly avoid it.

For Mr. Willm. Wilson,
Register to the Deane and Chapter of Durham.

(Indorsed, "Mr. Deane, 10th Feb. '8½. Parliamt. Men. Mr. Wilkinson, Maltman. Sr. E. Smith, tennts. Sir C. Conyers. The Bill of Exchange.")

No. XXVIII.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME, WITH COPIES OF CERTAIN LETTERS.

Whitehall, Feb. 24th, 168½.

MR. REGISTER,

I HAVE waited a great while to have had some discourse with my brother, that I might have sent you his sense concerning your negociation with Wilkinson. But partly his concerne for the losse of his Master, (which yet I find sticks close by him) and partly the dispute about his Golden Key (being yet undecided) still hindring, I have sent you downe for the present a coppy of a letter he sent me, that you may compare his writings with his words.

I have prevailed with Mr. Rider, tho' I have not seen him yet, to stop the bill which I had given on you, payable at Michaelmas, but whether I shall be able to prevaile with him to take an assignment of the rents due at Pentecost, &c., I am not yet assured.

In drawing my bill on you I tooke care it should not be payable so soon as Pentecost, for that would have been too hard upon you, but the bill being not payable till after you had received Michaelmas rents, which would repay you; and this sum, besides severall other small debts, as specifyed in the paper sent you, I thought it not unprudentiall so to do, considering my circumstances.

I recommend it once more to your consideration, whether, if you cannot accept a bill payable at Michaelmas or Martinmas, and that Rider will not accept of an assignment of my rents, (who saies that if you in the country scruple at the acceptance of the bill, he may much more scruple at the assignment) you can propound any other expedient for my supply here, betwixt this and Michaelmas. If you cannot, I must make use of some persons that I would not willingly receive an obligation from, or give very extraordinary brokage.

Desiring to hear from you speedily and receive from you a state of the dispute betwixt my predecessor and the Bishop of Chichester, who is now in towne, and expects an answere from me, &c. I rest,

Your affectionate friend,

DENIS GRENVILLE.

My service to Mr. Subdeane and my brethren.

Copy of a letter from Mr. Wilkinson.

MR. DEANE,—Lately I have spoke with Mr. Wilson. I perceive by him, that you or some body doth thinke I have had a great bargain of you, and I hope it will be so, but I would have none to thinke much at it now, who knew of its making, and did not make you a better; for if you had dyed I had none to make my mone to for satisfaction, but must have armed my selfe with patience, so I hope none doth now thinke much because it doth accrew by your living so long, whose life I pray God long preserve. Also I perceive by Mr. Wilson that you are not yet furnished with money, and if so I is yet in the same mind, to give you six years' purchase for your life, and so advance what sum you have occasion for, provided I may receive my owne rents. I is told you are about letting your whole revenue. If you do so, I thinke it will be your prejudice, and his that deals with you. But if you will let it, I can help you to a chapman, who will give as much and more than any. If you thinke my proposalls your convenience, let me know, and I will order one to treat with you and assure your selfe of the assistance of your reall friend and servant, WILLIAM WILKINSON.

Durham, 6 Feb. '8$\frac{4}{5}$.

For Mr. Willm. Wilson,
Register to the Deane and Chapter of Durham.

(Indorsed, "Mr. Deane, 24 Feb. '8$\frac{4}{5}$. The Bill. The Bp. of C.'s case. A copy of Mr. Wilkinson's letter.")

Copy of Mr. Wilson's reply.

3° Martis, '8$\frac{4}{5}$.

SIR,—Your kindness in sending me a copy of Mr. Wilkinson's letter wil be of great use to me, as often as I shall have occasion of discourseing with him, for I finde I must take noe notice of what he says, for he was pleased to declare solemnly, with great protestasions, that his great incouragement to deale with your honour was, that he was to receive his money from me, and that he heard I had made a bold bargain and a very hasardous one, and more to that effect, to all which his letter is a designed and a direct contradiction. But my bargain is to be cryed up for a mighty great and advantagious bargain on my part, and that by persons that ought to have both more wit and honesty than to do it, for I know they are all ignorant of the value of the Deanary, on which the bargain mainly depends; soe that they therein discouer both their folly and malice to me, who had noe designe in that treaty but to serve your honour, and who, by these reports, am mightily discouraged to meddle any further in it, tho' I am very willing to serve your honor, and if you please to intrust me to manage your revenue, if I doe not make as much of it as

any one liveing I will be content to be reputed both knave and fool, either of which I hope I shall never justly deserve, but whether, if we doe not agree by way of bargaine, I shall be employed as manager of your revenue, I would desire your honour's speedey answer, and that for divers and important reasons. The reason of my scrupling to accept the bill is not the time of payment, but the consideration of our mortality, for if the rents were actually due, so that I might have an assignment of them, I wou'd willingly accept the bill, tho' I were not to receive the money this six moneths, and you may satisfie Mr. Rider that that is my onely scruple, and, now you know it, I hope your honour will finde out an expedient against it, and I begg you may not be offended at this scruple; for if I were present I cou'd satisfie you of the reasonablenesse of it.—(Indorsed "Copys of answers to Mr. Deane's Lettrs.")

No. XXIX.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Whitehall, 3d March, 168¼.

MR. REGISTER,

MY brother Bath, with whom I have been this evening, commands me to remember him kindly to you, and to let you know that he cannot yet dispose his head to answere your letter, or give any particular advice, concerning your further proceedings in it; only he bids me tell you in generall, that he would have you use your discretion (he being very well satisfyed with the letter you writ him) in negotiating that affair, and managing Wilkinson. The dispute betwixt my Lord Peterborough and my brother, concerning the Grome of Stole's place, being not yet determined, nor any setlement in the Bed-chamber, he is as full of businesse as of griefe; and therefore those matters that depend upon my brother's advice must yet rest awhile.

Sir Edward Smith* comes often to me, and makes lamentable complaint of Mr. Sisterson, and uses extraordinary importunity, that I would gratifye his tennants in letting them their tythes,

* Of Esh, co. Pal. and of Acton Burnel, co. Salop, son of John Smythe, of Embleton, Esq. by Margaret, daughter of Sir Bertram Bulmer of Tursdale, co. Pal. Knt. created a Baronet 23d Feb. 1660, died at Acton Burnel, 12th Oct. 1714, aged 80. "In 1644 the Commissioners of Sequestration seized the estate of John Smythe, Esq. of Low Embleton, then valued at 70*l.* per annum; the same lands were in the possession of his son, Sir Edward Smythe, of Eshe, Bart. in 1689." Surtees' Hist. Durham, iii. 54. These lands at Embleton were originally part of the Bulmer estate. Embleton is in the parish of Sedgefield, of which Granville was Rector.

that they may be fre from his disturbance which they say is intollerable. I promised Sir Edward this day that I would write to you by this post, and give you full authority to let the thing according to your discretion, provided you found Sisterson as unreasonable as they pretended. And if you find him so perverse, I would have you admonish him from me, and let him know I shall be much dissatisfyed at his deportment.

I sent you lately the Order of Councill, concerning the Form of praying for the Royall Family, which I hope has been observed in the Cathedrall, and that you have communicated the substance of the same to all the Clergy throughout our Jurisdiction, according to instructions I sent Dr. Cartwright.

Bell continues in the Counter in lamentable distresse, and unlesse you returne up his last quarter's sallery, I am afraid he will starve there, tho' I cannot discover yet that he is any thing humbled thereby. Give my service to Mr. Subdeane, and let him know that Bell promises to order the returne of the books to Hutchinson. Expecting your reply to my last, I rest,

Your affectionate friend,

DENIS GRENVILLE.

Mr. John Basire was this day marryed to my Lady Stote. Some had the confidence to desire me to knit the knot, (to my great wonder) which I refused.

For Mr. William Wilson,
Register to the Deane and Chapter of Durham.

(Indorsed, "Mr. Deane. 3 Martii. To negociate with Wilkinson. Sr. Ed. Smith's Tennts. Mr. Bell's Sallary.")

No. XXX.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME, AND COPY OF REPLY.

Whitehall, March 7, 168¼.

MR. REGISTER,

THO' I am exceeding buisy, and my head very full, (being in a criticall conjuncture to preach to morrow in his Majestie's Chappell, at St. James's) yet I cannot satisfye my selfe without answering yours of the 3d instant, and assuring you, under my owne hand, without the helpe of a secretary, that as I have

used others out of necessity, so I do imploy you out of my free choice, and with much delight; and resolve to imploy you as a steward, if you should not become my farmer. But do not abuse my freedome, in being any wise more backward to farme my revenue, and submit to any reasonable termes which shall bee proposed by my friends, with whom I must consult.

I am firmely persuaded that you are neither *knave* nor *fooll* and have no suspition but that you can performe all that you promise. Wherefore bee not at all discouraged; I desire your assistance in all concernes relating to my revenue, and do rely on you, more than on any man, to helpe mee out of the briars. You are assured of my kindnesse to you, (and yours) and of my confidence in you; and I may (by the blessing of that Divine Power which hath hitherto owned mee and brought mee to a station much above my merit) live to reward you for all your services. I never deserted any *Confident* yet, till they manifestly abused mee; and deported first from God, as well as mee: that is, acted contrary to good conscience and right reason, and became, in plaine termes, ungratefull to mee. And if you do so too, I will forsake you likewise. Dr. D . . . . . [*? Davies*] proved so, it is notorious, tho' I did allmost beggar my selfe to make his fortune. Mr. J. B. [*? Basire*] proved more so in rebelling against mee, and trating mee as he hath done in reference to spirituall conduct. I do not say, nor beleive, that either of them did knowingly or designedly cheat mee. But I will say this to all the world, and to their faces; that the first was intollerably greedy, and not to bee allowed the liberty which I once gave him of being his own carver. And the other is intollerably proud and sturdy to mee, when I endeavoured to correct his manners, and wholy incapable of restoration to my favour.

You I beleive nether of these; and do therefore thinke Providence very kind to mee in providing an agent for mee in my present distresse, so honest and able, as well as gratefull to my selfe and all wise men in the country. You are above the censure of others. Despise them. And I, thanke God, and a gracious Master, &c. out of the reach of my enimies, so as to be much hurt by those who maligne mee or my agents. I shall make such use of you as to demonstrat that I am not afraid of people's prating that I am governed by *Deane Willson*. And stick you, I pray, so close to my intrest and honour, (with both which I do intrust you) as not to bee dismayed by any invidious body who shall say that you cheat mee, or overreach mee. Wee must bee (as I trust wee both are) better philoso-

phers than so, or I shall not be with speed out of my troubles. I rest with much sincerity and love,

Your reall friend,

DENIS GRENVILLE.

Copy of reply.

Your extraordinary kindeness you are pleased to express in your's, of the 7th instant, does ingage me soe farr as to resolve to submitt in your affairs to greater hazards and difficulties than [according to the rate of this world] becomes a wise man to doe, yett [and thereupon] I am resolved, maugre all the censures of all mankinde, to rely wholly upon the justice of soe honourable and worthy master, and the kindeness of a new, but I hope, lasting patron; and tho' I am bold in calling your honour soe, yett I hope I shall soe manage myself, under your countenance and favours, as if I had them not to that degree as to pretend to interpose in your councell, and soe take away all occasion of the most censorious and prying to thinke that ever your honour is in the least influenced by my services in your determinations and resolves, except in matters where the circumstances of the cases may make it necessary [requisite] for your ease to be sayd that it was done by my advise. And [whether as steward or farmer, allways] shall stick close to manage your revenue faithfully to the best of my skill, the most to your interest, both on the paying and receiveing side, still haveing an eye (which may displease [disagreable to] some) to your honour and reputation as Dean and Archdeacon; for tho' I may be a good steward without that, yet have regard in my own oppinion I can never be faithfull servant without, which humor will never, I hope, make [render] me less acceptable to you, or less fitt for your service.

(Indorsed, "My Answer to Mr. Deane's of ye 7th March.")

No. XXXI.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Whitehall, March 21st, 1685.

MR. REGISTER,

SIR George Wheler * sets forth in the York coach, next Mon-

* Sir George was about to take possession of his prebendal stall at Durham. He was son of Col. Charles Wheler, and was born at Breda, whilst his parents were in exile on account of their loyalty. He was educated at Lincoln College, Oxford, but

day, towards Durham, and I desire you to imploy some woman, whomsoever you think convenient, to cleanse the house, and fit it for his reception. I desire you to give him all the assistance he shall stand in need of, in point of advice, or otherwise, after his arrivall. Mr. Smith*, having the happyness to be acquainted with him here in the south, will also be very officious to serve him. And having so good a temporall and spirituall prop as you two, he will not stand much in need of other advisers, whom I would have him make use of at first with great prudence and caution.

It would have been very gratefull, I find, to his Majesty, with some great men here at Court, to have had Sir William Bowes chosen, but since there is an honest gentleman, of a loyal family, elected†, I am very indifferent. I have no time at present, therefor I remain,

Your affectionate friend,

DENIS GRENVILLE.

before taking a degree he travelled in Greece and Asia Minor, an account of which he published in 1682. On his return he was knighted, and soon after entered into holy orders. He married Grace, daughter of Sir Thos. Higgons, Knt., by Bridget, sister of John, Earl of Bath. He was consequently nephew by marriage to Dean Granville. Sir George succeeded to the stall in Durham Cathedral which was vacated by his uncle's promotion to the Deanery. He had, however, nearly lost it. "Upon Greenvill's nomination, Jefferies got a promise of the stall: the Earl of Bath told his brother the Dean of it, and the Dean told my lord [Crewe]. My lord got the Dean to resign it while the Dean's instrument was passing the Great Seal, and my lord put in Sir George Wheler in the Prebend as soon as ever the Dean's instrument was signed. Thus the Bath family was encouraged and Jefferies was balked. Dr. South said to my lord, after Greenvill was put in, *That my lord had paved his way with honour to Durham.*"—Life of Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham, &c., p. 51. Besides his prebendal stall Sir George was Rector of Houghton-le-Spring. He died at Durham, Jan. 18th, 1723, æt. 74.

* John Smith, then Minor Canon of Durham. In 1686 he was selected by Lord Lansdowne to accompany him as his chaplain during his embassy to Madrid, and on his return, soon after the Revolution, was made domestic chaplain to Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham. In 1695 he was collated to the Rectory of Gateshead, and to the 7th stall in the Cathedral. Up to this period he had retained his Minor Canonry, and his promotion is perhaps the only instance of a Minor Canon ascending to a stall *per saltum*. On this preferment Mr. Smith proceeded D.D. Dr. Smith was an elegant scholar and a sound Divine, but his publications during his lifetime were confined to a few occasional sermons. His fame rests securely however on the magnificent edition of Bede's Historical Works, which he had completed for the press with the most devoted labour and industry, but did not live to see published. It was given to the world by his son, George Smith, Esq., of Burnhall. Dr. Smith died at Cambridge, on the 30th July, 1715, and was interred in the Chapel of St. John's College.—See Surtees' Hist. Durham, iv. 100.

† Sir William Bowes had been one of the representatives for the county in the preceding Parliament. At the election in 1685 Robert Byerley, Esq., of Middrige Grange, co. Pal. (son of the loyal Anthony Byerley, who during the civil wars was Colonel of a regiment under the Marquis of Newcastle), and William Lambton, Esq., were the successful candidates.

Concerning Mr. Lambton see *antè*, p. 162.

When Sir G. comes to Durham I desire the D[ean] of Rippon may be summon'd to Chapter.

(Indorsed, "Mr. Deane. 21° Mar. 1684. To prepare the house for Sr. Geo. Wheler.")

No. XXXII.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Whitehall, March 24th, 1685.

MR. REGISTER,

SIR George Wheler did, according to my intimation, set forth yesterday towards Durham, in the York coach, with Tho. Blakiston in his company, whom I desire you to be very officious to serve and advise, after his arrival.

Your's of the ..... in answer to mine (which you think fit to stile a kind letter) I do esteem a very kind answer, and do returne you for the same my very reall thanks. My condition I must confess dos require some officious services, more than the ordinary notion of prudence will allow of, and possibly, betwixt this and Michaelmas, more than ever hereafter. But there is a thing called generosity which is a vertue as well as prudence, and nowayes inconsistent with what does best deserve the name, which will justifye a seasonable assistance of a person in my circumstances, unhappily plunged thereinto not altogether by my own sin, but partly by the ill management of my agents. I'me glad to find more of it in you, that has had no advantages by me, than in many persons from whom I might more reasonably expect it.

I have at last satisfied Mr. Ryder, who has supplyed me with money to strike of all those debts (except Capt. Richardson 100*l.*) which were uneasy or dishonourable, so take an assignment, as you advise, only with this difference, that he will allow me no longer time for the payment thereof than Midsummer. But I have not been able to get money enough to pay of the Captain's hundred, neither is it possible for me, I find by a letter he sent me last night, to stave it of any longer. Hee is civill to me, and promises me future services, but at this time so very importunate with me to write to you to pay his money to Alderman Hall*, that it is not possible for me to deny

* Father of Jonathan Hall, D.D., Prebendary of Durham and Rector of Cockfield, co. Suffolk, and ancestor of the Halls of Flass, in the county of Durham.

him; who hath prevailed with me to doe it by this post as effectually as I am able, and I do accordingly intreat you to go to the Alderman, and to discourse with him about the same, imediatly after the receit of this letter, and to contrive some way, if it be possible, to give the Alderman satisfaction. Captn. Richardson is a man that may do me many pleasures, and I would not willingly disoblige him. I shall say no more concerning it, but believe that, if you can do it, you will do it, and give me some account of the same.

I am sorry Sir Wm. Bowes did not manage his business better, nor appear, since the Bishop and Dean, out of respect of his Majesty's recommendation, had engaged all their interest for him. With my kind love to your wife, cousin Allinson, and all my friends, I rest,

Your affectionate friend,

DENIS GRENVILLE.

My service to Mr. Subdean.

For Mr. Wm. Wilson, Register to the Deane and Chapter of Durham, Durham.

(Indorsed, "Mr. Deane. 24° Mar. '84. Mr. Ryder accepts an Assignmt. Cap. Richardson's 100*l.*")

No. XXXIII.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Whitehall, 2d Apr. 1685.

MR. REGISTER,

I AM sorry my brother Musgrave left Durham before Sir George Wheler's arrivall, but the writts for the Convocation will reach him, or some other Prebend, to make up a Chapter; concerning which election, my lord of Durham and I have already intimated our minds.

I am sorry you send me no better news concerning Salt Holmes*, but I have no suspition but that you do, and will do, your best for me.

I am very sore attacked upon the account of poor Sisterson, and more especially in behalfe of his wife and children, who are like to be ruin'd, my Curate and others informe me, if the

* A farm in the parish of Billingham, co. Pal., which belonged to the Deanery of Durham.

tyths of Elmdon are let from him. Sisterson may have been possibly somewhat to blame, but certainly Sir Edward Smith's tenants do very bitterly oppose him. I do leave the thing freely at your dispose, but I desire that you will take speciall care that he be not really oppressed. It would trouble me to hear the clamour of his wife and children. And I shall be necessitated, I fear, to add to his sallery for their necessary support. Had it not been for the convenience of taking the tythes of Elmdon in kind, and the laboriousnesse of his wife, they could not have fed so many mouths with 20*l.* a year paid by hand.

As for my course in the Cathedrall, I have depended on Mr. Subdeane; but in case his indisposition hinders him, I should take it kindly if any other Prebend would preach for me, but if none can be got, I shall be very well contented with my former substitute, Mr. Smith*, it not being unreasonable that he should rise with his patron, and from a Prebend's deputy to become a Dean's. I dare venture him if I were a bishop, and not suspect that I should receive by him any dishonour. I am very much vexed my brother's operators at Muggleswick have made such havock of timber there, and much the more because they had the impudence to pretend my authority for the same. That I should not be forward to countenance any abuse upon that account, you may perceive by my former order, concerning timber, which I sent downe, whereto I hope there hath been had regard, tho' I did not receive any reply, that I do remember, to that particular, from you or Mr. Morton. With my service to all my friends, I rest,

Your affectionate friend

DENIS GRENVILLE.

For Mr. William Wilson,
Register to the Deane and Chapter of Durham.

(Indorsed, "2 Ap. 1685. Mr. Deane. To continue to Mr. Sist'son Elmdon Tythes.")

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* It would appear from this that the Minor Canons were then occasionally allowed to occupy the cathedral pulpit. Mr. Smith would, most assuredly, be no discreditable substitute. See *ante*, p. 204, note.

No. XXXIV.

Tanner MSS. xxxi. 12.

FROM THE SAME TO ARCHBISHOP SANCROFT, ENCLOSING A PROTESTATION OF SINCERITY, &c. OF THE SAME DATE.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

THOUGH I am well perswaded my lord of Durham is so wise and good a man, that whatever use he makes of the treason, (pretended to be discovered in my late intercepted letter) he will not faile at last to hang the traitour, yet I am so jealous of misrepresentations to my lord the Arch-bishop of York, and some other Bishops, (which were meant though not named in my letter) that I have ventured on so great an act of presumption as to inclose herein a protestation of my innocency, humbly beseeching your Grace consideringly to read it, and, if you have any opinion of my veracity, (whereof, whatever have been my failings, I have given the world, I hope, little reason to doubt) that you would be pleased to protect and support me, if there be occasion, against the mallice of these ill men, who do very industriously, I perceive, follow their blow, in wounding my reputation with my lord of Durham, to make if possible a breach betwixt us. Which, however, I trust in God he will prevent.

If I have spoken treason against my Diocesan, or against other prelates of our Church, (though, if I may be suffered to be a commentator upon my owne letter, it will beare a favourable construction) I dare affirme of my selfe, as Prince Rupert used to do of the old discontented cavaliers, that it hath been *out of the loyalty of my heart.*

Not knowing of a better expedient to discharge my owne conscience, and defeat my enemies' spleen, than to deposite the inclosed protestation and confession with your Grace, at this the most solemne time for the celebration of the Holy Communion; and hoping that your Grace, if you hear me unjustly censured, will speak a kind word for me hereafter, and at present not deny me (for any rashnesse or imprudence that I may have been guilty of, in this or any other act of my well meant zeale) your absolution, more than your benediction, in this present

tryall, (which is no small one) I rest, with all imaginable humility, sincerity and respect, (my lord,)

Your Grace's most obedient son and faithfull servant,

DENIS GRENVILLE.

Easter Eve, 1685.

Postscript.—If my late zeale against pulpit prayers (whereto I have been an enemy throughout my whole life) hath been any waies extravagant, Dr. Stuart's little piece hath been the chiefe occasion thereof, and therefore I have presumed herewith to enclose it, though probably your Grace has long since perused it.

To the most Reverend Father in God, his Grace my lord the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, humbly present these.

Tanner MSS.
cxliv. 104.

A hearty protestation of my sincerity and integrity, in reference to my letters, intercepted and maliciously sent up to the Bishop of D[urham.]

As I do hope for mercy at the day of judgment, and comfort from the Holy Sacrament of my Saviour's Blessed Body and Blood, at this high and solemne festivall of our Lord's Resurrection, I do solemnly protest, in the presence of God and His holy angells, that I did not designe any dishonour or uneasinesse to my lord the Bishop of Durham, nor any countenance or support of Dr. Basire against our Diocesan, (whose practice was for us in this point of Bidding of Prayer,) but to oppose an irregular and dangerous practice of the Viccar of Newcastle, whose unpardonable stiffnesse (in disputing this clear duty with his Archdeacon's Officiall, in opposition and contempt of, not only the example of his Diocesan, the Deane and Prebendaries, and the whole Clergy of the Bishoprick of Durham, but of the greater, elder, and wiser part of his owne brethren of Newcastle) was like to be of mischievous consequence to the neighbouring Clergy of my Jurisdiction. And that by the private letter written to Dr. Basire, and intercepted, (wherein I confesse were some unwary expressions not fit for my lord Bishop's eye) I did not intend to expose my lord for ignorance in his rubrick: meaning by that expression, *that his lordship would in short while become a good rubrick man*, no more but this;—that his lordship, by Sir George Wheler's manuscript upon the rubricks, and Dr. Beveridge's about Bidding of Prayer, (both which are still in his lordship's custody) would receive so much satisfaction, as to be of our mind: and give no countenance to the Viccar of Newcastle. Much lesse did I make bold and insolent reflections on the prelates of the Church of England, &c., as pretended

in a false and spurious coppy sent up to the Bishop, wickedly and mischievously descanted on, to a very evill intent; and, if possible, to make a breach betwixt the Bishop and my selfe, which I do as much dread, as the phanatick and semi-conformists do our union: I mentioning the practice of one Archbishop, severall Bishops, and one of the Universities, in using a pulpit prayer, to caution the Officiall to be prudent in his zeal to rectifie this breach of canon, rather than to vilifye and expose them. As for any infirmities and imprudences in this transaction, I beg God's, my lord's, and particularly your Grace's absolution; but do in the most solemne manner protest that I had no evill and unchristian aime in this intreague. And according to the integrity of that, and this, paper, help me God. DENIS GRENVILLE.

Easter Eve, '85.

No. XXXV.

Tanner MSS. xxxi. 218.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

HAVING taken possession of my worthy predecessor's stall in the Quire, and chair in the Chapter-house, I think my selfe obliged not only to addresse my selfe unto your Grace for a fresh benediction, but to present you with a re-assurance of my services and dutifull respects, as well as those of the Body which I am now by Providence (though I know most unworthy) set to preside over. As you, my lord, have alwaies showne a particular kindnesse to the Church of Durham *, so do I find therein a particular honour for your Grace, which, as long as I relate to this Church, shall be my constant endeavour to preserve.

My lord, I do earnestly beseech you, that you will pray for me. Though my reception both by the Bishop, Prebends, and Clergy and Gentry in the country, has been kind beyond my deserving; and my predecessors' chairs, through the civilities and respects of all persons, are made to me yet very easy, I am not ignorant of the weight of duties and difficulties that must necessarily attend my promotion. I do therefore, out of a deep sense of my weaknesse and unworthinesse, fly to Almighty God, who hath ever graciously watched over me, carryed me through a multitude of difficulties, and at last raised me, by his Pro-

* Sancroft was a Prebendary of Durham from 1661 to 1674.

vidence, to this high and honourable station, which makes me (as well as an object of envy to many) to some an object of Christian pity and charity, so as to afford me a title I hope to their devotions; among which number I please my selfe to think that your Grace may be one.

I can say no more for my selfe at this my last promotion than I could at my first entrance into the Church, namely that I do not now more than ever discover in my heart any evill designe on the Church, nor any alteration in that honest zeale that brought me very early into it, to give my selfe wholly up to its service, and to imploy all that I have received, by the goodnesse of a gracious Master, to God's honour and the advantage of our established religion.

The evill designe of some malicious men, in endeavouring to make a breach betwixt the Bishop and my selfe, by treacherously intercepting my letters, hath had a contrary effect; my lord having, after a through inquisition, and view of the worst of me, discovered me to be no other than an honest man, and his lordship's humble servant. Whereto I have great obligations, having received extraordinary expressions of favour from my lord since my arrivall, as well as mighty satisfaction in his Visitation; which his lordship has mannaged hugely to his honour and the edification of us all.

Among many other excellent things my lord of Durham hath strictly injoined us to continue the celebration of the Weekly Communion, with jubilation, (fallen into disuse since the death of Bishop Cosins) and to restore sermons on Wednesdaies and Fridayes in Lent and Advent, according to the present practice of York, and antient practice of this Cathedrall, and probably of all Cathedrall and Collegiate Churches.

These worthy acts of my lord do afford me great joy, and will be, I hope, very exemplary to other Churches. Assuring your Grace that I shall not be backward to concurre with his lordship to promote such undenyable good works, I once more beg your Grace's benediction, and rest, (my lord,)

Your Grace's most obedient son and humble servant,

DENIS GRANVILLE.

Durham, October 17th, 1685.

My wife importunes mee to insert her humble desires of your Grace's benediction.

No. XXXVI.

From Mr. R. Burton to Dean Granville.

Sir,

I have presumed to send you this 'ingenious' speech, upon supposition that it may not as yet be come to your hands. My worthy friend Dr. Gower * presents you with his service: dining with him the other day told me that he wrote lately to you. The last week Dr. Mountagu, Master of Trinity, sent for me to dine with him. He likewise presents his service to you. He's now gone for London, in order to preach his course, in the Chappel Royal (this season of Lent). I'm told that this day your friend, Mr. Barnabas Oley †, is to be bury'd. His parishoners are already extreme sensible of their loss of that reverend and eminently worthy good man. I have it from those which were almost his daily companions, that he hath, upon many occasions, exprest very much esteem and honour (which all persons can't but acknowledge due) for you, by the title of the truly pious and devout good man Dr. Granville; which expression he usually had, when he mentioned you. Dr. Saywel ‡, (our present Vice-Chancellor) thinking that he might be better look't after here, than at his own house, sent a coach for him about 10 days since; but by reason of his weakness was not able to stir, tho' he seem'd inclinable to come, by sending his hearty thanks to the Dr. for his great care and

* Master of St. John's College. "Our Master, they say, is a mighty high, proud man, but God be thanked I know nothing of that as yet by my own experience. His name is Dr. Gower, and it was he that first brought up the having of Terms in the college, without the keeping of every one of which we can have no degrees."—MS. Diary of Abraham de la Pryme, F.R.S., who entered St. John's College in 1690. Dr. Gower had been previously Master of Jesus College.

† Vicar of Great Graunsden, co. Hunts. Prebendary of Worcester and Archdeacon of Ely. He wrote a sketch of the life of George Herbert, prefixed to the first edition of the 'Country Parson,' printed in 1652, and a preface to the second edition of 1671. He died Feb. 20th, 1685. By his will, dated May 28th, 1684, he gave his farm at Graunsden, and the advowson of the Vicarage of Warmfield in Yorkshire, to pious uses.

‡ Formerly chaplain to Bishop Gunning. He succeeded Dr. Gower as Master of Jesus College, and was made Archdeacon of Ely on the death of Mr. Oley. He was the author of several controversial works, in answer to Mr. Baxter and others. For a list of them see Fasti Oxon. ed Bliss, iv. 311.

kindness. Sir, I present your good lady with my duty and am with all due respect,

Your most obedient nephew and humble servant,

R. BURTON *.

St. John's, Febry. 27th, '8⅔.

Mr. Baker † desires me to present you with his humble service.

The Bishop of Valence's ‡ speech to the K[ing] of Fr[ance], att Versailles, the 14th July 1685, attended by the whole body of the Clergy of Fr[ance].

THIS is the 2d time that I have the honour to speak to your Majesty in the name of the whole Clergy of your Kingdom. I know not how it comes to pass that I find myself this time more surprised, and more astonished, than I was the last. I was then to speak to the most formidable and the greatest King of the earth: I still speak to the same King, but to one who has made himself infinitely more great, infinitely more formidable. This new grandeur, Sir, is not an effect of the number of your conquests, nor of the provinces reduced under your obedience, nor of Europe it self, of which you are sole arbiter; but proceeds from the zeal and the indefatigable industry which has made your Majesty allwayes prefer the designe of converting the Protestans before all humane considerations and all reasons

* A grandson of Bishop Cosin, being the son of his daughter Elizabeth by her second husband, Sir Thos. Burton of Brampton, co. Westmoreland. He was living in 1719, and is described as of Elemore, Clerk. Lady Burton had no less than *four* husbands. 1. Henry Hutton, son of Sir Richard Hutton of Goldsborough, co. York, Knt. 2. Sir Thos. Burton. 3. Samuel Davison of Wingate Grange, co. Pal., Esq., third son of Sir Alex. Davison, of Blakiston, Knt.; and 4. Isaac Basire, Esq. Mr. Basire writes as follows, concerning his step-son, to Archbishop Sancroft.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,—My wife having a very great desire that her only son should attend your Grace upon his initiation into Holy Orders, I could not let him go without doing him this right, humbly to acquaint your Grace that he has had orthodox education, and a competent residence at the University of Cambridge, and that his freinds have good grounds to hope that he will be truly conformable to the sacred constitutions and rules of our holy mother the Church of England, and that his paternall estate will not make him lesse capable of serving the Church.

Your Grace well knowing his grandfather and his relations, what countenance you are pleased to favour him with will perpetually oblige my late Lord Bishop of Durham's daughter, and all our freinds on both sides, and particularly, my lord, your Grace's already most bounden and most humble servant, ISAAC BASIRE.—Durham, All Saints' Day, 1684.—Tanner MSS. xxxii. 166.

† Thomas Baker, Fellow of St. John's, the celebrated scholar and antiquary.

‡ Monseigneur Daniel de Cosnac, Evesque et Comte de Valence.—Tanner MSS. xxxi. 126, where an extract is given of the Speech in the original.

of state. It ariseth from that innumerable crowd of conversions which are made by your order, by your diligence, and by your liberalitys. It is this part onely of your admirable life that I desire to describe, for you are too great, Sir, to be represented all at once. I easily foresee that I shall search in vain into the ages past, that I shall call unnecessarily to my assistance the elogiums of all the first and most holy Christian Emperors. They will not furnish me with terms noble enough to express the glory your Majesty has acquired in espousing the interest in religion. But why should wee look for ornaments elsewhere, which are onely to be found in your person? You deliver us, Sir, from an apprehension by your happy success, which we find impossible for us to effect. That which you have already done for the glory of God has carryed your own soe farr, to so high a pitch, that without being beholden to the applauses and acclamations of men, it is able alone to subsist of itself, and to speak the language of the Church (in whose service your Majesty is more particularly engaged than any other Sovereign, as being the eldest and most illustrious of her children). All that you have hitherto done, which was not immediatly for the honour of God and his Church, as the triumphing over your enimys, the reestablishing your royall authority, undermin'd on every side by soemany factions, the taking it out of such hands as abus'd it, and lastly the reducing every thing to its just boundes and limits; I say, all these great actions have deservedly acquired to your Majesty the names of great, invincible, and the arbiter of peace and warr. But, however, all these titles heaped together, are but such faideing praises as will last noe longer than the world it self: whereas, on the contrary, the advancing of the Catholic religion, the releiving the Church of F[rance] from oppression, and the rendring her the admiration of all her neighbours, the restoring of faith, and proscribing of heresy;—these indeed are solid immortal titles, which shall not onely continue thro' the rust of all time, but subsist when time itself shall be noe more. What honour is it, Sir, to your Majesty, what satisfaction to us, these praises are so peculiarly due to you! let us looke back into the age past, let us consider the trouble the Protestants gave us, the places of safety they soe often demanded, with their armes in their hands, and soe often obtained. How frequently did they forget that they were subjects? How frequently did they attempt to introduce a new government into this kingdome? How many edicts of pacification did they infringe, as soon as publisht? How many acts of oblivion did they violate by new rebellions? Is there any other K[ing] to be found who has not onely exalted the Catholic religion to soe triumphant a state, that there remaines noe more but a light remembrance of these disorders, but who has also secured it from the very fear of ever seeing it self involv'd again under such deplorable circumstances, under such fatal calamitys of times? Be pleased, Sir, to pardon my confidence, if I take the liberty to call to memory the names of some of your predecessors, who, as great and victorious

as they were, always found theyr laws too weak, and their armes too feeble, to subdue and extinguish the monster of heresy. If they were now alive, (I mean as men capable of infermitys and passions) what thoughts would they have, what matter of joy would it be to them, to find soe happy and soe surpriseing a change, how jealous would they be of their honours to see that your Majesty alone, in so short a time, should have almost brought to perfection a work which they altogether could soe little advance in the space of soe many years? What would they say of the penetrating genius of your Majesty, so capable of applying methods, sometimes gentle, sometimes harsh, alwayes just, for increasing the empire of Jesus Christ, with what satisfaction would they see the Protestant religion (which under theyr reigns was called the religion of bold spirits, with which the most powerful part of the State, and the best witts of the Court, were generally infected) now contemned, now trampled on, now reduced to see it self for ever abandon'd by all persons of learning and reason, and all this without violence, without armes, and much less by the power and force of your edicts, than by your own exemplary piety, with what greif of mind would they remember the contempts offer'd unto theyr authority? How often was it question'd and interrupt'd, and subject to many revolutions; and with what wonder would they consider your Majesty, so simple, so absolute, so uncontroulable? What difference would they not find betwixt the dismall troubles of those times they liv'd in, and the glorious blessing of that peace, which you doe not onely enjoy your self, but make the Church partake of also. But, as if it were not honour enough for your Majesty to bring into the bosome of the Church so many millions of mistaken souls, who have liv'd under your own dominion, you generouslly design'd the conquests of new provinces abroad, purposely to restore the office of Prelates, the worship of God, and all Divine service. Those many victories you have obtain'd, both in Germany and Holland, have only serv'd as soe many theaters for the triumph of Jesus Christ,—what ought we not to expect? England it self is upon the poynt to offer unto your Majesty one of the most glorious opportunitys you can desire. The bravest and greatest of all the monarchs in the world (before heaven had given the blessing of your Majesty to this earth) did onely wish as his cheifest happiness, that he might once in his life meet with a danger worth exposing himself to it. The K[ing] of England, who will want your help, and the assistance of your armes, to maintain himself in the Catholic religion, will ere long furnish you with an occasion worthy your giveing him your protection. Those turbulent and seditious spirits in the countrye of Dauphine, Vivarett and Sevennes, who these years past foolishly flattered themselves that the times were changeing to theyr advantage, and in theyr immaginary projects had entertain'd some hopes of a foreign power to assist them, have cost you but too little trouble and time to make

them remember that you have chastised them, but your glory in pardoning them is too great ever to be forgotten, the salvation then procured them was all the punishment you intended, and you could not longer look upon them as disloyall subjects, from the moment they enroll'd them selves amongst the number of God's faithful people. But, Sir, besides all these great things which your Majesty's zeal and justice have done for religion, the ruine of those Colledges established without your authority, where they were educated in errour; the ruine of those Universitys which supplied Fr[ance] and Europe with so many false teachers and pernicious doctrines, and the destruction of all theyr churches, usurp'd and maintain'd in contempt of your declarations, are without dought, Sir, the most usefull and most important of all your labours. Yes, Sir, these churches, who for theyr structure and numbers were so fatall to the State, so disadvantagious and mortall to the Church, will alwayes preserve among theyr ashes and ruines the most illustrious monument of your piety. And as the statues of those two last Roman Emperours, which were forbidden to be carryed in the publick solemnitys, did more honour to theyr names than the statues of the rest of the Emperors which were carryed before them, so in like manner it may be said that these churches, which are now no more seen, will carry your glory further to posterity than all the Monasteryes and Cathedralls founded by your predecessors since the beginning of this Monarchy: and what remaines there more to be desired, but that so favourable a conjuncture should alwayes last, that a work so happyly advanced should be brought intirely to perfection, and what success ought we not to expect from such a protectour, who has converted soe many souls in so short a time? What may wee not promis ourselves from a Prince who has been successfull in all his undertakings? Can it suit with justice, O great God! Is it to be imagined that he who alwayes triumphed when he fought against people who were onely the enemys of his State, should want your assistance intirely to subdue those that have been so often both his enemys, and thine also? How happy, Sir, would this assembly be, if, as we reap more immediatly the advantages of having hereby subdued, than the other two estates of your Kingdom, we might proportionally make our acknowlidgments for it; we might also by our own diligence, by our own instructions, and our own examples, more vigorously improve the acts of your zeal, and your devotion! But, if we cannot attain to that perfection, we might hope at last that as a greater share of honour results to us than others, so we might be better qualifi'd to proclaime your Majesty's praise by a gratitude suitable to those obligations we owe you. But it is I, Sir, whom this assembly has honour'd with this commission, and, haveing had so many greater heads to chuse, may it not be imputed to it as a kind of ignorance, that a lott is fallen upon a person solittle qualified to answer such an expectation. It is necessary, I confess, in order to acquit my self as

I ought of this great imployment, that I speak nothing but what is worthy so great a King, and nothing of which another King was ever yett thought worthy *.

Sir,—I'm now to beg your pardon for my 'young' amanuensis's bad hand, and likewise for the mistakes he may have made in the transcribing of this Speech. If time wou'd allow'd me, I should have endeavour'd to have writ it over again, so as that it might [*have*] bin somewhat more legible, &c. After you've done with it, I desire the favour of you as that you'l please to let your brother Basire have the perusal of it, if he be at Durham. I'm uncertain where he resides; having not heard from him since my coming from Durham. I'm now and always, Sir, Your's as before, R. BURTON.

For the Honourable and Reverend Dr. Granville,
Dean of Durham, at the College in Durham.

Post pd. at Cambr.

(Indorsed, "The Bp. of Vallensines Speech to ye French Kg.")

No. XXXVII.

RECEIPT FROM DEAN GRANVILLE TO ROB. DELAVAL, ESQ. FOR ALTAR PLATE LENT TO THE CATHEDRAL BY ORDER OF THE BISHOP OF DURHAM †.

I DENNIS GRANVILL, Doctor of Divinity, and Deane of Durham, doe acknowledge myselfe to have received the day of the date

* This Speech seems, not without reason, to have made a great sensation in England. Evelyn mentions in his Diary that he had been shown "the harangue which the Bishop of Valentia on the Rhone made in the name of the cleargie, celebrating the French King as if he was a god for persecuting the poore Protestants;" and expresses great surprise at the silence of the Gazettes with regard to the sufferings which had been inflicted on them.

† The date of this paper is not given, but may probably be assigned to this period. Mr. Delaval was Mayor of Durham from 1686 to 1689. He was son of Thomas Delaval, of Hetton-le-Hole, Esq., who was a younger son of Sir Ralph Delaval, of Seaton Delaval, co. Northumberland, Knt. The document is somewhat curious as showing what were then regarded as necessary appendages of the Lord's Table, even when required only as a temporary provision. It will be observed that *Candlesticks* are included. The following letter from the Bishop of Lincoln to Sancroft, who was then Dean of St. Paul's, (Tanner MSS. xliv. 42.) bears upon the subject of that particular adjunct, and also upon another *vexata quæstio* of the present day. "1668, Oct. 27. I have a greater trouble to give you, which you will receive from my secretary, Mr. Symmonds, now in London. It is to buy me an Altar-cloth, which I would have rich: one pane thereof to be

hereof, (by the order and appointment of the Right Honorable and Right Reverend Father in God, Nathanael, Lord Bishopp of Durham) from Robert Delavale, Esq., Major of the City of Durham, these pieces of gilt Altar Plate, viz., One basan, twoe candle-sticks, twoe flagons, twoe chalaces, and twoe pattens: which said pieces of plate, I the said Dennis Granville have received as aforesaid, upon loan onely, for the use of the Cathedral Church of Durham, for and untill such time as the Altar Plate belonging to the said Cathedral Church of Durham be changed. And I doe hereby promiss to re-diliver to the said Robert Delavale, or to such other person or persons as the said Right Honorable and Right Reverend Father in God shall appoint or direct, all the said pieces of plate, upon demand, safe, whole, and in as good a condition as when I received them. Witness, &c.

(Indorsed, "Mr. Deane's Receipt to Mr. Delavalle, for my Ld.'s Plate.")

No. XXXVIII.

FROM DR. BREVINT TO THE HON. BERNARD GRANVILLE*.

HONORABLE SIR,

BEFORE this poste goes away, I have onely the time to acknowledge the receipt and honor of your letter: in answer where-

cloth of gold, the other I thinke of damaske, of a sky colour, if it bee not too gawdy. Our Cathedrall hath a purple one of cloth, paned with crimson damaske. Mine I intend for solemne dayes. The length of our Altar is 7 foote, one yard high and one broad. Above the Altar 2 yards to the cornish. But how the cloth is to be fashion'd that I must leave to you. They have a pitifull paire of ordinary brasse candlesticks upon the Altar, which I am asham'd to see, and can indure no longer. Therefore I will give them a paire of faire candlesticks. Truly, Deane, my purse is empty and I cannot doe what I would. But I find in the Inventory of the Church utensills, before they were imbezil'd, a paire of copper candlesticks guilt. Why may I not give the like? If you approve of it, then I must intreate you to bespeake them accordingly. I would have them great and plaine, and double guilt. Pray inquire what such a paire will cost. GUIL. LINCOLN." A memorandum is added at the foot of this letter in Sancroft's hand: "Dr. Mapletoft gives 50*l.* for a p. of candlest. double gilt, or if need be 60*l.*" It would appear that a richer garniture for the Altar on "solemne days" was then considered perfectly admissible.

* Second surviving son of Sir Bevil Granville. He was born in 1631. After the Restoration he became one of the Grooms of the Bed-chamber to Charles II. He married the daughter and sole heiress of Cuth. Morley, Esq. of Normanby in Cleveland, by his wife Lady Katharine Leke, daughter of Francis, Earl of Scarsdale. George Granville, the poet, afterwards Lord Lansdowne, was the issue of this marriage. Bernard Granville died June 14th, 1701, in the 70th year of his age, and was buried at Lambeth.

unto, (concerning one particular) I'll assure you that what I have to dispose of, is much at your service. So if Mr. Deane payes the small debt which he owes, you may take of it what you please, part or all, and leave onely a note of it to me, in the hands of Mr. Wilson. I am sorry to heare of too much fermentation between the Bishop and the Deane. I doubt the two new Counsellours, who they say succeed Wilson, shall inflame it. However, I am sure that as soone as one of them comes in, your honest brother shall have this reflection cast upon him, that he keeps not his word, by which he engaged to the Bishop, when he was helped by him to the Deanery, that none of that name, B. should com neare him at it. *Beati pacifici.* Sir, you may . . . . . oblige a good man by a seasonable word; and I wish myselfe at Durham, to contribute to my worthy . . . . honorable friend somwhat more effectually, and more seasonably then by writing, but the poste is going, and the other poste could not find y . . at Durham. With my respects to my Lady, I am,

Your most faithfull servant,

DAN. BREVINT.

Lincoln, 11 Dec.

These, For the Honorable Mr. Bernard Grenville,
at the Deanery, Durham.

Pd. at Lincolne 3.

(Indorsed, "11 Dec. '86. Mr. Deane of Lincolne's Letter to Mr. Granville to impower me to lett him have 100*l.*")

Seal of arms . . . 3 fusils 2 and 1. In chief a lion passant guardant, impaling . . . a fess fusily.

No. XXXIX.

FROM THE HON. BERNARD GRANVILLE TO MR. WILSON.

Burrowbridge, Thursday night.

MR. WILSON,

IN the first place accept my harty thanks for your greate cevilityes at my parting with Durham, with this assurance of my redinesse to serve you on any occation being confident that you and my brother the Deane are sincerly united, according to the wishes of, Sir,

Your affectionate frend and servant,

B. GRANVILLE.

My long stay at Durham has put me under some present disappointment amongst my tennants in Cleveland .... found by those that met me at North Allerton; which makes me desire your frendship to move (if you thinke fit) Dr. Brevint to give me credite on you for the other 100*l.* which shall, with intrest, be punc . . ally repaid at the time you prefix, and at .... instance shall owne it as an additionall .....

(*Two or three concluding words torn off.*)

For Mr. Wilson,
at the Deanory, in Durham, these.

(Indorsed, "21° Dec. 1686. Mr. Bernd. Granville's Lr. About Dr. Brevint's other 100*l.*")

No. XL.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Marre *, De. 22th, '86.

SIR,

I HAVE received your 2 bills and retourne you many thanks for your caire, and shallbe glade of any occation to serve you, in towne or country, within the reach or power of,

Your affectionate servant,

B. GRANVILLE.

My services to all my good frends at Durham.

For Mr. Wm. Wilson
at Durham, these.

(Indorsed, "22° Dec. 1686. Mr. Bernd. Granville. The Rect. of my two Billa.")

Seal of arms, Grenville, with crescent for difference, in red wax.

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* Near Doncaster. "While Marr was the property of the Earl of Scarsdale, it was the occasional residence of members of the house of Granville, and especially of George Granville the poet, afterwards Lord Lansdowne. The mother of the poet was the earl's cousin-german, being the daughter of Cuthbert Morley of Normanby, Esq., by Catherine, a daughter of the first Earl of Scarsdale. It was from Marr that Lord Lansdowne wrote the letter urging his father to obtain for him a military commission, which has been thought worthy of insertion in the life of the poet by Dr. Johnson. His Myra was a lady connected with Yorkshire, a daughter of Lord Brudenel, by a Savile, a family which has produced so many ornaments of our country and nation."—Hunter's South Yorkshire, i. 362.

No. XLI.

From Dr. Brevint to the same.

Lincoln, 17 Jan. 168⅘.

Good Mr. Willson,

When I told you by my last letter, that I would leave till next summer for the use of Mr. Deane, or your owne, the money I had in your hand, I did not know Mr. Grenville would have more then one hundred of the two hundred which I then offred him. Now, since I know it is otherwise, I desire you if you can part with this other 100*l.* without too great inconveniency to Mr. Deane's, or your occasions, to accommodate his brother with it and to take his note onely for it. However, to order the businesse, if you can, so that I be not thought guilty of breaking word on either side. I am your humble servant,

Dan. Brevint.

For Mr. Bernard Granville,
to be sent Mr. Wilson.

(Indorsed, "17° Jan. '86. Dr. Brevint's Letter. To lett Mr. Granville have ye second 100*l.*")

No. XLII.

From the Hon. Bernard Granville to Mr. Wilson.

Mar, Jan. 21, '8⅘.

Mr. Wilson,

Not hearing from you according to your promise, I writ the last post to Mr. Deane of Lincolnne, on the same subject of my letter to you from Burrow-Bridg, and Mr. Deane's obliging answeare is contained in the inclosed to your selfe, but if his intended favor to me cannot be done without clashing with my brother the Deane's appointments, I will submit myne to his, being resolved he shall never suffer in his spiritualls or tem-

poralls, if reliefe or ease can be given him to either of them in court or country, by

Your affectionate servant,

B. GRANVILLE.

For Mr. Wm. Wilson,
at the Deanory, in Durham.

(Indorsed, "21° Jan. '86. Mr. Granville's Letter about ye second 100*l.*")

No. XLIII.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Mar, Jany. 27th, '86.

SIR,

I RECEIVED yours of the 25th with assurance of your kind intentions to me in relation to Mr. Deane of L[incoln's] other hundred pound. Had you given the intimation you doe now, I had stopt any farther suite in the matter to the D[ean], but my not hearing from you according to your promise made me renew the request my selfe, since the D[ean] of L[incoln] assuring me by letter had he bin acquainted with my desires of the other 100*l.* early enough, he would have ordred it accordingly, and not have directed all to Mr. Deane of Durham's occations or yours, as he did: then I will appeale to your selfe whither I relyed not intirely on your frendship to propose it by my letter from Borough Bridge, this I must confesse gave me cause to resent it with doubte of your frendship to me, since I had freely open'd to you my disappointments in my passadge hither. I desire what is past may be forgot, and that Mr. Wilson will beleeve me as sinceare to him as I profest my selfe at Durham, and under his owne roofe, at his most obliging entertaynment, for I know noe man more capable of serving effectually our good D[ean] of Durham, under all his circumstances, than your selfe, and I am as confident you will doe it; and since he suspects you and me to be inclinable to trimming, we must resolve absolutely to abandon it, to confirme him in an intire beliefe of our integrity to him. You desir'd me a litle to explayne what I meant by sticking to him in his spiritualls as well as temporalls; 'tis that I am of the opinion he is in the right, concerning the late unhappy dispute between him and his Bishop,

which, if my brother Bathe doe not setle that pointe to both there ease and quiet, I will serve my brother to the utmost of my power, if any unadvised men (this syde or the other syde Trent) should still ad fuell to the flame: and then, as to his temporalls, I will never neither desert him when he requires my assistance or service, and I am of the opinion you will doe the same, which will be agreate inducement for me to serve you, if at any time you judge it within the reach or power of him in whose esteeme you are, and remayne,

Your affectionate frend and servant,

B. GRANVILLE.

I have sent according to the intimation in your letter a note for the hundred pound to my brother the Deane. If it be full to your satisfaction, be pleas'd to pay it him for my use, since he declares to me that at this time he has noe intention to make use of Mr. D[ean] of L[incoln's] money, with which I owne your additionall obligation.

For Mr. Wm. Wilson,
at Durham.

(Indorsed, "27 Jan. '86. Mr. Ber. Granville. About Dr. Brevint's second 100*l.* and order to pay it to Mr. Deane.")

No. XLIV.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Mar, Feb. 19th, '86.

SIR,

I HAVE received this post from my brother 2 bills for Dr. Brevint's other hundred pound he has bin pleasd to oblige me in the lending; and do retourne you many thanks for your kindnesse to me in this perticuler, and the trouble it has occationed you, and shall be glade of an opportunity to make you a retourne of my respect and service, in courte or country, when you shall comand it from

Your affectionate frend and servant,

B. GRANVILLE.

Mr. Wilson.

My humble service to Sir Raph Cole* when you see him, and perticulirly to Mr. Sherriffe Speereman †, whom ellse you please of our good frends at Durham.

For Mr. Wm. Wilson,
at Durham, these.

(Indorsed, "19° Feb. '86. Mr. Granville's Letter. Dr. Brevint's second 100*l.* The Receipt of it.")

No. XLV.

From the same to the same.

Mar, Feb. 26th, '8½.

Sir,

Before the receipt of your's this post, I had retourn'd you my thanks for the hundred pound you had paid to my brother for my use, and shall be glade of any occation to doe you service; and now I am to give you a request from my w[ife] to direct Mr. Prowde to send cairefully the inclos'd, and that you will receave from us both our thanks for your cevilitys to Mr. Errington, who writes us that since we left Durham he has bin kindly received both by the Deane and your selfe, and for the coun-

* Of Brancepeth Castle, member for the city of Durham in 1678, 1679, son of Sir Nicholas Cole, the first baronet. This family rose almost *per saltum* from the smithy to the baronetage. James Cole of Gateshead, *smith*, was father to Nicholas (great grandfather to Sir Ralph), whose brother Thomas died worth an immense sum in bills, bonds, and mortgages. They were disclaimed by the Heralds in 1615. The grandfather of the member, Ralph Cole, Esq., Mayor of Newcastle, 1633, purchased Brancepeth Castle, and his grandson, Sir Ralph, represented the city in this and the following parliament. Sir Ralph Cole commanded the Durham regiment of militia in 1685, and he is numbered by Walpole in his catalogue of painters. He was taught the art by Vandyke, and is said to have retained Italian painters in his house to the injury of his fortune. He died Aug. 9th, 1704, and was buried in the family vault at Brancepeth. The family fell as suddenly as it rose, like a bright exhalation in the evening, and the grand-children of Sir Ralph died in landless poverty. Sir Mark, the last baronet (grandson of Sir Ralph), was buried in Crossgate, at the expense of his cousin, Sir Ralph Milbanke.—Sir C. Sharp's Knights and Burgesses of the County and City of Durham, p. 31.

† John Spearman, Gent., bapt. Jan. 16th, 1645, many years Under-Sheriff of the co. Pal. of Durham, and a skilful Antiquary. Ob. Sept. 21, 1703, aged 58. M. I. Abbey Yard, Durham.—Surtees' Hist. Durham, i. 95.

tenancing our workes at Muggleswicke you doe perticulerly oblige

Your affectionate servant,

B. GRANVILLE.

All our services to the good Deane, and where else you please.

For Mr. Wm. Wilson,
at his house in Durham.
Fr. B. Granville.

(Indorsed, "Feb. 26, 1686. Mr. Bernd. Granville Lr. The Receipt of ye 2d 100*l*.")

No. XLVI.

FROM DEAN GRANVILLE TO THOS. CRADOCK, ESQ. OFFICIAL.

London, June 7th, 1687.

MR. OFFICIAL,

IT will be more acceptable to you (I hope) to give you an account of my perfect recovery, and that I am at present in as good health (I thank God) as ever I was in my life, then it would have bin at my arrival to informe you of my indisposition; which proved to be a pleurisie, (as Dr. Needom told me) but with seasonable bleeding and a clyster soon past over.

As to the busines of my Jurisdiction, I went yesterday to Doctors' Commons, stated my case, and shall have the best judgments thereon that can be gotten there by tomorrow night. For God sake, do your part, faithfully to support and maintaine my Jurisdiction, by all legall and justifiable wayes, and I do assure you I shall not fail to support and maintain you in all such proceedings.

My lord of Durham going out of town before I got abroad, I met not with his lordship till last night. He received me very kindely, and invited me to dine with his lordship this day. I shall not think fit to say any thing as yet of busines to his lordship. As soon as I do my friends shall hear further from me.

I thank you for all your kindenesses at my departure, especially for your courage in rejecting the allegation. I am astonish't at their proceedings, in citing you and my Register. I

hope they will see their error, and become convinc'd that we are not to be frighted out of our certain rights.

I was sorely attaqued at York, and all along the road, by the voters for *non-addresses to the King*, but (I thank God) held my own very stoutly, and convinced most, that, at least in my case, coming from my lawfull Superiour, it ought to be don. You have don very well in Richmond shire, and you will finde a great many other places at last follow our example.

Methinks the opposers of Addresses * seem a little crest-fallen. I was told before I came to town, that I should be sorely teased by Clergy of all degrees when I came to London; but I have taken all occasions to appear before the chief grandees, and yet not one (tho' I know they are displeased) would begin with me.

I have ventur'd to give some of them (tho' in a high station) a touch at parting, (viz.) asking them these short questions:— How it came to pass that the London Clergy should not only for 20 years be more deficient in conformity then we in the Bishoprick of Durham, but also now in point of gratitude to the King?

2dly. How they dare (since there was once *a fatal vote of non-addresses to his Majestie*) come so near thereto in this critical conjuncture?

3dly. That if they at last be constrain'd to address, as well as we, whether they will have more reason to laugh at us, or wee at them?

In short, I cannot discern any thing very substantial said by those who talk most on the topick, neither can I discover as yet in the Oxford Reasons †, which make a great noise, and are industriously dispersed to hinder addressing. It is likely that you will meet with them in the countrey: possibly the tribe which sent about namelesse letters to prevent us, will labour to divert others by such kind of reasonings. I doe not conceive them worthy of the University whose name they bear; for there are somethings odd enough in them, very provoking to the King, and too contemptuously spoken of the Bishop.

I could wish that those Bishops which set the thing first on foot had not been over hasty in sending it forth, before they had consulted others of their brethren. But since the thing is done, I am still of the mind that it will be a falser step in us not to follow our leaders, than it was in them.

* Thanking the King for his memorable Declaration of Indulgence of the 4th April, 1687.

† Parker, Bishop of Oxford, tried hard to induce his Clergy to address the King, but without success. They gave their reasons in writing to the Bishop. It is to these, probably, that Dean Granville alludes.

As concerning Fishlake I must give you the same answer that I give others. Wee have establish't a rule in the disposal of our livings. First, to provide for the members of our Body: 2ndly, the Dean and Prebends' Curates: 3rdly, the Viccars of our own Jurisdiction: and I wish all persons did know this our resolution, that they might not put in for our livings, which are too few and too mean to accomodate those that doe depend on us. In a word, there being never a Petty-Cannon that I can foresee will put in for it, of those who have served the Church long enough to pretend to a living, I have already nominated Maurice Lisle*, and desire my brethren to concurre with me in the same. He has been a great while a Preist, and unprovided for, and has received late promises from the Church to be kind to him, upon another vacancy.

I hear a good report of the person you intercede for, from Dr. Gower. I believe him a hopefull young man, but yet all the while he is but a young man, and may stay, for any thing I can discover, till his seniors are provided for. If he expects præferment from the Church of Durham, let him first be a member of the Body, which I shall be willing to admit him to be upon a vacancy, provided he can make it appear that he is qualified for the same.

My brother Granville, and all his generation, and all my relations, I thank God, are in good health; several of whom give you their humble service. This is all at present but that I am,

Your affectionate freind and servant,

DENIS GRANVILLE.

My service to Mrs. Cradock. One Mr. Harrison, who saies he is your nephew, being outed of my Lord Dartmouth's Regiment, came to my brother, and desired him to speak in his behalfe to his lordship, who for his uncle's sake will serve him in the best manner he is capable, this camp[aign.]

* Maurice Lisle became Vicar of Fishlake accordingly, and appears from the Registers to have remained there until 1695. He died Vicar of Kildale in 1719. Soon after his coming to Fishlake he had a son born to him, whom he names *Denys*, with a grateful feeling, doubtless, towards the Dean, by whose patronage he had been placed there. At the Visitation of 1691 we find him presenting "John Rhodes, writing master, for teaching school upon the 30th of January, and for publick teaching in the free schoole upon Candlemas day, in time of Divine Service, forenoone and afternoone, keeping the youths from coming to be catechized at the church, and by boldly boasting that he will doe this in spite of the Minister, and that he values not a presentment, and hereby hath made the young people neglect coming to be catechized on holydayes as they used to doe." This celebration of Divine Service upon Holydays, both morning and afternoon, in the church of a small country parish, and the attention evidently paid to catechizing, are neither of them unworthy of note, as indications of the practice of churchmen at that period.

No. XLVII.

From the same to . . . . . Lumley.*

Sedgefield, Mar. 19, 168¾.

Sir,

Hoping this will find you in condition of health enough to consider of the inclosed paper of reasons and to write your thoughts, I do beseech you to send me your judgment thereof by Joseph Smith †, whom I have commanded to bring me an account of your's and Mrs. Lumley's condition and welfare.

The queries which I hold in the affirmative you may consider of, if you have a mind, and send me a resolution at leisure. But I expect your judgment in writing by Joseph tomorrow on my paper of reasons, and I desire you to be free with me, and let me know whether they be sound and solid for my present complyance with the King and Bishop.

I can be contented to die for, but will never rebell, or resist my lawfull Prince, to save the religion of the Church of England. But men generally now seem of another mind. People are inclined to rebell, and Priests disposed to resist, but call it non-compliance, and neither of them methinks think it a crime, if it be on the account of the Protestant religion. I cannot bring my conscience to commit what I believe to be a crime, a present and the worst evil, to avoid future evils, many of which are only created by the fears and jealousies of people. Nor will I hough-band, or so much as hamper or fetter my Soveraign,

* This letter is found on one of the fly leaves of Dr. Rawlinson's copy of Dean Granville's Farewell-Sermons, &c. in the Bodleian. It is similarly transcribed, with some slight verbal differences, in the copy in the British Museum, which has the book-plate of Joseph Smith, LL.D., nephew to John Smith, D.D., Prebendary of Durham, and formerly Minor Canon, who has been already mentioned, p. 204. It is stated therein to have been copied by "Cousin George Smith, of Burnhall." From a memorandum at the beginning of the transcript in each of these volumes, it may be inferred that the original letter was bound up in the copy which belonged to Mr. Baker of St. John's.

It was evidently addressed to a Mr. Lumley. Who he was the Editor has been unable to discover. Probably he was one of the "young clergymen" to whom the Dean propounded his "Queries." See *antè*, p. 93.

† A younger brother of John Smith, D.D., above named. Joseph Smith afterwards became Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, and was father of the Joseph Smith mentioned in the foregoing note.

God's deputy, to incapacitate him to hurt either my life, estate, or religion. I'le leave them in his power, as God has done: if the King goes beyond his commission, he must answer for it to God, but I'le not deface any one line thereof. Let my liege and dread Soveraign intend to do what he pleases to me or mine, yet my hand shall never be upon him, so much as to cut of the skirt of his garment.

In this Magna Charta aim'd at by the King for establishing his Declaration, our religion will be established in the first place, and others incapacitated to hurt us as much as we to hurt them. And if we can't be put into better circumstances without resisting the King in lawful commands, there is no remedy, but Christian patience. A half loaf is better than no bread.

I am now much censured at present, but I censure my censurers more for their semi-loyalty, which is that which now portends most dreadfully. Let us do our duty, and leave God to maintain his own cause. *Never do evil that good may come of it.* I rest, with my service to Mrs. Lumley,

Your very affectionate friend and brother,

DENIS GRANVILLE.

Mr. Woodmas begins to have some odd notions of a limited supremacy.

[This gentleman was Vicar of Bedlington, near Morpeth, in Northumberland, and wrote notes on St. Chrysostom, in 8 volumes in folio *.]

No. XLVIII.

FROM THE SAME TO MR. WILSON.

St. Mark, 1688.

MR. REGISTER,

UNDERSTANDING that the Subdean and Sir G[eorge] Wh[eler] have had some hot disputes, I have chosen (as the best expedient for the composing of the difference) to write them a joint letter, which I desire you to deliver with your own hands, at some convenient time and place, when they are together; or that you

* This note respecting Mr. Woodmas is added by the transcriber of the letter in the Museum copy.

would call them aside to that end and purpose. I have shew'd my letter to the Bishop, who did well approve therof, and of my designe, and who had received some information out of the country, of the occasion.

Mr. Subdean writes about some timber for the Vicarage-house at Muggleswick. The Deane of Lincolne is come to towne, so that there are three prebendaries here. I shall consult them about it, and then returne an answer.

I heare nothing from Capt. Richardson more; wherefore I hope hee is satisfied; and I shall take as much care as I can, not to prevent any of your methods of payment. But my Curates' sallaries must necessarily bee taken care for. They want money, I understand, and cannot forbeare their quarterage due at Lady-day. Mr. Kingford writes with great importunity, and mentions the necessities of the poor; which I feare in my long absence have been neglected. I desire you therfore, if possible, to pay Kingford Lady-day salary; and to destribute something to the poor.

I rest your affectionate,

D. GRENVILLE.

When Luke receives a note under my hand for my colt I have given my Lady Hussay, hee may deliver it.

For Mr. William Wilson,
Register to the Dean and Chapter of the Church of Durham, Durham.

(Indorsed, "25 Apr. '85. Mr. Deane. Sr. Geo. Wheler's, Mr. M. To pay ye Curates. To deliver ye horse to Dr. B. A promiss not interrupt my paymts.")

No. XLIX.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Easington, Oct. 29th, 1688.

MR. WILSON,

I RECEIVED a letter from my lord Bishop in answer to mine, and I must necessarily discourse with you againe, and have a copy of the Act of Chapter, before Tuesday's post. If you cannot therefore come over to mee this evening, I shall not faile to goe in tomorrow, and bee there, I hope, near on 8 of the clock in the morning; by which houre I would have you ready to come

to mee. I heare Mr. Graham * is going away againe (tho' I did not so much as see him on Saturday) but I pray secure his consent to the late proceeding before hee goes.

If you cannot come over againe, signify to Mr. Bowes that he must send over this evening, by Luke, my gelding for me to come in tomorrow. I rest,

Your very affectionate freind,

DENIS GRANVILLE.

You need [*not*] mention my coming; least unnecessary applications steall away my time from my buisnesse of moment.

I pray send me 6 if not a dozen bottells of claret by Luke. I like not Simpson's claret. Bee you my taster.

These, For Mr. William Wilson, at his house in Durham.

No. L.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Sunday, Nov. 25, 1688, 5 in the morning.

MR. REGISTER,

THO' I declared to you last night, that I was in charity with Dr. Bagshaw †, and could exercise an act of discipline, before a Sacrament, without breach of my Christian duty, (as well as a Judge pronounce sentence) yet the better to remove this reproach, (cast on the Deane by a member in unbecoming manner) I do once more declare to you, our publick officer, (and I pray take notice of the same for my justification) that I am in Christian charity, and beare no malice to him or his; but shall bee ready to do him or them, all the kindnesses or civilities which they shall bee capable to receive from mee. But let not

* William Graham, D.D., son of Sir George Graham of Netherby, and Prebendary of the first stall in Durham Cathedral. He was also Rector of Whickham, in co. Pal., and successively Dean of Carlisle and of Wells. He died in 1711, and was buried at Kensington.

† Henry Bagshaw, D.D., Prebendary of the 9th stall, and Rector of Houghton-le-Spring, where he died, 30th Dec. 1709. Notwithstanding his turbulent demeanour, which appears to have given the Dean such umbrage, a letter of Sir George Wheler's is extant which records his liberal and generous conduct towards Dr. Granville in his banishment.—Surtees' Hist. Durham, i. 171.

him, or them who shall support him in his contempt of mee, or of my authority, thinke I will be soe unjust to the dignity of a Deane, as allwayes to beare such affronts, as you have seen often given mee. No, I am resolved to give some bold strokes before I leave my station, (which God knowes how soon I may do) to make reparation to my Office, and person, which I have long suffer'd to bee trampled on. Desiring you, and every member of this Cathedrall, according to your duties, to support my honour, and assert my authority, on all occasions which shall bee offer'd, I rest,

Your affectionate friend,

DENIS GRANVILLE.

For Mr. Wilson.

No. LI.

FROM THE SAME TO THE REV. DR. GREY*.

Sunday, Nov. 25, 1688.

REVEREND BROTHER,

MY brother Bagshaw accusing mee last night (when I exercised an act of discipline on him) of uncharitablenesse, and unfitnesse for the Sacrament, I do take occasion thus under my hand to declare to you, as I have done to others, that I beare no malice or evill will to him or his, but do heartily forgive him all his past rudenesses and contempts, which have been many. But I would have him know that Christian charity doth allow a Governour to exercise his authority, not only in reproving and admonishing, but executing the law in the severest manner, when the nature of the crime deserves itt. Dr. Bagshaw told mee rudely last night, that hee was my elder, but I thanke God hee is not my seniour in this Church, nor my superiour, but shall bee governed by mee. You are, I'le confesse, not only my seniour but seniour of the Colledge, and therefore ought to have respect paid you by us all.

If you, who are a noble gentleman, chance to be a litle cholerick (like old Bishop Cosins †) I can passe it by and love you

* Robert Grey, D.D., brother of Lord Grey of Wark. He was Prebendary of the eighth stall and Rector of Bishop Wearmouth, to both which preferments he was collated in the year 1652. He died 9th July, 1704, aged 94, and was buried at Bishop Wearmouth.

† Bishop Cosin's declining years were weighed down with painful and habitual disease; and there can be no difficulty in accounting, without much derogation from the

never the worse. But I'le no more suffer Dr. Bagshaw, or his supporter to trample on mee, or his brethren. Begging your prayers for mee, and beseeching Almighty God to have mercy upon the King, Church, and Kingdome, in this time of distresse, I rest, Reverend Brother,

Your very affectionate brother and servant,

DENIS GRANVILLE.

I send this only that you may justifye mee, if there bee occasion, in point of charity.

For the Rev. Dr. Grey, These.

(Indorsed, "25 Nov. 1688. Dean Granville's Lre. to Dr. Grey complayning of Dr. Bagshaw, &c.")

No. LII.

Tanner MSS. xxvii. 138.

FROM THE SAME TO ARCHBISHOP SANCROFT.

MY LORD,

THO' I am come into England, and desire to depart incognito, yet I conceive it not only a great indecorum, but breach of duty, to conceale my being here from your Grace; which doth ingage me in this present presumption of disturbing you with this letter to informe you thereof, and humbly to beg your Grace's benediction, having the happiness of a good conveiance by a fit bearer, (my nephew George Granville *) every way qualified for the delivery of the same, being one of those few to whom I have discovered myself, and who can give true information of mee (to obviate reports concerning me which may have flown to Lambeth and elswhere) as well as intimations from me. If my application to your Grace doth render me nowise serviceable to you, (which I should rejoice it might do) it will (I am sure) be beneficiall to myself, and effectuall enough (I hope) to keep up my interest in the devotions of your chappell,

genuine excellence of his character, for a little vein of harshness and asperity which pervades his private correspondence, and frequently mingles itself, in a manner sufficiently strange and quaint, amongst sentiments of a very generous and elevated nature.—Surtees' Hist. Durham, i. cxii.

* Afterwards Lord Lansdowne.

where I am present in spirit, especially when you are at the Altar, and, which I dare say of few other places, desiring the orthodox frequenters thereof, both at the great Festivall and hereafter, to exercise so much charity as to remember and commend to God one who, tho' ever weak and feeble in all capacitys, hath been owned by Heaven, and supported by the Divine Grace hitherto, to withstand all the blasts, etc. that he hath met with from any point of the compas, by land or sea, at home or abroad; and who is resolved, by the assistance of that Spirit which bloweth where it listeth, and often uses weak instruments, etc. to retain, live and die in, those honest notions and principles of the Church of England which hee suck'd in almost with his milk, and were afterwards distill'd and fix'd in him by some lucky masters, now with God, and more especially by his ever honor'd and venerable patron (whose memory I know will ever be pretious with your Grace) that first brought him into that Cathedral Church, (where he was blest with your Grace's acquaintance) from which (when most absent in body) he hath never departed in affection, nor withdrew, so long as he could retaine his innocence, which will in due time amply appeare. In the meanwhile, my lord, all I desire and aim at is to satisfy my Metropolitan (I dare own no other) that, since I am upheld in my present zeale by his renowned example, I can, and hope I still shall, live above the example of any that contradict it: even that of my beloved friends Dr. B.[everidge] and Sir G. Wh.[eler], at whom I do much admire. *God strengthen those that stand, etc. and raise up them that fall, etc.*

I shall, my lord, give you no farther trouble than in this low ebb of pure unsophisticated devotion (when primitively episcopal blessings are so rare) to repeat the request for your benediction, and continuance of your prayers, upon all Christian accounts, etc. and particularly that God will be pleased to accept of my honest intentions, &c. in separating from those of my brethren (who did begin to defile the priesthood, pollute his house, and adulterate his worship) and remember mee for good, not according to my merit, (I confess myself not worthy to carry out the dung of God's sacrifices) but according to the greatnesse of his mercy.

Your goodness (my lord) in such a charitable condescension, will at present revive and comfort my poor weather-beaten soule, and eternally oblige, My Lord, Your Grace's ever faithful and unalterably obedient servant,

DENIS GRANVILLE.

April 20th, 1690.
Easter Eve.

Postscript.—Whether it be lawful or expedient for me to approach nearer to your Grace (after which I have great longing) doth depend solely on your Grace's wisdom and determination.

No. LIII.

Tanner MSS. cccclix. 72.

FROM THE SAME TO DR. WILLIAM BEVERIDGE, ARCHDEACON OF COLCHESTER, &c.

REVEREND AND WORTHY BROTHER,

THERE was nothing touched my soul more sensibly that regarded my own particular, and the late deplorable defection of the Church of England Clergy, than being depriv'd of so great a treasure as the friendship of so pious, so conformable, and so learned a Divine as yourself; whose eminent example, edifying conversation, and communicative disposition, I esteem'd as the greatest happiness of my life; and which taught me so many good and holesom lessons of pietie and devotion, for the better regulating of my life and offices: that as I am troubled above measure for my loss, so am I more astonish'd at your complying, than at all other men's.

After the decease of those venerable prelates, who initiated me into the Church, I comforted myself in that great blessing which Providence had bestow'd on me, to supply the want of that, (I mean your acquaintance) since I discern'd the good order and zeal of those great churchmen live in you; the fruits of which had rendered your congregation (I think no ecclesiastic of your citie will be offended if I say it) the most exemplary in London.

When I was censur'd, and somewhat reproach'd, by any of my negligent brethren, (which was often my fate) for thinking myself obliged to discharge and execute my offices according to rule, rather than by the opinion of people, (which they call *singularity*) I supported myself that I had both the example and approbation of one great and good man to countenance me in the performance of the chief and most important duties of my calling, even in the citie of London; where conformity was more difficultly practicable, as well as more necessary, than in any part of the nation.

As I had the honour to receive Holy Orders with you, from

the hands of Bishop Sanderson, in the year 1661, so labored I, after you appear'd in publick, to imitate, as well as I was able, your pietie and diligence in your indefatigable attendance on your ministerial function; and was proud to shelter myself under your fame and reputation; and that all men that know me might discern I did industriously endeavour, as much as I could, to go the same way that the renowned Dr. B. did in all publick declarations of our duty to God and the King. And till the fatal year of '88, when we were unfortunately put to our *legit aut non legit*, I do not think that the most busy observer of either of our actions could discover that we did, in the matters of greatest moment, go two waies: which, when we did, it was soon taken notice of, and not long before I heard of it, not a little to my disturbance and mortification, and the weak'ning of my authority.

I could wish I had been the only sufferer by your change of measures, whom I did once judge as strictly loial to the King, as you were conformable to the order of the Church: and that a multitude of Divines and others had not been overborn by so powerful a precedent as the practice of so judicious and pious (though popular) a Divine, that was deservedly belov'd, and had in esteem by all that knew him, or had mett with his works in the nation.

How many well meaning and silly sheep throughout the 3 Kingdoms have been led astray, by following the steps of their pastors, is sad matter of consideration. And how many eminent men's works have been render'd less, if not wholly ineffectual by the authors' contradicting your own doctrines, affords also much ground of grief to every truly pious soul. And that you, whom I had in so great admiration, and whom I did believe qualified to do as good service to the Church of God as any man in the nation, should be accessory to the wounding of the religion of the Church of England (nay indeed the whole Christian Church) by a scandalous submission to an odious usurpation, doth overwhelm me with sorrow and vexation.

I begin now to have a suspition of all men, and dread how I contract so intimate friendship any more, as I was honour'd with a while by you, and another eminent and learned Divine*, whose writings concerning the Church Liturgie had been very useful to me, and justly esteem'd throughout the Kingdom, and who had been also very kind, and usefull in assisting me with his advice, &c., but hath at last proclaim'd to all the world that he lov'd my benefices better than he did my person. But such

* Dr. Comber.

injustice, God be prais'd, none can charge on you. Though your temper permitts you, it seems, to renounce your allegiance to your lawful Prince, and to swear obedience to an usurper, (any reason for doing whereof I cannot yet discover;) yet you dare not, it seems, enter into the possessions of another man; the intelligence whereof I receive with much joy and satisfaction *.

This makes me hope that what you have done, you have done in integrity of heart; and if so, I persuade myself that the omniscient God will be so merciful to you as to open your eyes that you may in due season discern your error, and the evill consequences thereof, and endue you with grace and courage (as you are well read in) to imitate S. Augustin; even openly to confess and retract what you have done to the injury of your own soul, and the betraying of others, not only in your own flock and jurisdiction, but throughout all England; since such an example (as that of Dr. Beveridge) ought greatly to sway the people of the nation.

This were a great and noble undertaking, to open and clear the way to so good a work as the reducing misled and seduced people: and there is no man I can think of, that can be the first mover in this Christian enterprise with more probable success than you; who are qualified with great learning, courage, piety and prudence, indefatigable in the execution of your office; and of so exemplary a modesty and humility as to be belov'd of all that know you, and of a multitude that never saw you.

Leap forth then, in the name of God, and lead on your brethren, (and I am perswaded that a considerable number will follow you) in this excellent attempt to redeem our oppress'd fellow subjects out of an insupportable slavery, spirituall and temporal: the groaning under which renders them an object of pitie, and the willing submitting thereto the scorn and contempt of all Europe.

I conjure you by all that is sacred, faithfully to consult God and your own soul, and not to give ear to flesh and blood in this matter, which is likely to suggest to you as false means and courses to support you in your present evil way, as they did at first to draw you thereinto, under colour of preservation of our religion, which hath been more deeply wounded by the unjustifiable proceedings of the late pretended champions thereof, than it ever was by all its enemies; or could have been by the

* It will be remembered that Beveridge refused the see of Bath and Wells, of which he believed Ken was still the lawful Bishop.

Pope and all his conclave, if they had jointly busied their heads together 7 years purposely to destroy it. Let no secular considerations deterr you (such as deprivation, imprisonment, or the like) in prosecuting a cause which will make the loss of a head a most desireable felicity; and which will require (if the usurpation should longer last) the shedding (I fear) of some ecclesiastic bloud, as a seed necessary before we can expect any considerable crop of truth and righteousness to spring up in our Israel. There have so many false principles been insinuated into clergy and laity, so much unsound doctrine vented, both in the pulpit and by the press, and such hypocritical paint and varnish put upon the true; that there is no faith or preaching like to be victorious in England, during the present tyranny and oppression, unless it be accompanied with the zeal and resolution of martyrs, and confessors. Nameless writings, and underhand endeavours to restore the King, though never so excellent in their kind, will not effect the great work now incumbent on every true lover of Church and country. They will be still invalidated by the incureable diseases of England, jealousy and suspition; and concluded, though never so well writt by our own, the contrivings of some cunning Jesuite, who transforms himself into an angel of light, and designs thereby only the introduction of popery. Which fancy, being once imbibed, and got into the pate of the multitude, their ears will be shut to the preaching of an angel from heaven.

I have lately printed this, and some other small papers, to provoke you and some other friends, whom I do not despair of, to do your dutie; conceiving that notwithstanding the great sin you have been guilty of, in taking an unlawful oath, and the scandal you have thereby given to all that knew you; that there is however at the bottom the root of sinceritie, as will incline you to open your eyes to the truth, when 'tis brought before them; assuring myself that you have humility enough to confess openly all faults, whose concealment will be pernicious to the souls of your brethren, as the disguising of so abominable a sin as perjury certainly is, and ever will be esteem'd by all rightly inform'd and disinteressed good men.

I have had great experience of your meekness, charity and condescension; and truly have greatly admir'd to find so much of those graces abound in you in an age when those vertues were so rare among the generality, who called themselves Christians, that they seem'd with truth to be almost fled away from the world. Otherwise, I should not have undertaken so bold a task, as to be your monitor, since I must acknowledge myself very unworthy of being more than your disciple. I am not

ignorant of your great qualifications, and cannot pretend to equal you in any of them. All that I shall vie with you in, is *zeal for the truth, and loialty to my Soverain.* And this puts me under a necessary obligation to endeavour the reduction of so good and considerable a friend, whom, if I cannot restore by my advice or persuasions, I shall never cease to endeavour it by my praiers; and if you be powerfully and irresistibly attack'd by such a violence as it is lawful to use against Heaven itself, you ought to take it in good part from

Your faithful and affectionate friend and brother,

DENIS GRANVIL.

From S. Germain's,
July 1st, 1692.

No. LIV.

FROM THE SAME TO . . . . . *

Corbeil, Nov. 20, 1702.

So soon as I receiv'd on the ninth instant yours of the first of last month, at my return home, with a seasonable supply of 20*l.* I hasten'd away a letter of thanks calculated for the view of the administrator, as you hinted, and written as well as I could in evill humour and circumstances; and I design'd very speedily after to have written you for your own eye a large one with reflections on a multitude of things which much trouble my mind, relating to my present and future circumstances, as well as past ones. But having but lately recover'd my eyes spoil'd by over imploying, and lost my secretary, for . . . . expedition the first day after my arrival, when I had more business of writing on my hands than I could go thorow, I have delay'd post after post, (having you know too dilatory a nature) till this day, when I set myself in a posture to write you a terrible long letter, with minutes before me containing matter enough to fill three or four sheets, and had very likely occasion'd you the trouble of perusing at least a couple. But I am likely to be prevented, by a new infirmity I begin to feel in my body, from finishing and sending

* This letter is transcribed upon the fly leaves of the copies of the Dean's Farewell-Sermons, &c., in Bodley's Library and the British Museum. To the transcript in the latter repository a memorandum is prefixed stating that the copy was made by Mr. Smith of Burnhall from the original written by the Dean.

you one whole one. I do just now begin to feel a pain in my reins which much disturbs me. I hope it is only a touch of the rheumatism, occasion'd by bending my body after sitting long at my pen, and will soon pass away. But if it should prove instead of a new, an old distemper, I mean the sciatica, which I had about 15 days three years ago, it will much afflict me, having no man servant nor mankind in my house with me, my family, which last winter, with my self, during my restraint, consisted of 5 persons, (Mr. Cook and son, an old and a young woman,) being reduced to one, that is to say, my young woman, whom I have bred up from a child, who will perchance be put to her trumps more than I, if my indisposition come to a sciatica, and disable me to turn in my bed, as my last fit did, and created trouble enough to my old woman and my man Jonas, assisted with the gentlewoman of the house, when I did eat or drink. For it is a mighty modest shamefac'd girl, tho' she will readily do, I know, all that lies in her power to help me. But if it please God that it should be so, my comfort is, that I live among kind neighbours, very charitable and ready to do good offices to my body, and to my soul too, which is charity mistaken and more than I desire; and which is at present a great burden to me, and the heaviest I undergo. For tho' I have hitherto escap'd this troublesome application very well from the priests of the town, who are civil well bred people, no bigots; yet since their gaining a certain great lord *, whereof I suppose Mr. Cook has inform'd you, to their party, they begin to fall upon me poor man very unmercifully, hoping that since they have overborn the chief laick, they shall over power the first ecclesiastick. This occasions me to write, tho' I will be drawn into no formal dispute, beyond my strength, and robs me of much time; for I cannot be so rude as not to return any answer at all to the letters and papers they send me with civility and good meaning, however their zeal be ill grounded; and proves too a kind of persecution, as Father Touchet's was to you, about 30 years since, at St. James's. I do therefore, for the honour of my family, descended from their noble founder and benefactor, like a gentleman receive their visits as well as papers, behaving myself, remembring I have a sword by my side, like a cavalier rather than Divine, thrusting by their subtle logical argumentations as well as I can, having never been good at such kind of fighting, and besides, this being no countrey for it. I shew an

* The Dean no doubt alludes to the conversion of the Earl of Middleton to the Roman Catholic faith, which took place not very long before the date of this letter. The influence of that nobleman at St. Germain's, after that event, became almost unbounded.

aversion to all disputes, and take no poste willingly but that of an inquirer, asking questions; and if they let me alone here, I am hard enough for them all, since a fool can ask more questions than a wise man can answer. This intercourse that is unhappily begun betwixt me and Roman priests here and elsewhere, is not like I am afraid to conclude, though I add no fuel to their fire, but labour to extinguish their zeal. And my trouble is much increas'd by a necessity of keeping copies of all I write; and to copy fair my own writings, which are horridly blotted and interlin'd, is death to me, or at best it extreamly hurts my eyes. This, with the personal application by way of letters, which hath been long incumbent on me, to my scatter'd, scambling, and sometimes scabby sheep, together with other necessary writing, relating to my study, as well as temporall affairs, creates an absolute necessity, for the comfort of my life and preservation of my health, to procure some person to live with me, that is able to discharge the office of an amanuensis, and understands French and English, as well as Latin, and becomes more necessary to me than to most, because I have an incurable infirmity of prolixity in all, even my best writings, if any deserve the name; and to analize and abridge would be alone great service to me. Your godson, as well as my old amanuensis Dr. Smith, had a special talent of doing this, I . . . . . .

(*The rest is wanting.*)

*** This I presume was to Sr. Geo. Wheeler.—I am not sure.—*Transcriber's note.*

No. LV.

A QUÆRITUR IN FORO DOLI.

I DARE affirme that all bonds of resignation, taken by any patron upon bestowing of a living, are (tho^x possibly allowed of by the common law) very ill things, and of mischievous consequence to the Church, and that I shall never advise any to give or take them.

I dare affirme that no clergy-man, or layman, who had the disposall of any prebend or living by grant or promise from any Bishop, can (being patron for that time) bargaine for any sum of money, or the loane of any sum of money, or any other advantage, for himselfe or freinds; but that the said prebend or

living ought to be bestowed upon a deserving man freely, and that all returnes which the person (on whom the preferment is bestowed) shall make by way of gratitude, ought likewise to be free and voluntary, without any previous contract or engagement.

I dare owne to all the world, that I looke upon such indirect dealings, in the disposall of Church preferments, (wherein I thank God, I never yet had any hand) to be so ill in themselves, and so injurious to the Church of England, that rather than approve of the same, or be any way accessary thereunto, I would continue in the lamentable condition I am in, tho' I would undergo the rack for some time, rather than live in it any longer *.

No. LVI.

Dean Granville to William Davison, Esq. †

Tuesday night, 6 a clock.

Mr. Davison,

I shall not faile to be with to morrow about six a clock to sup with you, but you cannot disoblige me more than to give my wife a great supper, tho' it should not be flesh. That, and tipling in the afternoon, with the strong water bottles and the like, are the most injurious things imaginable for her. I do the sooner comply to go about with my wife, and visit my friends at this season ‡, hoping that people will not be so indiscreet and disorderly as to treat us, as at other times, with sweat-meats

* The signature is almost all torn off, but enough remains to show that it was Dean Granville's. The paper itself has been written by an amanuensis. It is without date.

† Eldest son of Ralph Davison, Esq., of Thornley Gore and Elvet, by Timothea, daughter of Sir William Belasyse, of Morton House, Knt., and grandson of Sir Alexander Davison, Knt., one of the loyal defenders of Newcastle; Barrister-at-law, and Recorder of Durham. He married Joan, daughter of William Pennyman, of Normanby, co. York, Esq., and died April 26, 1696. There was a connexion between Mrs. Granville's family and the Davisons. Samuel Davison, of Wingate Grange, Esq., uncle to the Recorder of Durham, was one of the husbands of her sister Elizabeth, who afterwards re-married Isaac Basire, Esq.

"1691. 25 Sept. Whereas John Jefferson, Serjeant-at-law and Recorder, is advanced to be a Judge in Ireland, William Davison, Esq., of the City of Durham, is elected Recorder."—*Corporation Books.*

‡ It was probably the season of Lent.

and drink, which my wife's infirmities cannot bear. I intend to go downe into Elvet about 4 or 5 of the clock, and to spend an hour or two, with your mother, Dr. Browne, and some other friends, and then wait upon you and your lady, which is all but that I am

Your affectionate servant,

DENIS GRANVILLE.

To William Davison, Esq.

ACCOUNTS, &c.

A particular of the revennu of the Deanary.

The yearly rent of the Corps, vizt. :—Bearparke, 242*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.*; Ravensflatt, 34*l.*; Whitehall, 20*l.*; Shiply, 6*l.*; Haver Malts, 32*l.* 10*s.*; Salt Holme, 160*l.*; Billingham Receipt, 267*l.*; Merrington Receipt, 128*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.*; Henns and oats Sh[illings], 13*s.* 4*d.*; Mr. Deane's yearly stipend, 266*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; Mr. Deane's Dividend and Seale-money, 200*l.*; Mr. Deane's Residence-money, 100*l.*; The parish of Sedgfield, 539*l.* 3*s.* 8*d.*; The parish of Easington, 301*l.* 1*s.*; The rents of the Arch-deaconry, 11*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* Total, 2308*l.* 13*s.* 2*d.*

To be payd as follows, vizt. :—To Mr. Deane for Rent, 2000*l.*; Rent to the Church, 106*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*; Tenths to the King, for the twoe Rectorys, 17*l.* 7*s.* 9*d.*; Towards the repaire of the twoe Rectorys, 10*l.*; Certaine sesses for Sedgfield and Easington, 12*l.*; To be allow'd Rob. Thompson yearly, 5*l.*; Sesses for Saltholme and the Rectory of Billing[ham], 8*l.*; Sesses for the rest of the Corps, at least, 10*l.*; Repaires of tennants' houses, *communibus annis*, 30*l.* Note that the Dividend and Seale-money will not come to soe much as is sett downe in the former page *communibus annis* by 40*l.* Total, 2230*l.* 9*s.* 1*d.*

To be allow'd for other charges which cannot be reckoned or ascertained, ...

[Indorsed, "An acct. of Mr. Deane's whole Revennue and ye necessary outlays."]

Dr. Granville's Debts.

Sir William Underhill, 157*l.* 12*s.*; Mr. Grievson, 66*l.*; Mr. Ettrick, 109*l.*; Sir William Dodson, 100*l.*; Dr. Birkhead, 40*l.*;

Mr. Blakeston, 170*l.*; Curates, 125*l.*; William Willson's old debt, 200*l.* 19*s.* 7*d.* Total, 968*l.* 11*s.* 7*d.*

[Indorsed, "A note of debts payd by me the first yeare."]

A FURTHER LIST OF DEBTS.

Mr. William Wilkinson, 1300*l.*; Mr. Blakiston, ...; Tho. Cradock, Esq., ...; Mr. Isaacson, 500*l.*; Dr. Berkhead, 800*l.*; Mr. Potter's executors, 103*l.*; Mr. John Basire, 400*l.*; Sir Christopher Conyers, 150*l.*; Sir William Blackett, 100*l.*; Mr. Delavale, 100*l.*; Mr. White of London, 200*l.*; Deane of Lincolne, 200*l.*; Mr. Duck, 50*l.*; Mr. Charles Basire, 100*l.*; Dr. Basire, 114*l.*

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS FROM FEB. 1684 TO SEPT. 1685.

Received for the Honble. Dr. Granville, Deane of Durham, from Candlemas 1684 to Michaelmas 1685, by William Wilson, as followeth:—

1684, Feb. 7. Received of Chr. Robinson for Easington tyth, Mart. '84, 29*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.*—14. Tho. Chapman, Archdeacon-Newton, Mart. '84, 10*l.* 10*s.*—Mar. 21. Mrs. Farrow of Bradbury, for the tyth there, 4*l.*—1685, Apr. 17. Richard Hixon for the Corps, 4*l.*—May 21. Ambrose Miller for Coll. Tempest, Lady day, 6*l.*—Ditto. Luke Taylor for wheat, 5*l.*—June 4. Mr. William Davison, for Lady day rent, 12*l.*—14. Widow Hinkes, for Lady day rent, 10*s.*—20. Mr. Henry, for Horden Præscription, Pentecost, '85, 3*l.* 15*s.*; Wm. Pattison for part of his arreare of Shotton, 3*l.* 1*s.* 2*d.*; Jo. Wolfe, in part for his Pentecost, '85, the rest in notes, 36*l.* 10*s.*; Christ. Robinson for Easington tyth rent, '85, 29*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.*—July 18. Nich. Reed and others, in part for Shotton Pentecost, 9*l.* 1*d.*—24. Wm. Thompson, for Stodart's land, Pentecost, '85, 2*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.*—Aug. 8. Robt. Leighton, for half a yeare's rent, Pentecost, '85, 1*l.* 10*s.* Received for Hawthorne Præscription, for a yeare at Pentecost, 27*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.*; Jo. Thompson, a yeare's rent for his land at Shotton, 7*l.* 4*s.*—22. Tho. White, for Redworth tyth, Michaelmas, 1684, 15*l.* Received for Mr. Deane's quarterages as follows:—For his part of Christmas quarter, 18*l.* 4*s.*; for Lady-day and Midsummer quarters, 133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Total, 357*l.* 17*s.* 1*d.*

Payd for the Honourable Dr. Granville, Deane of Durham, from Candlemas 1684 to Michaelmas 1685, by Wm. Wilson, as followeth:—

Feb. 5. Payd to Mr. Lisle *, for's Christmas, *prout* his acquittance, 10*l.*—7. To Margaret Adamson, *alias* White, for hay, 17*l.* 5*s.*—Ditto. To Anth. Reed, for a horse, by Chr. Robinson, 8*l.* 5*s.*—Mar. 7. To Wm. Forster, for shoeing the horses, 1*l.* 14*s.*—20. To the Collector for the poore of Gillygate, 4*s.*; To the Overseer of Easington, 1*l.* 1*s.*—28. To Mr. Wilkinson, for the carriage of a box, 3*s.* 4*d.*; Payd for staking, hedging, and a stile for the hay, 11*s.*; Allow'd Rich. Hixon for sess, 2*s.*—Ap. 22. To Luke Taylor, for halfe a yeare's wages, 3*l.*—May 13. Allow'd Ambrose Miller for sesses, 8*s.*—Jun. 6. Allow'd Mr. Wm. Davison for sesses, 6*s.*; To the Overseer of the poore, Gillygate, 4*s.* 4*d.*—13. To Luke Taylor, for twoe journeys to Seamore †, 13*s.*; To Mr. Lisle, towards his Lady-day quarterage, 5*l.*; For the Chimney-money at Sedgfield, 13*s.*—July 23. To Hixon, for the carriage of goods from Scarbrough, 10*s.*; To the Bishopp of Carlisle, in discharge of a bond, *prout* acquittance, 15*l.* 11*s.* 2*d.*; The Chimney-money for the Deanary, 1*l.* 4*s.*; For mowing, leading, and rakeing the hay, 1*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.*; Matthew Shaw's bills, 4*s.* 6*d.*—Aug. 7. To Tho. Atkinson, for brewing and yest, 7*s.* 4*d.*; To Mr. Lisle of Seamore, *prout* his acquittance, 9*l.* 15*s.* 3*d.*; The glasier's bill, 12*s.* 7*d.*—19. To Mr. Padman ‡, by Mr. Deane's order, 1*l.*; To the poore at Easington, 1*l.* 10*s.*; To Mr. Deane's selfe, at twoe times, 2*l.*; Payd to Hixon, for carriage of goods, *prout* his acquittance, 1*l.* 6*s.*; Payd for Lady-day Chimney-money for Easington, 12*s.*; To Tho. Atkinson, for brewing and for yest, 9*s.*; For glasses, 8*s.*; To Hills, for the bringing of bottles from Newcastle, 9*s.*—Sep. 9. To Mr. Atrick §, for fraught of goods from London, 10*s.*; For bringing the same goods from Sunderland, 9*s.*; For bringing a box of bookes from Newcastle, 3*s.*; To Mr. Deane himselfe, goeing to Easington, 1*l.*—13. To him by Jo. Simpson, 5*l.* 5*s.*—26. The brewer's bill, 11*s.*; To Sedgfield bowling-green, by Mr. Deane's order, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Payd Mr. Deane's Installation charges, 23*l.*; The Scarbrough journey, *prout* the bill of particulars, 4*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*; The washer's bill, 2*l.* 4*s.*; Spent at Sedgfield, *prout* the bills, 2*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*;

* Probably Maurice Lisle, afterwards Vicar of Fishlake. He was no doubt at this time one of the Dean's Curates.

† In Cleveland, where Mr. Bernard Granville had estates in right of his wife.

‡ Mr. Padman was no doubt the Dean's hair-dresser. In a Book of Accounts kept by Ralph Featherstonhaugh, who acted as clerk to Mr. Arden, Bishop Cosin's house-steward, is the following item:—"1665, Sept. 12. To my master, to give Padman for cutting his hair, 2*s.* 6*d.*" This volume, which contains some very curious items, forms a portion of the MS. Collections of the late Sir Cuthbert Sharp, and is now in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of Durham.

§ Probably Walter Ettrick, Esq., who was appointed Collector of the Customs of the port of Sunderland, and Registrar of the Court of Admiralty in 1661.

To Mr. Kirkby, for the tenths of Sedgfield and Easington, 17*l.* 7*s.* 9*d.*; To Mr. Wm. Greeveson, in discharge of a bond to Price, 101*l.* 10*s.*; To Jo. Benson, *prout* his bills, 77*l.* 4*s.* 9*d.*; To the pewterer, *prout* his acquittance, 21*l.*; For 36 dozen of bottles, 4*l.* 2*s.*; For shewing the light horses for 14 days, 4*l.* 16*s.*; To Luke, for a load of oates, 7*s.*; To Luke, at Scarbrough, 11*s.* 10*d.*; For a hogshead of wine and the carriage, 7*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*; For silke for a waiscoate, and carriage from London, 2*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.*; To Mr. Anth. Isaacson, for the interest of 500*l.*, 30*l.*; To the glazier at Sedgfield, 4*s.*; Jo. Dunn's bill for cleaning the house, 4*s.* 6*d.*; To Mr. Hope*, at severall times for the house, *prout* his acquittance, 20*l.* 10*s.*; To Mr. Kingford †, *prout* his acquittance, 25*l.* Total, 441*l.* 3*s.* 10*d.*

[Indorsed, "My Acct. wth. Mr. Deane, ye 29th Sep. 1685."]

From Sept. 1685 to Nov. 1686.

12th Nov. 1686. Mr. Wilson's account of moneys paid to and for Mr. Deane of Durham, from Michaelmas 1685 to this day.

Due to me upon ballance of an account, 200*l.* 19*s.* 7*d.*; To Mr. Proud for the house, 842*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.*; Rents paid to Mr. Wilkinson, 288*l.* 8*s.*; Mr. Sisterson's sallery, 20*l.*; Sir William Underhill's debt, 157*l.* 12*s.*; Mr. Grievson, 66*l.*; Mr. Ettrick, 109*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*; Sir William Dodson, for Mr. Shaw, 100*l.*; For the returne of it, 1*l.* 5*s.*; Dr. Birkhead at severall times, 40*l.*; Mr. Robt. Blakeston, 170*l.*; Mr. Kingford at severall times, 62*l.* 14*s.*; Mr. Lisle at severall times, 42*l.* 10*s.*; To Jo. Hendry, 5*l.* 10*s.*; Mr. Roper 2 years' rent, 8*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*; Mr. Sergeant Jefferson ‡, 2 guineys, 2*l.* 3*s.* [*sic*]; To William Hodgshon the glasier, 1*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*; Thomas Melsonby, 34*l.* 14*s.*; Usher of Houghton, 3*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*; Chimney-money for Easington, 2*l.* 12*s.*; Chimney-money for the Deanery, 2*l.* 4*s.*; Henry Brittaine for coles, 16*l.* 12*s.*; Mr. Smith for coles, 5*l.*; Jo. Ramshaw for coles, 9*l.* 16*s.*; For 2 hogsheads of wine and carriage, 20*l.* 15*s.*; For 2 coach horses, 40*l.*; Mr. Dunnell's man, 10*s.*; Mr. Wm. Mason, 11*l.*; London mercer's bill, 29*l.*; Sir Jo. Sudbury §, for household stuffe, 83*l.* 16*s.* 3*d.*; Mr. Cuth. Hendry, for interest, for Sir Christopher Conyers, 9*l.*; For a bever, and carriage, 3*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*; To Cuth. Appleby, 3*l.* 17*s.* 11*d.*; Mr. Skinner for

* Curate at Easington. He seems to have been an inmate of the Dean's house.

† Curate at Sedgefield. See *antè*, p. 119.

‡ Sir John Jefferson, son of John Jefferson of Durham, mercer, by Margaret, daughter of Hugh Walton, Alderman of Durham, bapt. Sept. 1635, at St. Nicholas', Durham; Recorder of the city of Durham; Serjeant-at-law; appointed one of the Justices in Ireland 1691, and knighted; ob. circ. 1700.

§ Nephew and heir of Dean Sudbury.

malt, 20*l.*; Mr. Bowes for Cambridge, 5*l.*; Jo. Benson for wages, 9*l.*; Jo. Bowman [*for wages*], 9*l.*; Mrs. Lisle, 6*l.*; Thomasine Softley [*for wages*], 2*l.* 10*s.*; Susan for wages, 1*l.* 10*s.*; Luke at two times [*for wages*], 17*l.* 11*s.*; Tho. Parkinson, 5*l.*; To my Lady for cloth, 3*l.*; Wm. Snawdon's bill, 7*l.* 15*s.*; Mr. Metcafe's bill, 4*l.* 2*s.*; For hay, 18*l.* 17*s.*; For oats, 24*l.* 6*s.*; For straw for a whole yeare, 3*l.*; For horse grasse for a yeare, 2*l.* 6*s.*; For masons' work done at the stable, 3*l.* 13*s.*; For carpenters' worke at the stable, 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; Melsonby's second note, 9*l.* 15*s.* 10*d.*; Mr. Ramsey, for fraught of the coach, 1*l.* 17*s.*; For 6 dozen of plates and a flaggon, 4*l.* 18*s.*; For linnen, *prout* note of particulars, 4*l.* 6*s.* 2*d.*; For 2 years' Chantry rents of Fishburne, 6*s.* 8*d.*; For acquittances, 8*d.*; Sergeant Jefferson, at the Assizes, 3*l.*; Mr. Mickleton *, at the same time, 1*l.* 10*s.*; Mr. Crosby's bill, 4*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.*; Mr. Duncon's bill for firewood, 4*l.* 4*s.*; Mr. Whelus, for Sedgfield schoole, 7*l.* 10*s.*; Meaburn's note for straw and oats, 3*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* Total, 2590*l.* 6*s.* 1*d.*

From Nov. 1686 to April 1687.

An account of moneys payd for the Honourable Mr. Deane of Durham, by me William Wilson (and to be allowed to me) since my last account, dated 12th Nov. last, till this day, being the 4th Aprill, 1687.

Due to me upon my said last account, 7*l.* 16*s.* 1*d.*; Overpayd upon the 500*l.* Bond, 20*l.*; Rents payd to Mr. Wilkinson, since Mich. last, being a full halfe yeare's rent, 144*l.* 4*s.*; Mr. Cradock's Lady-daye's quarterage, 62*l.* 10*s.*; This accountant's Lady-daye's quarter's rent, 25*l.*

Payd to Mr. Deane's order since my last account:—Payd to Mr. Proud for the house, 164*l.* 8*s.* 8½*d.*; To Mr. Bowes, for the house, 120*l.*; For 100 load of oates, while Mr. Granville was here, 24*l.*; For 61 loads more since Mich., 15*l.* 5*s.*; For straw, 4*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.*; To John Bowman, for a horse, 12*l.* 5*s.*; To Mr. Hope, for sallary, 20*l.*—Dec. 21. To Mr. Proud, for the poor of Sedgfeild, 10*l.*—Jan. 15. Mr. Duncon's bill, 2*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.*—17. Mr. Isaacson, for interest, 42*l.* 10*s.*—19. Tho. Melsonby's note, 26*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*—21. My Lady Thornhill †, by bill of exchange, 10*l.* 3*s.*; To Mr. Greiveson, to make up the sume for the protestant Breife-money, 69*l.* 1*s.* 7*d.*—March 18. Payd Mr. Deane's

* James Mickleton, of Durham and Crookhall. Esq., Barrister-at-law: Author of the valuable Collection of MSS. relating to the City and County of Durham which are known by his name. He died 3 August, 1693, and was buried in the Cathedral Church-yard.

† Wife of Col. Richard Thornhill, and sister to the Dean.

Easington Breife-money, 5*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*—21. To Mr. Cradock upon Mr. Deane's note, 2*l.*—22. Payd Mr. Deane's Breife-money as Dean, 20*l.*—Ditto, Mr. Leaver, for Houghton school, 2*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* —25. To Mr. Cradocke upon bond, 50*l.*; For the Deanary, Mich. Chimney-money, 1*l.* 2*s.*; For Sedgfeild Chimney-money, 12*s.*; Overpayd in paying the bills, *prout* my account dated 23th Jan. 1686, 1*l.* 7*s.* 2*d.* Total, 863*l.* 18*s.* 7½*d.*

April 4th, 1687. Seen and allowed, (errors excepted) DENIS GRANVILLE. WM. WILSON.

Witnesses, Hammond Beaumont. Jo. Proud.

FROM APRIL TO AUGUST, 1687.

An account of moneys payd for the Honourable Mr. Deane of Durham, by Mr. William Wilson (and to be allow'd to me) since my account dated the 4th of April last past, till this day, being the 9th Aug. 1687.

Due to me upon the aforesaid account, *prout* acquittance, 363*l.* 18*s.* 7*d.*; To Thomas Cradocke, Esq., for interest due at Lady-day, 9*l.*; To him by order from Mr. Deane, 50*l.*; To him for his Midsummer's annuity, 62*l.* 10*s.*; My own Midsumer's annuity, 25*l.*; For 26 load of oates, before Mr. Deane went to London, 8*l.* 9*s.*; For 13 load, since Mr. Dean's returne, 4*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* For 10 load of hay, 12*l.* 10*s.*; For getting in the hay, 5*s.*; For straw, 19*s.* 6*d.*; To the servants for board-wages, *prout* the particulars, 11*l.* 7*s.*; To Luke Taylor, for coles at Easington, 1*l.* 6*s.*; For the Lady-day Chimney-money for the Deanary, 1*l.* 6*s.* Total, 550*l.* 18*s.* 7*d.* Mr. Deane's quarter's rent, 500*l.* 9° Aug. 1687. Rests then due to ballance, 50*l.* 18*s.* 7*d.*

Seen and allowed (errors excepted) by mee, DENIS GRANVILLE.

Witnesses, Hammond Beaumont, Jo. Proud.

FROM AUGUST TO OCTOBER, 1687.

An account of moneys paid for the Honourable Mr. Deane of Durham, by me William Wilson (and to be allowed to me) since my account dated the 9th of August last past, till this day, being the 12th of October, 1687.

Due to me upon my last account, 50*l.* 18*s.* 7*d.*; Rents paid to Mr. Wilkinson, since Lady-day, 144*l.* 4*s.*; Mr. Cradock's Michaelmas rent, 62*l.* 10*s.*; To him upon bond, 50*l.*; To him for interest, 7*l.* 10*s.*; To him upon order, dated 27th Sept. last, 5*l.*; My owne Midsummer annuity, 25*l.*—Sep. 13. To Mr. Skinner, in full of his note, 12*l.* 15*s.*—Sep. 14. To Mr. Hope, upon Mr. Dean's order, 7*l.*; For oats, 13 load since my last account, 4*l.* 5*s.* 9*d.*; To the servants for board-wages, 1*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*; To Mr. Cuth. Bowes, at severall times, 140*l.* Total, 510*l.* 15*s.* 10*d.*

Seen and allowed by mee, DENIS GRANVILLE.

Witnesses, Hammond Beaumont, Cuth. Bowes, Jo. Proud.

ACCOUNT OF BOARD-WAGES.

Payd to Mr. Deane's servants for board-wages, while Mr. Deane was at London, as follow's:—

John Benson, for 9 weeks, 1*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.*; Tho. Parkinson, 1*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.*; To the Porter and Gardiner, 3*l.* 3*s.*; To Geo. Thursby, 1*l.* 7*s.*; To Luke Taylor, 1*l.*; To the Easington maides, 18*s.*; To the Deanary maid and Best, 1*l.* 16*s.* Total, 11*l.* 7*s.*

APPENDIX.

I. April 9, 1662. Informations given to Doctor Basire, Archdeacon of Northumberland, by some of the Clergie of that Archdeaconrie *.

I. That the papists of late have taken such boldnes that in severall places of that Archdeaconrie masses are openly and publiquely saide, and warning given to the people to come thereto. As was done on Easter's day last in the towne of Duddoe, within the parish of Norham, where there was publique mass and preaching and the people invited thereunto. Memorandum, that at the chapple of Eslinton masse is publicly said every Sunday at Mr. George Colingwood's.

II. That there is a great need of a visitation of the churches in these northern parts, many of them being eyther altogether unprovided of Ministers, or provided with such as are, in effect, noe ministers; and are soe farr from conformeing, themselves, that they preach against those that are conformed, and intrude themselves upon their charge, by baptizeing children and marryeing the persons of such as are enemies to the orders of the Church of England. And likewise the fabricks of many Churches and Chappells are altogether ruinous and in great decay, and cannott be gotten repaired without Visitations. Besides, in many churches there be neyther Bibles, Books of Common-prayer, Surplisses, Fonts, Communion-tables, nor any thing that is necessarie for the service of God. Nor will the Churchwardens (not being yett sworne) contribute any assistance for the supply of those defects. In all which respects there is great necessitie of Visitations, soe soone as convenyently may be.

III. In respect that by the King and Parliament there be two Anniversarie-daies appointed to be kept, vizt. the xxxth of January and xxixth of May, and that there is noe order as yet come to these northeren parts how the same shalbe kept, nor are the books appointed for that purpose here to be gotten. My lord Bishop of

* From Dr. Hunter's Collection of MSS. (ii. 68), in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of Durham.

Durham would be made acquainted therewith, that some course may be taken for the observeing of those daies.

Ad calcem. April 9, 1662. Duresme. Informations given in by James Scot, Rectour of Ford, Alexander Davison, Curate of Norham.

Sent to ye L. Bp. April 15.
[This memorandum in Dr. Basire's writing.]

II. Articles of inquiry exhibited to the Dean, Prebendaries, Minor-Canons, Clerks and other Ministers of the Cathedrall Church of Durham, in the first Episcopal Visitation there made by the Rt. Reverend Father in God, John, Lord Bishop of Durham, July 19th, in the second yeare of his consecration, and in the yeare of our Lord 1662 *.

First: concerning the full number of all those persons who are to be susteyned in this church.

I. Is there now in this Cathedrall Church the full number of all persons who are to be imployed and susteyned therein, that is to say, are there (besydes the Deane and twelve Prebendaries) twelve Petty-Canons, tenn Singing-Clerks, an Epistoler and a Gospeller, a Master of the Choristers or Organist, tenn Choristers, two Subsacrists or Virgers, two teachers at the Grammar schoole (whereof one is Master and the other Usher), eighteene Schollers there, eight Almesmen, two Bellringers and keepers of the clocke, two porters, two butlers, and two cooks? Have they all beene duely elected and admitted, and are they every one serviceable and diligent in their places?

Secondly: concerning the Deane.

II. Is the Deane vigilant in his office and government over all the Canons and Ministers of the Church, taking care that all Divyne servyces (whereof sermons are a parte) may be duely and religiously performed, at the severall tymes and places thereunto appoynted, that the eighteene schollers be well taught and instructed by their masters, that the Church-almes be faithfully distributed to the poore, that hospitality be kept by himselfe and the Canons resident in their familyes, that the treasure, ornaments and furniture of the Church, togeather with the charters, writeings, books, registers, and all other goods or utensills thereunto belonging be well and safely preserved? And were all these things delivered to him by an inventarie and indenture made of them, and was the same inventarie published and allowed in Chapter, that soe every particular thereof may be left whole and intire to his successor for the use of the Church? And hath he by himselfe, or some other of the Chapter, thereto deputed, made a survey of the lands, mannors, tenements, woods and appro-

* Hunter MSS. ii. 78.

priate churches, appertaineing to this Church, that the same survey may be put and remaine upon record? And doth he cause the courts to be duely kept by the Receyvor and stewards of the Church?

III. Doth he, being at home, and not hindered by sicknes or some other urgent cause, (which is left to his owne conscience) dayly frequent the Divyne offices of the Church in his Quire habit? And doth he in his owne person officiate and preach in the Quire upon the three principall feast dayes of the yeare, that is to say, upon Easter-day, Whit-sunday, and the day of Christ's Nativitie? Or, in case he hath a just impediment, doth he provyde some other eminent, learned, and fitt person to performe the same for him?

IV. Doth he well repaire and keepe due residence in his house, being not allowed above one hundred dayes absence in all the yeare, except it be upon speciall occasions that are mentioned in the statutes? And doth he other whiles goe to preach in some churches abroad within this Dioces, specially where sermons are most wanting, and able preachers, for lack of due provision and mayntenance, cannot be had?

Thirdly: concerning the Prebendaries.

V. Are the third parte at least of the twelve Prebendaries alwaies resident in their houses? Doe they duely repayre those houses, and keepe their familyes and maynteyne hospitalitie there? Doe they all, or as many of them as be any tyme at home, and are not hindred by sicknes, or other just causes, (wherewith their owne consciences are onerated) dayly frequent the Divyne service of the Quire, and beare their parts in it? Doe they come to it every one in his Quire-habit, and keep his owne stall there first allotted to him? Doe they in their owne persons officiate there upon those holy and festivall dayes whereon the Deane or the Subdeane doe not officiate themselves? And doe they preach foure sermons there (one every quarter) in the yeare, according to their due course and order, or in case of a just impediment allowed by the Deane, or, in his absence, by the Subdeane, doe they provyde another of their owne ranke and quality to performe the same? And when they preach themselves, or such their substitutes that preach for them, doe they that day absent themselves from the Quire servyce, or come late to it, or stay they in the vestry and not in the Quire, attending there till the sermon tyme begins? And doe they and their substitutes weare the Quire habit when they preach, and use that forme onely of inviteing and exhorteing their auditors to pray and give thankes for all estates of men in the Church and Kingdome, which is prescribed by the Injunctions and Constitutions Ecclesiasticall, and hath been heretofore accustomed, though of later tymes disused and left off by some men, who preferre their owne voluntarie and private dictates before the publique and approved formes of the Church?

VI. Doe they otherwhiles goe to preach in some churches abroade, as before in the fourth Article is mentioned? And are they allowed above fourescore dayes of absence in the yeare, unles it be in case of necessity approved by the Deane and Chapter?

Fourthly: concerning the yearely officers of the Church among the Prebendaries.

VII. Are the Subdeane, Treasurer and Receyvor, every yeare duely chosen and sworne to performe their severall offices according to the statutes of the Church?

VIII. Doth the Subdeane, in the absence of the Deane, carefully attend the governement and due ordering of all things appertaining to the Church?

IX. Is the Receyvor diligent and faithfull in gathering and receyveing the rents, debts, and arrerages due unto the Church? Doth the Deane or any other Prebendarie intermeddle with his office? Hath the present and former Receyvor made due payment of all moneys soe gathered by him to the Treasurer within the tyme appoynted by statute?

X. Doth the Treasurer duely pay the stipends that are due unto the Deane, Prebendaries, Petty-Canons, Clerks, and all other members or servants of the Church, as the statutes appoynte him to doe? Is he carefull to see that the Church and all houses thereunto belonging be well and sufficiently repayred? And doth he provide all things needfull for the furniture and ornaments of the Church, paying noe bills of expences for the common use and reparations thereof, but such as are first subscribed and allowed by the Deane? Is he further carefull to look that all the vestments, plate, and other utensils belonging to the Church be diligently preserved, and well kept in the vestry by the Sacrist, examyneing the inventarie thereof every quarter of the yeare, that nothing may be lost, or any way spoyled, through negligence?

Fifthly: concerning the Minor-Canons, Clerkes, Ministers, and other officers of the Quire.

XI. Is the servyce of God in the Quire dayly attended by twelve Petty-Canons, being in holy orders, (togeather with an Epistoler and Gospeler among them) and by tenn Clerkes, or Singing-men, all of good fame and honest conversation, professeing the true faith and religion of Christ, as it is received in the Church and Kingdome of England? Are they all able and fitt for their places? Doe they read and syng skilfully? Doe they behave themselves devoutely and reverently in the performance of all Divyne offices? Are they obedient to the Deane, Prebendaries, and the directions of their Precentor? And are they all duely chosen, admitted, and sworne

to observe the Statutes of this Church, soe farre as they are concerned in them?

XII. Doth the Precentor carefully order and appoynte the hymnes and servyces of the Quire to be dayly sung there? Doth he take care that the bookes belonging to the Quire be well and fairely bound, and soe from tyme to tyme preserved? Doth he every day faithfully note the absences aswell of the Deane and Prebendaries, as of all other members and ministers of this Church that are bound to attend and assiste in the servyce of the Quire? Doth he every fortnight present the same note of absences to the Deane and Chapter? And is he duely chosen, admitted, and sworne to performe his office?

XIII. Is the Sacrist likewise duely chosen and sworne to doe his duty? Hath he received the furniture, ornaments and utensills of the Church by inventarie and indenture from the Deane and Treasurer? Doth he provyde a sufficient quantity of the finest bread, and best sorte of wyne for the Sacrament of the Eucharist, whensoever it is to be administred in the Church, and doth he place and order all things aboute the Communion-Table or Altar, for the more decent celebration thereof? Doth he likewise provyde a sufficient store of waxe lights to be used in the winter at Evening-prayers in the Church, or at other tymes when it is darke? Doth he (or some other appoynted by the Deane and Chapter) diligently look to the common Library of the Church, and see that the bookes be well bound and preserved there? And is there a catalogue or register of those books distinctly written, and remaineing in the Library, for the use of those who shall repaire thither to read them? And is noe book lent out to any man without a subscription or pledge to restore the same, in a due tyme prefixed by the Deane? Doe you knowe of any books that have byn in the late wicked and distempered tymes imbezeled, and taken away, either by violence or fraude, and in whose hands now they are?

XIV. Are the two Virgers, and the two belringers subservient to the Sacrist? And doe they in all respects otherwise attend and performe their duetyes according to the Statutes of the Church whereunto they are sworne?

XV. Doe the belringers duely keep the clocke of the Church? Doe they keep all the floore of the Church cleane? Doe they suffer any burthens to be carryed through it, or any persons idlely to walke in it? Doe they carefully open and shutt the doores of it at due tymes prescribed them by the Deane and Sacrist?

XVI. Doth the Master of the Quiristers (or Organist) diligently teach and instructe the tenn young choristers every day in their schoole? Doth he attend Divyne service dayly in the Quire habit, as other the Singing-clerkes doe, and looke that all the Quiristers doe the same, every one keeping their gownes and surplices cleane, and behaveing themselves orderly, reverently, and decently, dureing the whole tyme of Divyne servyce in the Quire?

XVII. Are the Schoolmaster and Usher of the Grammar Schoole well qualifyed, learned, and fitt for their offyce? Doe they diligently teach and dayly instructe their eighteene schollers belonging to this Church? Doe they use the prayers appoynted them morning and evening every day in the schoole, and doe they bring them to church every Sunday and Holy-day, and upon their severall eves, decently habited in their gownes and surplices, and doe they attend the servyce there at such tymes soe habited themselves, and placed in the auntient seates appoynted for them?

XVIII. Are any of those eighteene schollers admitted into the schoole before they can read and write, and be sufficiently instructed elsewhere in the rudiments of grammar? And were any of them above the age of fifteene yeares when they were first admitted, unles they had beene formerly Quiristers of the Church?

XIX. Doe the eight poore Almesmen duely frequent the dayly servyce of the Church, behaveing themselves lowly and reverently at it? If they be absent above the tyme limitted in the statute are their stipends kept from them, as they ought to be, till they returne to their duty? And be they otherwise subservient to the Sacrist, and to the belringers, as their infirmityes and age will permitt them to doe?

Sixthly: concerneing Divyne offices in the Church.

XX. In performance of Divyne service is the Booke of Common-Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonyes in the Church of England, duely in all things observed, without alteration or omission? And are the severall tymes of Morneing, Evening, and Communion servyce distinctly kept? And doe every one that are bound to come thereunto, put on their habits of surplices, tippets, and hoods, according to their degrees and qualityes, keeping the seats and stalles that are appoynted for them, and carrying themselves withall due reverence and decency there?

Seventhly: concerneing the fabricke and repaires of the Church.

XXI. Is there due care and order taken for the renewing and repayreing the fabricke of your Church, where it hath beene in the late violent, impious, and rebellious tymes, either destroyed or decayed in any parte thereof? Are the roofs well and substantially leaded, the walls by renewing the asler, or square stones, well and cleanely amended, without and within, and made, if not better, at least not worse then they were of old? Are the windowes well and fairely glassed, the floore in all places well and even layed, the seats and stalles prepared to be orderly and fairely sett up againe in the Quire? Are you aboute to renew the organ, and where doe you intend to place itt? Is the Communion-table or Altar recovered out of their hands that took it lately away? And is it now ready to

be sett up where it was before? What is become of the wood and lead of the two great broaches that stood upon the square towers at the west end of the Church? How have the same beene disposed or imployed, and what accompt hath beene made thereof to the Deane and Chapter? And if noe accompt be yet given, have you sought after it, and legally demanded it of those persons that pulled downe one of those broaches, and sold away the lead and wood of them both? By what other persons (as you knowe or have heard from others that knowe it) have any parts of the Church fabricke, Altar, Font, Organ, Pulpit, doores, partitions, or stalles and seats in the Quire, been destroyed? Search out and name them, if by any meanes you may, to the end that if those impious persons and authors and abettors and instruments of these destructions may be found out, and live in this kingdome, the law may compell them to make restitution; or if not, that the names of such persons and their sacrilegious violence may be recorded among you to all posterity.

XXII. What summes of money have you the Deane and Chapter, and those that were before you, already expended in these two last yeares about the fabricke and repaire of this Cathedrall Church, togeather with the renewing of all the furniture, ornaments, and other things requisite for the servyce of God to be duely performed in it? And what proportions of money have you sett out and allowed for the future, to perfecte and finish, as much as layeth in you, the workes that you have soe well begun, to the end alsoe that this may be recorded to posteritye, and God may have honour by it?

XXIII. Are the severall houses belonging to the Deane and Prebendaries, and those that belong to the Petty-Canons all in good repayre? and how many of them have bin lately spoyled and renewed or built up againe? At whose cost hath the same byn done? And which of those houses remaine yet unrepaired? Are the Cloysters and the Chapter-house, the Library and the Register's office, the Treasure-house and the Dortor, the Petty-Canons' hall and the Guest-hall, the Exchequer, and the severall schoole-houses belonging to the Church, all in good and seemely estate? Are there noe incroachments made one upon another, nor any of those houses extended beyond their auntient limitts? And, if any be, was it done by the direction and order of the Deane and Chapter? Are the eirloomes in every house preserved? And are the woods and timber-trees groweing upon the Church-lands abroade, now after soe much ruine and destruction made of them by others, carefully kept and ordered by you according to your statutes?

Eightly: concerneing the Evidences, Charters and Munuments of the Church.

XXIV. Have you the original Statute-book of this Church, or doe you endeavour to procure an Exemplification thereof under the Great Seale of England? Are the Evidences and Charters of the Church,

togeather with the Court-rolles, and books of accompt, inventaries and obligations safely layd up and kept in the Treasury? Is there a strong chest there, wherein to keep the Church money, to be from tyme to tyme taken out, as occasion shall require, for the publique uses thereof? And is there alwayes deposited and left in that chest, the summe of two hundred pounds, at the least, to be ready for all necessary imployments aboute the Church? Is the Common Seale of you, the Deane and Chapter, securely lay'd up and kept there in a caskett by it selfe? And is it never taken nor put to any lease, letters patents, or other writeing before the same be registred, read, and passed by common consent in the Chapter-house? . Are the keyes of this Treasury's chest, and caskett, safely kept by the Clavigers thereunto appoynted by the Statutes of the Church?

Ninthly: concerneing the letting of mannors, lands and tenements, keepeing of residence and hospitality, expending the money appointed for charitable uses, and makinge accompts.

XXV. Hath any fraudulent practize byn used in the letting of any your lands, mannors and tenements to farme, contrary to your statutes? Or any leases byn made by you without sufficient suertyes for the payment of the Church-rent and keeping covenants? And whither hath there byn any alienation, mortgage, letting to fee-farme, saile or exchaunge of any lands or tenements belonging to this Church?

XXVI. Are there any leases made of your Church-lands for lives, or beyond the tearme of one and twenty yeares, and of your burgage tenements beyond forty? Have you let any parte of the Corps belonging severally to the Deane and Prebendaries, which are to be kept in their owne hands for the better mayntenance and keeping of their residence, and hospitality in their respective houses? And how are the portions of tythes disposed of that were sett out for every one of them?

XXVII. In keeping of which residence, according to the Statutes of this Church, how many of them are constant, and how many deficient? When they keepe their one-and-twenty dayes residence, doe they never misse to be present at all Divine servyce in the Quire, dureing that whole tyme? And doe they then use to augment their table at home, invyteing thereunto not onely all the members of this Church, but likewise their poore neighbours, citizens, and straungers abroad? At these invytations doe they observe convenyent order and frugality, not exceeding the number of six guests (unlesse it be upon extraordinary occasion) at a time? And doe they observe the religious custome of haveing some parte of the Holy Scripture read at their table? And, as fasting dayes and fish dayes appoynted by law occurre in their residence, doe they observe them alsoe, as by the Constitutions of the Church and the Statutes of this Realme they are bound to doe?

XXVIII. Is the money appoynted by statute for charitable uses (being the summe of eighty six pounds thirteene shillings foure pence) yearly and faithfully payd and imployed by you towards the reliefe of poore persons, and for the mending of highwayes and bridges, and is there every yeare a due accompte made thereof at your audit? To which audit doe all your bayliffs, and other your officers, come to make their due accompts alsoe?

Tenthly: concerneing the keeping of Chapters, and registring the Acts there made, with Acts of Visitations.

XXIX. Doth the Deane, or, in his absence, the Subdeane, call and keep a Chapter every fifteene days, according to the Statutes of the Church, that he and the Prebendaries may prudently and quietly consult aboute the affaires thereof, and advyse togeather for the well ordering of all things thereunto belonging? In those Chapters are your Acts made, registred, and subscribed, by the Deane and Prebendaries that be then present, especially at your two great Chapter-dayes, to be held constantly upon the xxth day of July, and the xxth of November, every yeare? And is your Acte-booke well and fairely written, and safely kept?

XXX. What speciall Acts and Injunctions have byn made and given you by your Visittors, the Bishopps of Durham, our predecessors, in their severall visitations of this Church since the yeare of our Lord 1617? The sight whereof you are to exhibitt unto us, within one monnth after this our first day of commeing to visitt you.

Eleaventhly: concerneing the better provision for Vicaridges and appropriated Churches.

XXXI. Have you the Deane and Chapter taken care, and made provision for the poore Vicarages and Churches abroad, (whereof the impropriated Rectoryes belong to you) according to his Majestie's letters, lately sent unto you for that good purpose? How many of those Vicarages have you augmented, and to what yearly value?

XXXII. Have you yet provyded and appoynted sufficient and able Curates for the severall appropriate churches that belong unto your care in the Citty of Durham and elsewhere? And doe you allowe and pay unto them their competent and annuall stipends? And how much have you augmented them?

Twelfthly: concerneing offences and crimes of ecclesiastical cognisance.

XXXIII. Doe any of the Prebendaries, Minor-Canons, Lay-clerkes, or other the members, ministers, and servants of this Church refuse at any tyme to obey the lawfull directions and commannds of

the Deane, to whome, as to their guide and governour, they are sworne to give due obedience and reverence?

XXXIV. Whether be any of them knowne, famed, or suspected to live in any grievous or scandalous cryme, or have they committed any other offence that is punishable by ecclesiasticall censures, and is subiecte to the cognizance of your Visitor?

JOH. DUNELM[e].

III. AN ACCOUNT OF THE EXPENDITURE OF THE DEAN AND CHAPTER OF DURHAM IN REPAIRS, &c. AFTER THE RESTORATION *.

June 12, 1663. An answer to the 9 Quærees what hath been expended by the Cathedrall Church of Duresme since his Majesties happy return.

To the 1st, what in repayres and ornaments?

In the yeare 1661, 1433*l.* 9*s.* 9*d.* In the yeare 1662, 2250*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* In the yeare 1663 to June 12, 622*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.* Sum: 4306*l.* 3*s.* 1*d.*

To the 2nd, what in repayres of houses and chancels at the charges of the Dean and Prebendaries, 3616*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.*?

To the 3d, what in presents to the King?

Given in one present by the Dean and Chapter, 1000*l.* Given by 6 of the Prebendaries, 350*l.* The Dean's and other Prebendaries who gave their presents in other places are not put upon this accompt.

To the 4th. For redemption of captives, 400*l.*

To the 5th, what for augmentations?

For augmentation of Vicaridges, 456*l.* per annum. For augmentation of Quire mens' wages, 255*l.* per annum. Totall of augmentations, 711*l.* per annum.

To the 6th, what to pious uses?

Given at our first session to the old Quire-men and others relating to the church, and to the poor of the city, 400*l.* Given to the poor anno 1661, 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* To the poor, anno 1662, 100*l.*

To the 7th, what to any publick charge?

Given toward the repayring of high wayes and bridges, 20*l.* Totall of these expences, 13259*l.* 3*s.* 8*d.* Totall of augmentations, 711*l.* per annum.

To the 8th, what we allow to purchasers?

Our allowances to purchasers will appear to be more then was really pay'd by them, at the first purchase from the trustees, discounting what profit hath been made of the severall farmes since the expiration of their leases, when our answer to the next Quære shall be considered.

To the 9th, how many yeares value we took for 21 years or 3 lives?

* Tanner MSS. clxiv. 153.

1st. We cannot make any lease for lives, it being against our statutes.

2nd. For 21 years we have not taken 4 years value of any tenants, of many not 3, and of some, and they not a few, not 2 yeares value, if their farmes be iustly rated. Where any of our tenants have complained that their farmes were over-rated by us, we have put it to them to rate their own farmes and to set their own fines; promising them either leases for such fines as they themselves should set, or to give them soe much if they would quietly quit their farmes and leave us to find other tenants. Which offers we have made them, not in consideration of any right they have in their farmes, they being all leaseholders, and their leases expir'd, but in consideration of the great oppressions they have endur'd, during the late troubles. And where ther is not enough to be discounted for their purchases, by reason their leases are but lately expir'd, we have not demanded soe much.

Where leases were made to any of them in the year 1643 which are not yet expir'd, or but very lately, we have demanded but litle more then one year's value for a new lease, and of some of them not soe much, and soe proportionably for other leases but lately expir'd.

For many leases of houses in Durham, and other things of small value, which, being very many, make up a considerable part of our revenue, we have made many leases without demanding any fine of such as were either poor, or had suffer'd much in the late troubles, or were related to the Church, and of others of them a small matter towards the furnishing our Library with bookes.

To the Quære what necessary repayres are yet to be taken care for, and what they will amount unto?

1. For houses for our Petty-Canons, Schoolmaster and Usher, their must be new houses built, the old being quite demolish'd. 2. For fineshing our Quire, upon which we have many dayly at worke. 3. For building a new font, suteable to that which was destroy'd by the Scots. 4. For a new pulpit. 5. For the front of our Quire toward the Church. 6. For glazing twoe windowes in a place cal'd the 9 altars, behind the Quire, one great window on the north side, and one round window with painted glasse at the east end. 7. For lead worke and timberwork about some turrets upon the top of the Church. 8. For mending the pavement of the Church and Quire. For all these, and some other things which we intend to doe, we conceive the charge will amount unto 3000*l.*

We have not put upon this accompt, 1. What we have allready expended, and what we must yet expend to maintain the rights of our Church. 2. What any of us have privately given to any pious or charitable uses. 3. What is expedient, though not soe necessary, toward the repayring of some decayes in our Church, which we know not whether we shall be able to undertake.

Since the coming of the present Dean, Mich. 1661, we have had

but one dividend, which was not greater than was ordinary in former years, before the late troubles: the rest being reserv'd for the expences of the church, or allready expended. And now our treasury is very near exhausted.

IV. COMPERTS AND CONSIDERATIONS UPON THE ANSWERS OF THE DEANE AND PREBENDARIES OF DURHAM TO THE ARTICLES OF MY SECOND VISITATION, THE 17TH DAY OF JULY 1665 *.

THEY answer not particularly as they are bound by their oath to do to the severall Articles, but referr to the generall writing subscribed by the Deane and eight Prebendaries joyntly.

1st Title. Of the full number &c.

Seven Petty-Canons' places confest to be void, (besides one lay-singing man's place) for the supply whereof the Bishop hath expected these five yeares together, and yet nothing done, which is contrary to their statutes and their oath.

They say there has been no want of due care to supply them; but they say not what care that hath been, nor by whom taken, nor what offers there have been made to invite Petty-Canons to them from other places †, as their predecessors were wont to do heretofore, especially having increased the rents, which may serve for the augmentations of all the twelve places. The present stipends of the Petty-Canons, allotted by statute, are about the third part of the stipends allotted to the Prebendaries, and both the one and the other are allotted to bee paid out of the revenues and rents of the Church; which being all leased out upon fines ought in equity to be proportionably allowed, as well to the augmentation of the Petty-Canons and lay-singing men, as to the Prebendaries of the Church, being resident there.

They say afterwards, in their answer to the 11th Article, that their Quire is very well provided ‡, and sufficient for the service of the Church, (without any supply of the vacant places) as they conceive, which is to set up their owne conceits against their oathes and the very letter of their statutes.

All other Cathedrall and Collegiate Churches of England have by their care got the full number of their Quire, and taken order sufficiently to maintaine them, onely the Church of Durham is defective herein, which cannot be well taken or suffered either by the Bishop

* Hunter MSS. ii. 83.

† There seems to have been great difficulty in getting the Minor Canons' places filled up. In 1668 we find the following statement in Dr. Basire's answer to the Visitation Articles of that year:—"To increase the number of the Petty-Canons I have both at London, at Southwell, and elsewhere, inquired, and invited divers, but could not prevaile."

‡ They [say] their Quire sufficient, notwithstanding the vacancy of eight places.—*Note in the margin.*

at home, or by others abroad, or by his sacred Majestie when he shall know of it.

Their answer concerning sacbutts and cornetts is extrinsecall to the inquiry, though the Bishop likes them very well, having been established in his time when he was Prebendary heretofore.

They confesse they want a School-master, and rely for the present upon a probationer, by whose unfitness to teach, and to governe the schoole, most men have taken away their children from it. The Cookes' places granted under the Chapter seale as patents * (in whose time soever) are against statute and ought to be voyded by course of law.

If the present Deane and Chapter grant no offices with patent, Quære, What becomes of their Steward's office? And what will become of their Register's office, if it should fall voyd in their time, wherein no man will serve them without a patent?

2*d Title. Concerning the Deane.*

The answers to the 2d, 3d, and 4th Articles concerning the Deane confesse that there is yet no survey made of the lands belonging to the Church, which they say cannot yet bee fully discovered. In the mean while, of those that are already discovered, why is not the survey made and recorded? The service is not yet performed so often in the Quire as it was before. The song bookes are torn and not renewed. The Lectorne and Litany-desk are meane and uncomely. The Altar is cloathed with course countrey cloath. The Treasury and Registry are undigested into order. The inventory of goods belonging to the Church is not yet perfected &c. The floor of the Church is broken. The tombs of benefactors are left broken. The north door, and the jammes of the windowes without are plaistered up with morter. The Church-yard wall is not repaired, but left open to annoyance, &c. The pinacles aswell at the east as west end of the Church, and on the north side thereof, are not repaired. All the other particulars mentioned in the Articles, they say joyntly, are well performed; which had been enough to say in answer to those Articles concerning the Deane. The rest of the answers here are onely declamatory commendations of his understanding, and his vigilant care in managing of severall suites at law and chancery against refractory tenants, and of his vindicating this Church into more freedome than it had for these hundred yeares and upwards; which freedome is not explained, and therefore cannot be understood by the Visitour what is meant by it, unlesse they meane their freedome from paying the King any subsidy, or from repayring the Bishop's seat in his Consistory, as they have done his seat in the

* If they cannot remedy this without law, the law may be prosecuted against them, aswell as against their refractory tenants; and against their tenants they have proceeded by law. Why not against these?—*Marginal note.*

Quire. But that seat in the Consistory is necessarily to be repaired, not onely for the Bishop and his Chancellor (who make but one person there) but also for the Deane and Prebendaries, and other the more eminent clergymen of the Diocess, when the Bishop shall at any time call them to be his assessors and assistants there, in matters of weight and importance that may happen. Other Cathedrall Churches have provided Consistories at their owne charges for the Bishop and his Chancellor. And to all those commendations of the Deane hee himselfe subscribeth his owne hand, which he should have left unto others onely to do for him. His frequenting of Divine offices more then is enjoyned, may be commendable, but is extrinsecall to the inquiry, as likewise the answer is of his having never yet made use of any of that time of absence which is allowed him by the statute; which nevertheless, can hardly be made good, if his absence during all the month of June last be counted.

3d Title. Concerning the Prebendaries.

They confesse a third part of them are not alwaies resident, and that their mulcts appointed by statute are remitted to them at their owne pleasure. And herein they oppose the 44th Canon of the Church of England against the statutes of the Church of Durham, which by those statutes they are forbidden to do. They answer that they do dayly frequent the Quire-service in their habit, but whether that habit be according to their degrees or no, they say not. If herein they do more than the statute requires, they do not amisse, but it is not cleare whether they do so or no. The inscriptions over the severall stalls they put off to another time, and say they are not yet fully resolved what to do in it. In substituting others to preach for them, they make no difference betwixt the Bishop's allowance or licence of such preachers, and their owne judgment, that such they are whom they judge the Bishop would allow. They say that the catalogue of their Library bookes is not yet made.

4th Title. Concerning Church Officers.

They answer, *Omnia bene.*

5th Title. Concerning the Minor Canons, Clerkes, &c.

Their answers to the number of Petty-Canons, is a dispute onely, or a pleading for the Deane and Prebendaries, why the vacant places are not supplyed. They say they have nothing to present concerning the School-master and the 18 schollars, which is a contradiction to what they said before concerning the School-master, and to the common report, together with their owne knowledge, that some of those 18 schollars do not come to the schoole at all.

6th Title. Concerning Divine Offices.

They answer here that all is well. They referr to the statute which they conceive impowers the Deane to order the times and places of all Divine offices, according to his owne prudence, without taking any notice of the Bishop's power, to whom this prudence of the Deane is subordinate, and subject to inquiry, whether he proceeds *secundum regulas prudentiæ*, or no, wherein they are all bound by an oath to obey the Bishop, as hee shall see cause to require them. They say that some among the Prebendaries weare not hoods answerable to their degrees, but they do not specify who these Prebendaries are. They say that their studies and meditations hinder them from coming to the Quire service so often as otherwise they would do, and that they have not herein looked upon the practice of their predecessors, which might be *various and not imitable*, words very obscure to the Bishop. They referr to the Chappell Royall for their patterne, and to other Cathedrall Churches, where, if any thing be amisse, they have no rule nor reason to follow it.

7th Title. Concerning the fabrick of the Church.

Here is a long narration made of the workmen whom they have imployed, first by day-wages, and afterwards by the great, which they still continue to do; reserving as they say sufficient money to pay them, but to what summe that money ariseth they say not, nor to what summe the repairs which are yet to be made, and injoyned by the Visitor, will amount, upon a view that should have been, and ought to be, taken thereof, by the severall and respective workmen. The inhabitants of the City, neighbours and strangers, many of them find as much fault with the patching of the Church with course morter and lime upon the asler work without, and the broken pavements within, with many other defects there, aswell as some of those persons do commend what is well done already. But these things are to be referred to the view and consideration of the Bishop, and not to strangers and neighbours of the city. What those things are which they hope the Bishop will not presse upon them, or what their reasons are against them, they do not specify. Although they be guardians of the Church, yet they must give the Bishop leave to be their Overseer * (and that in a higher sence then what is specifyed in Mr. Dalton's Justice of Peace) and if he findeth any thing defective to have it supplyed and amended, for this belongeth to his jurisdiction over them, which he is bound to preserve, and must give an account thereof to God and the King and to his owne conscience. Against the sacrilegious persons, in all these five yeares they confesse

* It is the case of all other Rectors and Churches in the Dioces.—*Marginal note.*

they have not made any proceedings to recover by law what was pulled downe, or taken from the Church, which neverthelesse they might have done, aswell as they did it against their tenants, and which they were injoyned to do at the Bishop's last Visitation.

To the 22d Article, concerning their receipts and disbursements, they decline their answer, excusing themselves by the insufficiency of their Auditor. But being auditors to themselves, they are as able to give a summary account both of their receipts and expences, as the Bishop was when hee represented his owne recéipts and disbursements to them, of whom hee requireth onely a generall summe, and no particular account, whereby hee may be able to answer all objections that may be otherwise made against them. The death of the former Deane and Sub-deane will not hinder this account, which without doubt they left behind them in the Church-officers' bookes. If there be a sufficient reserve of money for all the occasions of the Church, the Bishop requires to know what that reserve is. If the Petty-Canons' lodgings all along the entry next the 10th Prebend's house be ruined in the late disordered times, the Deanery and Prebends are restored to their places, and required amongst other workes to repair them also. The Guest-hall and the Petty-Canons' hall, though they have no common diet in them, may neverthelesse be usefull for many occasions, as the Guest-hall especially was heretofore, and therefore ought to be repaired. What large Schoolhouse is built, with the addition of divers rooms to it, is further to be considered, and the incroachment which it hath made upon the Palace-green, confessed to be 25 yards in length and about one yeard in breadth, which they must either restore to the Bishop again, or else hold it of him by lease. The Church-yard is not leasable; and the house let there, contrary to the King's letter, may be exchanged for some other and pulled downe.

8th Title. Concerning Evidences and Charters, &c.

They answer all upon their oaths, that the Exemplification of their Statutes cannot yet be gotten, and yet they do not say what meanes hath been used for that purpose, either at the Rolls or the Tower, where the originall Statute-Book is recorded, having passed under the Great Seale of England.

9th Title. Concerning letting of Manors, and Residences, &c.

If the rents be augmented, by letting of their new leases, they are the more able to susteine and increase their augmentations. Concurrent residences are no more to be allowed after the warning given thereof then they are at the time of the warning it selfe.

10*th Title. Concerning the keeping of Chapters, and Acts of Visitations.*

What the lawfull impediments are why a Chapter is not kept every fortnight, they do not specify, and therefore the Bishop, who is to judge of those impediments, whether they be agreable to the statutes or no, cannot tell whether he shall allow them or no. The good carriage and temper of their Chapter is commendable, but the taxing of other places, and saying that there are but few examples like to their owne, is not so, and is altogether extravagant, and extrinsecall to the Bishop's inquiry.

Strange it is that they can find no footsteps of any Acts of Visitation, which is a sign that they have not well been kept, and therefore they are bound to take more care of them hereafter. But when they say that they find no inquiry grounded upon Injunctions, it should seem they do not so much as keep the Articles of Visitation neither, wherein, (not long since exhibited) before my time, they might have found this Article amongst others, viz. Num. 28, *in fine*:—"*What Acts have been made by the Bishops of Durham, your Visitors, in their severall Visitations, and how are they observed and kept from time to time?*"

They desire that no such Acts or Injunctions may be made without they be first asked and consulted about them, which was never yet demanded of any Bishop by their predecessors, or any others that used to be visited by him: and the Rectors, Vicars and Churchwardens of every parish within his Diocess may aswell demand the same of him, as the Deane and Chapter, which they themselves cannot think fitt to be granted.

The certificate which they mention in this answer they disowned themselves, and withdrew it as being a * writing not so considerately drawne up as it should have been.

To the rest of my Injunctions they answer nothing.

To the 34th Article, they say they have augmented two Vicarages in Durham during pleasure onely, which is not according to the King's Letter, if they be not established upon them for all times to come.

To the 36th and 37th Articles, they answer that there is no irregularity in habits, but they say nothing of coming to the Church in night gownes and grey stockings, nor of wearing long rapiers, great skirted jumpes, and short daggers.

To the additionall Articles, they confesse that some of their Mansion-houses belonging to their Corps abroad, are ruined, and they plead against the repayring of them, and say it is more for the

* Wherein they put a salvo for the privileges and liberties of their Church, as they called it, appropriating it to themselves. Of which privileges *ampliandum est, prout in chartâ subjunctâ.—Marginal note.*

Deane and Prebendaries' benefitt to let them stand ruined as they are. It will not be for the honour of the Deane or the Church to let the house of Bearpark continue useless, as it doth till it be rebuilt, nor for the honour of the Prebendaries to let their Corps houses be still unrepaired. When the Bishop was Prebendary he repaired his owne Corps house at Pittington, as he was bound to do by the Statutes of the Church.

To the second additionall, they answer that they find none backward nor any too forward to confirme leases sent unto them for that purpose from the Bishop. And they plead for a freedome in their votes and a care of that which they call their trust, though the Bishop offers them no lease or patents to be confirmed, which are either without president, or against law, or hurtfull to the see and succession.

In the conclusion, they hope that all these answers will satisfy the Bishop, and professe that they will observe the oath which they have taken to the Church. Of which, their obedience to the Bishop's lawfull commands is one, and yet they do not observe and obey the Bishop's Injunctions.

[Indorsed, "Comperts and Consideracons upon the answers of ye Dean and Prebendaries of Durham to ye Articles of my Lord's second Visitation, 1665."]

V. [Memorandum by Bishop Cosin] concerning the privi-ledges of the Church of Durham *.

The Bishop conceiveth that these following priviledges are to be allowed:—

1. That they shall not be visited by the Arch-Bishop of the Province, but by the Bishop of the Diocess only.
2. That they shall be visited within the precincts of the Bishop's Cathedrall Church.
3. That they shall not beare, or be subject to any secular taxes, juries, or other imployments that may be imposed upon them, without an Act of Parliament, or a custome prescribed.
4. That neither they nor their families shall be personally forced to serve in the warrs.
5. That they are capable to possess an ecclesiasticall benefice, one or more, besides the Deanary and the severall Prebends.
6. That the Deane shall be, within the precincts of the Church, the next ecclesiasticall person in dignity to the Bishop, and the Prebendaries in their order next to the Archdeacons.
7. That they are a body-corporate, and make a Colledge of themselves.
8. That they have ecclesiasticall jurisdiction allowed them in severall places.

* Hunter MSS. ii. 82.

9. That they have the patronage and right of presentation in many churches.

10. That they are *custodes spiritualium, sede Episcopali vacante.*

These following are none of their priviledges or liberties.

1. That they shall not as well erect a consistorial seat for the Bishop within the precincts of his Cathedrall Church, as his stall in the Quire, or his throne betwixt the Quire and the Altar; all which they are to preserve to him, and furnish for him in honourable and decent manner.

2. It is not their priviledge or libertie to keepe any places void that are appoynted by the Statutes of the Church, nor to dispose of the stipends, and profits thereunto belonging at their pleasure.

3. It is not their priviledge or liberty to order the times and places for Divine service as the Deane or they shall thinke fitt, without the consent of the Bishop; for upon this mistake some former Deanes and Prebendaries have appoynted the service only to be read in the Quire, and a ryming psalme to be sung instead of the Nicene Creed before sermon. And if it be left wholy at the liberty of the Deane, as now is pretended, he may do as Pope Gregory the 11th did, and for more conveniency (according to his owne prudence) appoynt the Evening Service to be sung before dinner; (and that in any other part of the Church, out of the Quire) neither of which the Bishop must allow.

4. It is none of their priviledges to come in to the Quire in their furre and night gownes, or to sitt with theire hatts on their heads at the reading of the first and second lessons.

[Indorsed, "Papers concerning my Lord's Visitation in 1665."]

VI. Articles of enquiry exhibited to the Deane, Prebendaries, Minor Canons, Clerks and other Officers of the Cathedral Church of Durham in the third Episcopal Visitation of the Right Reverend Father in God John, Lord Bishop of Durham, in the eighth yeere of his consecration, and in the yeere of our Lord 1668 *.

1. Was all things in the last Visitation found a miss rectifyed and amended in due time, according to the Monitions and Injunctions given you?

2. *Concerning the Deane.*

Hath the Deane since the last Visitation bin vigilant in his office and government over all the Canons and Ministers of the Church? Hath he taken care that all Divine services be duly and religiously performed at the several times and places thereunto appointed: that

* Hunter MSS. ii. 109.

the Church Alms be faithfully distributed: that hospitality be kept by himselfe and the Canons resident: that the treasure, ornaments, and furniture of the Church, together with the chestes, writings, books, registers, and all other goods or utensills be well and safely preserved: that the Courts be duely kept by the Receiver and Steward of the Church? Hath he (not having bin hindred by sickness, or other urgent cause) dayly frequented the Divine offices of the Church in his Quire habit? Hath he every yeere in his owne person officiated and preached in the Quire on the solemn feast dayes by the Statutes of the Church appointed unto him: or in case of just impediment hath he provided some other eminent, learned and fit person to performe the same for him? Hath he kept his house in good repaire, and due residence there [*kept*] according to the Statutes of the Church? Finally, hath he well observed his whole duty in these and all other perticulars? If he hath bin negligent in any thing, declare the truth.

3. *Concerning the Prebendaries.*

Have the Major Canons in their turnes kept residence? Have at least a third part of the 12 Prebendaries bin resiant in their houses maintaining hospitality there? Have all of them kept their houses in good repaire? Have all of them, or as many as at any time have bin at home, and not hindred by sickness or other just cause, dayly frequented the Divine service in the Quire, and borne their parts in it in their Quire habits? Have they in their owne persons officiated in the Quire, on festival dayes whereon the Deane or Sub-deane have not don it themselves? Hath every one of them preached every yeere four sermons there, according to their due course and order: or in case of just impediment have they provided others of their owne ranck and quality to performe the same in their Quire habits? Hath every one of them bin diligent in the performance of the whole duty required of them by the Statutes of the Church? If there hath bin any defect declare it, and who the persons are that have bin defective.

4. *Concerning the yeerely offices amongst the Prebendaries.*

Have the Sub-deanes, Treasurers and Receivers bin yeerely duely chosen and sworne to performe their several offices, according to the Statutes of the Church? Have the Sub-deanes, in the absence of the Deane, carefully attended the government and due ordering of all things appeartaining to the Church? Have the Treasurers duely paid the stipends unto the Deane, Prebendaries, Residentiaries, Divinity Reader, Petty-Canons, Clerks, and all other members or servants of the Church, as the Statutes appoint, and hath bin heretofore accustomed to be don? Have they bin carefull to see that the

Church, walls of the Church-yard, and all houses and buildings thereunto belonging be constantly kept in good and sufficient repaire? Have they made provision for all things needfull for the furniture and ornaments of the Church? Have they bin carefull to look that all the Plate, Vestments, and other utensills belonging to the Church, be diligently preserved, examining the inventories of them every quarter of the yeere, that nothing may be lost or spoyled by negligence? Have the Receivers bin industrious in gathering and receiving the rents, debts and arrearages due unto the Church? Have they made due payment of all moneys so gathered and received to the Treasurer, within the time limited by the statutes?

5. *Concerning the Divinity Reader.*

Hath there bin constantly a Divinity Reader belonging to the Church, being an eminent and learned person, of the degree of Master of Arts at least? Hath he constantly frequented Divine service in his Quire habit? Hath he duely performed his duty in preaching on the two Sundayes in the yeere, according to his course, on Festival dayes, and on the Wednesdays and Frydays in the time of Lent: and hath the wages according to the Statutes of the Church bin duely paid unto him?

6. *Concerning the Minor-Canons, Ministers, and other officers of the Church.*

Hath the full number of Minor-Canons, Clerks, Ministers, and other officers of the Church bin constantly kept up, as well by filling the roomes vacant last Visitation, as by providing others in the places of those which have since that time dyed and removed? Have they bin all duely chosen, admitted and sworne to observe the Statutes of the Church so farre as they are concerned in them? Have all the aforesaid Ministers and officers, both those that have bin of late admitted, and those that were admitted before the last Visitation, behaved themselves well in their respective offices and places? Have they duely frequented Divine service in their Quire habitts, behaving themselves reverendly and orderly there? Are they all men of good fame and honest conversation? Have they shewed them selves able and fit persons for the performance of all duties required of them by the Statutes of the Church? Have their wages and salaries bin duely paid them? Give direct answeres to every perticuler conteined in this Article.

7. *Concerning Divine offices in the Church.*

Hath in the performance of Divine service the Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies in the Church of England, bin duely at all times ob-

served, without alteration, omission or addition? Have the several times of Morning, Evening, and Communion Service bin distinctly kept? Hath every one that is bound to come thereto constantly worne the habitt belonging to their respective degrees and qualities? Hath the Preacher at any time stayed in the vestry, or other place, out of the Quire, during the time of Divine service, till his going in to the pulpit? Hath any Preacher gon up into the pulpit without his Quire habit? Hath he at any time used any set forme or extemporary prayer before his sermon, or any other exhortation to prayer besides the forme appointed by the Constitutions and Canons of the Church of England? Hath any bin admitted to preach in this Church not being a licensed preacher, or before he had shewed his licence?

8. *Concerning the fabrick and repaires of the Church.*

Hath there bin due care taken to keepe the Church and all buildings thereunto belonging in good and sufficient repaire? Hath all the roofe bin constantly kept covered with lead sufficient to keepe out the raine and wether? Have the windowes bin kept well glazed, the flors well and evenly paved, the walls well plastered, and whited, and the inside of the Church kept cleane from cobwebs and dust? Hath the church-yeard wall bin kept up, the gates thereof kept hung and shut to keepe out swine and cattell? Have the houses of the Deane, the Major and Minor-Canons, and of all the other officers belonging to the Church bin kept in good and constant repaire? Hath care bin taken that no new leases should be made of the houses standing upon the Church-yeard, according to the commands of his late Majesty King Charles the first, of glorious memory, given unto the Deane and Chapter by his Royal Letters?

9. *Concerning the Evidences and Charters of the Church.*

Hath care bin taken to preserve and keepe cleane from mould and rottenes the ancient evedencies and charters belonging to the Church, together with the Statute-books, books of account and inventories? Have they not bin suffred to be throwne about and eaten by wormes, mice, or other vermin? Are they kept in good order and method, fit to be made use of upon all occasions?

10. *Concerning letting of Mannors, &c.*

Hath any fraudulent practice bin used in letting any of the mannors, lands, and tenements to farme, contrary to your Statutes? Hath any leases bin made by you without sufficient sureties for the payment of the Church rent and keeping covenants? Hath there

bin any alienation, mortgage, letting to fee-farme, sale or exchange of any lands or tenements belonging to the Church? Hath there bin any leases made of the Church lands for lives, or for more then 21 yeeres, and of the burgage tenements for more than 40 yeeres? Have you let any part of the Corps belonging severally to the Deane and Prebendaries which ought to be kept in their owne hands for the better maintenance and keeping of residence and good hospitality in their respective houses?

11. *Concerning keeping up of Residence, &c.*

Have you observed the Statutes of the Church in keeping residences, admitting none thereto that are not by the Statutes capable of keeping them? Have the Residentiary constantly frequented the Church, both forenoone and evening, during their 21 dayes of residence? Have they in their times of residence augmented their ordinary tables, keeping good hospitality, and inviting to their tables the members of the Church and their poore neighbours, and strangers? Hath every Residentiary duely observed the fasts, and dayes of abstinence, ordained by the lawes, ecclesiastical and temporal, of this Church and Kingdome? Hath every Residentiary allowed him, during his 21 dayes residence, 40 shillings a day, according to the customes and usages of this Church? Hath any Prebendary not capable of keeping residence, or any that being capable have not kept their residence in their due course, had a dividend, or any part or partition thereof, allowed unto him: and, in making of the dividends, have you observed that none be made till the Church have bin first served, by having all things both without and within, and all structures and buildings belonging thereto, kept in good and sufficient repaire: or, at least, before you have made any dividend, have you laid by as much money as would, by the judgment of skilfull and able artists, amend and repaire whatsoever hath bin amiss or out of order?

12. *Concerning keeping of Chapters, and registring Acts, &c.*

Hath the Deane, and in his absence the Sub-deane, called and kept a Chapter every 15 dayes, according to the Statutes of the Church? In those Chapters have your Acts bin registred, and subscribed by the Deane and Prebendaries then present: and is your Act-book well and fairely written and safely kept?

13. And lastly, have any of the Major or Minor Canons, lay singing-men, or other the members, ministers and servants of this Church, at any time refused the lawfull directions and commands of the Deane, to whom, as their guide and governer, they are sworne

to give due obedience and reverence? Have any of them bin knowne, famed, or suspected to live in any greivious or scandalous sin: or have any of them committed any other offence punishable by ecclesiastical censure, and subject to the cognizance of your Visitor?

[Indorsed, "Articles intended to be exhibited to ye Deane and Ch. of Durham. 1668."]

VII. Articles of Visitation and Enquiry concerning matters Ecclesiastical exhibited to the Ministers, Church-wardens and Side-men of every parish within the Archdeaconry of Durham in the Visitation of the Honorable Denis Grenville, Archdeacon of Durham *.

Titul. I. *Concerning Churches and Chappels, with the Ornaments and Furniture thereunto belonging.*

Can. 85. I. Is your Parish Church or Chappel kept in good and sufficient repair, and are the roofs thereof well covered with lead, tile, or slate? the windows well glazed, the floore well paved, the seats well fastened, and conveniently placed; and all things so decently ordered, as becometh the House of God?

Lyndwood's Provinciale, seu Constitutiones Angliæ, lib. iii. *De immun. Ecclesiæ.* II. Hath the steeple or tower of your Church or Chappel, or any part thereof, been pulled down, or any of the lead or bells formerly belonging therunto been imbezelled sold or made away? In whose hands or custody doth the same or any part thereof remain? Declare what you know, or have heard thereof.

Can. 81. Can. 82. Can. 20. III. Is there a Font of stone, with a good cover thereupon, standing in a convenient place towards the lower part of the Church, for the administration of Baptism? And is there in your chansel a desent Communion-table for the administration of the Lord's Supper, with a carpet of silk, stuff, or fine wollen cloth, and another covering of white and pure linnin to spread thereupon? And have you a fair Communion-cup, or chalice, with a cover of silver, and one or more flagons of silver or pewter, thereunto belonging?

Can. 82. Can. 83. Can. 80. Conf. Can. 1. IV. Have you in your said Church or Chappel a convenient seat or pew for the Minister to read Divine service in; a pulpit with a comely cloth or cushion for the same; a Bible of the last translation, in a large volume, and the Book of Common Prayer, (established by

* Reprinted from a copy bound up in a collection of scarce Tracts in the Dean and Chapter Library, Durham. It is in black letter, from the press of "John Bulkley, living in Daviegate," York, 1684. It is wretchedly printed, especially as regards the references to the Canons, &c., almost all of which required correction. From its indorsement the copy in question appears to have been the one furnished to Mr. John Chapman, Minister of Barnard Castle. Mr. Chapman was Curate there from 1682 to 1694.

the late Act of Parliament) both well and substantially bound? Have you likewise the Book of Homilies set forth by authority; a book of Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical; and a printed table of the degrees wherein Marriage is prohibited? Can. 80. Can. 99.

V. Have you a comely large surplice for the Minister to wear at all times of his public ministration, provided and to be duly washed at the charge of your parish? Can. 58.

VI. Have you a Register-book, of parchment, wherein to register the names and sirnames of all the persons as are married, christned, or buried, within your parish, together with the names and sirnames of both the parents of the children so crestned, expressing the day, month, and year, of all such christnings, marriages and burials; and is the transcript thereof yearly within one month next after the 25 of March brought into the Bishop's Regestor? Can. 70.

VII. Have you likewise another book, of paper, wherein to record the names and licenses of all such strangers as are admitted at any time to preach in your Church or Chappel; as also a third book, wherein to write down the Church-wardens accounts: together with a strong chest, with locks and keys, wherein to keep the aforesaid books, and all the forementioned forniture in safe custody; and lastly, have you a bier, with a black hearse-cloth, for the burial of the dead? Can. 52. Can. 89.

Tit. II. *Concearning the Church-yard, the Houses, Glebs, and Tithes, belonging to the Church.*

I. Is your Church-yard sufficiently fensed with walls, pails, or rales, and decently kept from the annoyance of swine, horses and other cattel? Hath any person encroched upon the same, or made any door into it out of his own ground or habitation, without allowance from the Ordinary? Have any trees there growing been cut down? How long since? By whom, and to whose use and benefit? Can. 85.

II. Is the house of your Parson, Vicar, or Curat, (with all the out-houses thereunto belonging) kept in good sufficient repair? Or have any of the said houses, or out-houses, been defaced or pulled down without license from the Ordinary, and by whom? Have any person encroached upon the garden, yard, or close, belonging to your Parsonage, or Vicarage-house; or cut up any trees growing there? or changed or removed the antient marks and bounds of the same? Lyndwood's Prov. lib. i. *de offic. Archid.* Ibid. lib. iii. *de Eccles. edif.*

III. Have you a true and perfect Terrier of all the glebe lands, gardens, orchards, tenements, or cottages, belonging to your Parsonage or Vicarage; as also a note of such pension, rate-tythes, and portions of tythes, or other yearly profits (either within or without your parish) as belong thereunto? Have any of the same been withheld from your Minister; and by whome, as you know, or have heard? Can. 87.

Lyndwood, lib. iii. *de rebus Eccles.*

IV. Have any of the ancient glebe-lands belong[ing] to your Parsonage or Vicarage, been taken away, or exchanged for other, without the free consent of the Incumbent, and license from the Ordinary? By whome hath the same been made; and how many years since; and how much is your Parsonage or Vicarage damnified thereby in the yearly vallue thereof; as you know, believe, or have heard?

Tit. III. *Concerning Ministers.*

Q. Eliz. Inj. 26.

I. Is your Minister defamed, or suspected to have obtained ether his Benefice or Orders by any simoniacal compact?

II. Hath he been legally inducted into his Benefice?

Can. 36. Lyndwood, lib. iii. 13 Q. Eliz. chap. 12.

III. Did he, within two months after his induction, publicly in the Church upon some Sunday or Holy-day, in the time of Divine service read the 39 Articles of the Church of England established [by] authority, and their publicly declar his essent thereunto?

Can. 41.

IV. Hath he any other Ecclesiastical Benefice? Is he constantly resident upon his Benefice among you? How many weeks in any one year hath he been absent from it?

Can. 48.

V. Hath your minister a Curate to assist him? Who is that Curate? Is he conformable to the laws and orders of the Church of England, and doth he serve in any other Church beside? And what yearly stipend doth your minister allow him?

Can. 14, 21, 67. Rubrick of Bapt. Commun. Visitat. Bur. Commin.

VI. Doth your Parson, Vicar, or Curat, in reading the daily Morning and Evening Service, administration of the Holy Sacrament, celebration of Marriage, Churching of women after child-birth, Visitation of the sick, Burial of the dead, and pronowncing God's Comination against impenitent sinners, use the form and words prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, without any addition, omission, or alteration of the same? And doth he use all such rites and ceremonies in all parts of Divine service as are appointed in the said Book, so far as you have observed?

Can. 58.

VII. Doth your Minister, at the reading or celebrating the Divine offices in your Church or Chappel, wear the surplice?

Can. 64. Rubrick Com. Pra. Q. Eliz. Injunct. 1559.

VIII. Doth he observe the Holy-days and Fasting-days, as also the Ember-weeks, and the yearly perambulation in Rogation-week, as in the Common-Prayer Book is appointed; giveing notice to the parishioners of every of the same in the Church, in the time of Divine service, upon the Sunday next before?

Can. 45.

IX. Hath your Minister been licensed to preach by the Bishop? If so, doth he then constantly, unless in case of sickness, necessary absence, or other resonable impediment, himself preach in your

Can. 49. Can. 45, 46.

Church or Chappel one sermon every Sunday? Or, if he be not a licenced preacher, or, being so licenced, be hindred by sickness, or otherwise as aforesaid, doth he procure a sermon to be so preached by some other Minister, a licenced preacher; or one of the Homilies, set forth by authority, to be their read by a Priest or Deacon?

X. Doth your Minister deligently instruct the youth of your parish in the Church-Catechism? And doth he prepare, and present them, being so instructed, to be confirmed by the Bishop? And doth he endeavour to reclame all popish recusants, and other sectaries, (if any such be inhabiting within your parish) to the true religion established in the Church of England, and to their bounden duty in obeying the law, and submitting to the goverment thereof? Can. 59. Can. 61. Can. 66.

XI. Doth he neglect or refuse to visit the sick, or delay the baptism of any infant that is in danger of death? Is there any child past infancy, or other person of more years, through [*your*] Minister's defolt, yet remaining unbaptized in your parish? Doth he use to baptize any without Godfathers and Godmothers, or admit either of the parents to be Godfather or Godmother to their own children? Can. 67. Can. 68. Can. 69. Can. 29.

XII. Hath he at any time (as you know or have heard) preached any false, heretical, seditious, or schismatical doctrine, thereby to seduce the people into parties and factions, the disturbance of the public peace and unity, either of Church or State? Can. 5. 12 [? *Elizabeth*].

XIII. Hath he presumed to marry any persons in private houses, or such as being under age have not the consent of their parents; or without the banes first published, on the Sundayes or Holy-days, in the Church; or at any other hour then between eight and twelve in the morning, unless he had a license or dispensation so to do? Can. 62.

XIV. Doth any person preach in your parish as a Lecturer? Hath he allowance from the Bishop for so doing? Doth he before his lecture read Divine service according to the Book of Common Prayer? And is he in all respects conformable to the laws and orders of the Church of England? Can. 36.

XV. Hath your Minister taken upon him to apoint any public or private fasts, prophesying, or exercises not appointed by authority, or doth he or any other, either Minister or lay person, hold any conventicles or meetings in private houses within your parish, for people of several families to resort unto, under the pretence of preaching, praying, thanksgiving, or humiliation, contrary to the laws and canons in that case provided? Can. 72. Can. 73.

XVI. Is your Parson, Vicar, Curate, or Lecturer, a man of a sober, unblameable, and exemplary life? Doth he familiarly converse with ungodly, vitious, and excommunicate persons? Is he a frequenter of taverns, or quarreller? Doth he set neighbours at variance one with another; or encourage them to suits and contentions? Is he noted to be an intemperate drinker; or vehemantly suspected of incontinency with any person either within your parish or without? Is his apparel grave and decent, as the Canons of the Church require? Or is his carriage and conversation, in any kind whatsoever, disorderly or scandalous, and unbeseeming a minister of Jesus Christ? Can. 75. Can. 74.

Tit. IV. *Concerning the Parishioners.*

Can. 110. I. Is there in your parish any person a known or reputed heretic or schismatick; any Papist, Familist, Anabaptist, Quaker, or other sectaries, that refuse to come unto the public assemblies, prayers, or services of the Church; or that makes profession of any other religion than what is established in the Church of England? And if there be any such, what are their names?

Can. 109. II. Is their any person in your parish that liveth under a common fame or vehement suspition of adulterer, fornicator, or incest? Are their any common drunkards within your parish, or common swearers, or blasphemers of God's Name; or any that are noted to be railors, unclean and filthy talkers, or sowers of sedition, faction and discord among their neighbours?

5 & 6 Edward VI. Can. 13. 1 Q. Eliz. 2. III. Do any of your parish upon Sundays or Holy-days follow their bodily or ordinary labours, or permit their servants so to do? Are any shops kept open or wares sold? or do any vintners, innkeepers, or other victuallers, and sellers of bear or ale, suffer any person to tipple or game in their houses upon those days?

Can. 18. IV. Doth every person inhabiting and sojurning within your parish duly resort unto the Church or Chappel upon every Sunday or Holy-day appointed for Divine service? Do they then and there abide, quietly, with reverence, order, and decence, during all the whole time of Common-prayers, preaching, or other service of God there used? And are there any among you that come only to the preaching, and not to Common-prayers of the Church?

Can. 18. V. Doth every person reverently uncover his head, and so continue all the time of Divine service in the Church? Do they all reverently kneel at the prayers, and stand up when the Creed and Gosple are read, making due reverence when the Name of our Lord Jesus is mentioned?

Rub. Bap. VI. Are there any in your parish that refuse to send their infant children to be baptized publicly in the Church, unless in case of urgent danger, in which case the child may be baptized at home, by a lawful Minister, after the form and rites appointed in the Leturgy? Or do they send them from their own Minister to be baptized in any other parishes, or after other form then is appointed? Or do they keep them unbaptized any longer time then the Church alloweth? And are there any infants or more aged persons in your parish as yet unbaptized?

Can. 59. VII. Doth every housholder in your parish cause their children and servants to come to Church to learn their Catechism, and to give an account thereof unto your Minister, as he shall require it of them, openly in the Church, upon Sundays and Holy-days, as in the Book of Common-prayer is appointed; and [? *that*] when they are well instructed in the same they may be confirmed by the Bishop together?

Can. 61.

VIII. Is there any person in your parish who, be[ing] 16 years of age, doth not receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper at least three times in the year, of which Easter is alwayes to be one? Doth any of your parish refuse to receive the same kneeling, or from the hands of your own Minister, repairing for it to other parishes and ministers abroade? Or are there any strangers, not of your parish, that forsake their on churches, and usually repair to others from it? Can. 112. Can. 21. Can. 27. Rubrick Com. Pr. Can. 28 & 57.

IX. Have you any amongst you that be denounced and declared excommunicate for any crime committed? How long have [*they*] been so excommunicated; and do any of your parish keep society with them before they be reconciled to the Church, and absolved? Can. 65.

X. Are there any leving in your parish as man and wife who are within the degrees prohibited; or any that being lawfully married and not separated or divorced by course of law, do not exhibit [? *cohabit*] together? Can. 99.

XI. Are there any married women in your parish who after there delivery from the peril of child-birth refuse to make there publick thanksgiving to God in the Church? And when they come so to do [*do*] they come decently apparelled, and make their offerings according to custom? Rubrick Com. Prayer.

XII. Are there any belonging to your parish who refuse to pay their duty for Easter-offerings to your Minister; or any that refuse to contribute and pay the rate assessed upon them for repair of your Church or Chappel, and for the providing of such Books, Furniture, and Ornaments, as be requisite for the performance of all Divine offices there? 28 Hen. VIII. Rubrick Com. Prayer. Can. 85.

XIII. Do any refuse to bury their dead according to the rites of the Church of England? And are there any wills or testaments of persons dead in your parish that be yet unproved? Or any goods administred without a due grant from the Ordinary? Did any dying in your parish, or else where, leave any legacy to your Church or Chappel? What were those legacies, and how have they been bestowed? Rub. Com. Prayer. Can. 6. Can. 92. 21 Hen. VIII. c. 5. Lyndwood, lib. iii. *de testamentis.*

XIV. Is there any strife or contention among any of your parish for there pewes or seats in your Church? Have any new pewes been erected in your Chansel, or in the body of your Church or Chappel, without leave from the Ordinary?

[Tit. V.] *Concearning Parish-Clearks and Sextons.*

I. Have you belonging to your Church or Chappelry a Parish-Clerk, aged 21 years at the least? Is he of honest life and conversation; and sufficient or able to perform his duty, in reading, writing, and singing? Is he chosen by the Minister, and doth he duly attend him in all Divine servecies at the Church? Are his wages duely paid unto him? Can. 91.

II. Doth he or your Sexton (if there be any such appointed in your parish) diligently look to your doors of your Church, that they be locked and opened at due time? And doth he keep your Church or Chappel clean from dust, cob-webs, and other annoyances? Doth he toul or ring the bells, at the due accustomed hours, before the beginning of Divine service, Morning and Evening, that the people
Can. 67. may be warned to come unto the Church? And when any person is passing out of this life, doth he, upon a notice given him thereof, toll a bell, as hath been accustomed, that the neighboures may hereby be warned to recommend the dying person to the grace and favour of God?

Tit. VI. *Concerning Hospitals, Schools, School-masters, Physicians, Chirurgens, and Midwives.*

2 Hen. V. 1. 1 Q. Eliz. 34. [? 23 *Eliz.* 1.] I. Is there in your parish any Hospitals, Alms-house, or Free-school, not of the King's foundation or patronage? Who was the founder, or is now the patron thereof? And what is the yearly revenue or stipend belonging to the governors or masters of the same? Is the same ordered and governed in every respect as it ought to be? And are the revenues thereof rightly employed, according to the intention of the founder, and of such grants or ordinances as have been made concerning the same?

Can. 77. Can. 79. II. Doth any man keep a publick or private school in your parish, who is not allowed thereunto by the Bishop? Doth your Schoolmaster teach his schollers the Catechism of religion set forth by authority? Doth he cause them, upon Sundays and Holy-days, orderly to repair to your Church or Chappel, and see that they behave themselves there quietly and reverently during the time of Divine service and sermon?

3 Hen. VIII. 18. III. Doth any man in your parish practice physick or chirurgery, or any woman take upon her to exercise the office of a midwife, without approbation and license from the Ordinary?

Tit. VII. *Queries to be put to the Minister, concerning the Church-wardens and Side-men.*

Can. 89. I. Are the Church-wardens of your parish yearly and duly chosen, by the joynt consent of the Minister and Parishioners; or one of them by the Minister and the other by the Parishioners?

Can. 89. II. Have the former and last Church-wardens given up their due accounts to the parish, and delivered up to the succeedeing Church-wardens the moneys remaining in their hands, together with all other things belonging to your Church or Chappel?

Can. 90. III. Did the Church-wardens and Side-men take diligently care, and see who of their parishioners are absent from the Divine service and sermon, in your Church or Chappel, upon Sundays and Holy-

days, and, if they find any of them have absented themselves, without a sufficient cause, do they by warrant from some of the Justices of peace levy of them, by way of distress upon their goods, the som of 12 pence for every such day of their absence, according to the Act of Parliament in that case provided? And do they distribute the several sums so levyed among the poorest of your parish according to the law? 1 Q. Eliz. 2.

IV. Do they present them that come late to Church, after Divine service is begun, or depart before it be ended? Do they suffer none to stand idle, or talke together in [*the*] church-porche, or to walk in [*the*] Church or Church-yard, during the time of prayers, preaching, or other sacred offices? Can. 18. Can. 19. Can. 90.

V. Do they suffer no misbehavior or desorder to be done by men, women, servents or children, in your Church or Chappel? Are they careful that none of them sit, lean, or lay their hats upon the Communion-table? Do they permit no minstrils, no morice-dancers, no dogs, hawks, or hounds, to be brought or come into your Church, to the disturbance of the congregation? Can. 18. Can. 19.

VI. Do they against every Communion appointed in your Church or Chappel, provide a sufficient quantity of fine white bread, and of good wine, according to the number of communicants? Can. 20.

VII. Do they cause all strangers that preach in your Church or Chappel to subscribe their names, the same day, in a book provided for that purpose, together with the name of the Bishop that licensed them to preach in his Diocess? And do they permit no other to preach? Can. 52. Can. 50.

VIII. Have they (the Church-wardens and Side-men now sworn to give in a true answer unto all these articles of enquiry in all their several titles) taken sufficient time to draw up their presentments, and therein consulted with you, their Minister, for your faithful assistance? Can. 119.

For know you assuredly, that, as the true discharging of your office is the chief means whereby publick disorders, sins and offences in your parish may be reformed and punished; so if you wilfully refuse to present such crimes and faults as either you know to have been committed . . . . . or by publick fame, that in such cases the Bishop and his . . . . . are to proceed against you in the Ecclesiastical Court, as in cases of wilful omission and perjury.

The Ministers of every parish are desired to give in the names of such of the younger sort of their several parishes as they judge fit to receive confirmation from the Bishop, and present them to be confirmed, especially such as, having competently learned their Catechism, have not yet received the Holy Communion: and to present them to the Bishop to be confirmed as there shall be opportunity.

VIII. EASTER VISITATION, HELD APRIL 1684. INJUNCTIONS WHICH ISAAC BASIRE, ESQ., BATCHELLOR OF LAWES, OFFICIALL OF THE ARCHDEACONRY OF NORTHUMBERLAND, REQUIRES THE CLERGY TO OBSERVE WITHIN THE SAID ARCHDEACONRY *.

I. THAT every Clergy-man, according to the rubrick and canon in that case provided, hereafter duely observe and performe the necessary and fundamentall duty of *catechizeing*, every Sunday at the least, under the penalty of the law upon such, both of the Clergy and Laity, as shall refuse or neglect the due observance thereof, commanded by the express instructions of four Princes successively.

II. That the Clergy, after conference first had, present such obstinate and notorious schismatiques as are to be made exemplary by an effectuall execution of the law upon them.

III. That the rubricke injoyneing Dayly Prayer be observed duely by all Priests and Deacons, either publiquely or at least privately, not being lett by sickness or other reasonable cause †.

IV. That sicke persons be visited by their several Parsons, Vicars, or Curates, haveing knowledge thereof, and instructions and advice imparted to them touching their spiritual state.

* Hunter MSS. xi. 135.

† This Injunction respecting Daily Prayer is noteworthy. Mr. Basire was no doubt reiterating the instructions heretofore given by his father, Dr. Basire, the Archdeacon of Northumberland. Enough remains in the correspondence of the latter to show that he was one of a class of clergy who were like-minded with those true sons of the Church of England George Herbert and Nicholas Ferrar, and recognized, with them, the daily celebration of Mattins and Evensong not only as an obligation, but as a blessed privilege. It is probable also that he fashioned his family in more minute matters after their pattern. The Editor is tempted to record a trifling, though somewhat curious instance, which fell under his notice some five-and-twenty years ago. The house in the South Bailey, formerly the residence of Mr. Isaac Basire, and now occupied by the Precentor of Durham Cathedral, was subjected at that time to some alteration, in the course of which a closet was pulled down in one of the rooms, which disclosed the manner in which Mr. Basire had adorned his walls. They had been coloured green, with a sort of panelled border painted below the cornice, and evidently continued round the room. On the part then brought to view was inscribed a verse from the Book of Proverbs. When George Herbert speaks of the Country Parson's house, he says, "Even the walls are not idle, but something is written or painted there which may excite the reader to a thought of piety." One is reminded also of the picturesque description given in the Life of Nicholas Ferrar of the "Concordance room, which was all coloured over with green pleasant colour varnished, for the more pleasure to their eyes, ... and each person of the family, and some other good friends of their kindred, gave each their sentence, which should be written round the upper part of the walls of the room; that so when they entered the chamber, or at any time looked up from the walls, these sentences presented themselves to their eyes."

V. That the whole, as well as the sick, be seasonably and discreetly conferred with by the Clergy, in order to reduce those who are out of the way, and to confirme and strengthen such as are wavering.

VI. That some competent time before every visitation the Clergy conferre with the Churchwardens of their several parishes, and informe them with the danger of an oath, if not duely observed; and to assist and direct them in drawing up their presentments, least any notorious offence escape unpunished.

VII. That the Clergy hereafter appear personally at the Visitation coures, Easter and Michaelmas, except they be hindred by some legall lett or impediment, wherewith they are injoyned to satisfy the Archdeacon, or his Officiall, by a mesinger on purpose, who may be ready to make oath thereof, if required: and that they make due return of the process to them directed, according as they are obliged by law and usage.

VIII. That every Parson, Vicar, Curate, or Preacher, upon some one or more Sundays in every quarter of a year, at Morning Prayer, shall, in the place where he officiates or preaches, treatably and audibly read the Homily against Disobedience and wilfull Rebellion, in the Book of Homilies contained, or preach a discreet sermon wherein the regall power may be duly and fully assarted, being the ordinance of God himselfe, founded in the prime lawes of nature, and clearly establised by expresse texts both of the Old and New Testaments. ISAAC BASIRE.

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INDEX OF PERSONS.

Adamson, *alias* White, Margaret, 246
Adolphus, Prince, 171
Alban, Francis, 94
Allenson, Marmaduke, 195
———, Ralph, *ibid.*
———, cousin, 206
Ansley, Dr., 168
Appleby, Cuth., 247
Arden, Mr., 246
Arlington, Earl of, *see* Bennett
Ashton, Mr., 135
Atkinson, Tho., 246
Atrick, *see* Ettrick

Bagshaw, Dr., 231, 232, 233
Baker, Thomas, Fellow of St. John's, 84. 99. 127. 213. 228
Barwick, Dr., 188
Basire, Basiere, Dr., Archdeacon of Northumberland, 144. 146. 151. 167. 209. 245. 251, 252. 262. 282
———, Isaac, Esq., 147, 148. 150, 151. 155, 156. 159. 162. 167, 168. 213. 217. 242. 282, 283
———, John, Esq., 161. 245
———, ——, Mr., 201
———, J., Esq., 189, 190
———, Mr. Charles, 245
Basset, Sir William, 167
Bath, Bathe, Earl of, 66. 95. 150. 171. 190. 193, 194. 200. 204
——, lord, 184
Battersby, Mr., 195
Baxter, Mr., 212
Beaumont, Rev. Hamond, 159. 249, 250
———, Mr., 195, 196
Belasyse, Sir William, Knt., 242
Bennett, Sir H., Earl of Arlington, 165
Benson, John, Jo., 247, 248. 250
Beuron, Marquess of, 77
Beveridge, Dr., 174. 177. 209. 234, 235. 237
Birkhead, Berkhead, Dr., 244, 245. 247
Blacket, Sir William, 191. 194. 245
———, Lady, 192
Blakiston, Blakeston, Blaxston, Col., 152. 154
———, Rob., 157, 158. 247
———, Tho., 205
———, Mary, 195
———, Marmaduke, *ibid.*
———, Mr., 245
Bowes, Sir William, 204. 206
———, Mr., 231. 248
———, Mr. Cuth., 250
Bowman, Jo., 248
Bradock, Mr., 173
Brevint, Dr. Daniel, 148. 218, 219, 220, 221. 223
———, Mrs., 148
Bristol, Bishop of, 151
Brittaine, Henry, 247
Brown, Mr., 163
Browne, Dr., 243
Brudenel, Lord, 220
Burnet, Dr., 83. 167
———, Alexander, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, 164
———, Mr. John, *ibid.*
Bub, Capt., 76
Bulkley, John, 274
Bull, Mr., 173
Bulmer, Sir Bertram, 200
Burton, Mr. R., 212, 213. 217
———, Sir Thos., 213
———, Lady, *ibid.*
Bury, Dr. Arthur, 172

Byerley, Robert, Esq., 204
———, Anthony, *ibid.*

Caermarthen, Marquis of, 69
Canterbury, Archbishop of, 209
Carleton, Bishopp, 150
Carlisle, Bishop of, 75. 246
Carteret, George, lord, 66
Cartwright, Dr., Bishop of Chester and Dean of Ripon, 191. 195. 201. 204
Cary, Mr., 169
Chapman, Tho., 245
———, Mr. John, 274
Charles I., King, 34. 66. 82. 89. 272
——— the martyr, King, 57. 109
——— II., King, 46. 49, 50. 66. 70. 79. 81. 114. 190, 191. 218
Chester, Bishop of, *see* Cartwright
Chichester, Bishop of, 198
Chuke, Michael, 66
Clarendon, Earl of, 69
Clavell, Mr., 182
Cobham, Lord, 66
Cock, Mr. John, 127
Cole, Sir Ralph, 224
——, Sir Nicholas, *ibid.*
——, James, *ibid.*
——, Ralph, Esq., *ibid.*
——, Sir Mark, *ibid.*
Colingwood, Mr. George, 251
Comber, Dr. Tho., 163. 176. 181. 183. 188, 189. 236
Conyers, Sir Christopher, 192. 197. 245
Cook, Mr., 240
Cosin, Cosins, Bishop, 68. 93. 114. 120. 143, 144, 145, 146, 147. 167. 170. 174. 179. 189. 211. 213. 232. 246. 268
——, Dr. Jo., 195
——, Mrs., *ibid.*
Cosnac, Monseigneur Daniel de, *see* Valence, Evesque de
Cradock, Cradocke, Sir Joseph, Knt., 189
———, Thos., Esq., 189. 225. 245. 249
———, Mr., 162, 163. 190. 248, 249, 250
———, Mrs., 227
Crewe, Nathaniel, Lord, Bishop of Durham, 94. 180, 181. 183, 184. 187. 204. 218
Crosby, Crosbie, Jo., 160
Crosbie, Mr., 248
Cullam, Dr., 168

Dale, Mr., 189, 190
Dalton, Thos., D.D., 154
———, Madam, *ibid.*
Dalton, Dr., 191
Danby, Lord, 69
Dartmouth, Lord, 227
Davies, Dr., 160
Davison, Mr., 127
———, Mr. William, 245, 246
———, Samuel, Esq., 147. 157. 213. 242
———, John, 147
———, Sir Alexander, Knt., 213. 242
———, William, Esq., 242
———, Ralph, Esq., *ibid.*
———; Alexander, Curate of Norham, 252
Delaval, Delavall, Delavale, Mr., 184. 245
———, Rob., Esq., 217, 218
———, Tho., Esq., 217
———, Sir Ralph, *ibid.*
Dennys, Mrs., 170
Dick, Sir James, 48
Dodson, Sir William, 244. 247
Dodwell, Mr., 172
Dolben, Archbishop, 175. 183
Duck, Mr., 245
Dugdale, Dugdel, Sir William, 167. 177
Dumblane, Dumblaine, Lord, 69
———, Bishop of, *see* Leighton
Duncon, Mr., 248
Dunelm, Joh., 260
Dunn, Jo., 247
Dunnell, Mr., *ibid.*
Durham, Duresme, Bishop of, 94. 98. 154. 156, 157. 189. 209. 217
——, John, Lord Bishop of, 252. 269
——, Crewe, Nathanael, N., Bishop of, *see* Crewe, Nathaniel, Lord
Dykevelt, Mons., 69

Ebor, Joh., 176
Edward the 6th, 167. 172
Elizabeth, Queen, 46
Ellies, Mr., 48
England, Queen of, 3
Errington, Mr., 224
Essex, Earl of, 66
Ettrick, Atrick, Mr., 244. 246, 247
———, Walter, Esq., 246
Evans, Dr., 173
Exton, Sir Thomas, 174

Farrow, Mrs., 245
Featherstonhaugh, Ralph, 246
Fell, John, Bishop of Oxford, 171
Ferrar, Nicholas, 282
Floyd, *see* Lloyd
Forster, Wm., 246
France, King of, 213

George I., 66. 69
Gordon, Duke of, 77
Gower, Dr., Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, 212. 227
Graham, William, D.D., Prebendary of Durham, 231
———, Sir George, *ibid.*
Granville, Grenville, Grenvyle, Greenvill, Dr. Denis, *passim*
———, Sir Bevil, 64. 66. 82. 218
———, Bevil, 66
———, Hon. Bernard, 168. 170. 189. 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223. 225. 227. 246
———, Earl of, 66
———, Countess of, *ibid.*
———, Sir John, *see* Bath, Earl of.
———, George, 218. 220. 233
———, Grace, 66
———, lady, 190
———, Mrs., 195
———, family of, 121
Grey, Dr. Robert, Prebendary of Durham, 184. 232, 233
——, Lord, of Wark, 232
——, Mr., 127
Grievson, Greeveson, Mr., 244
———, Wm., 247, 248
Gunning, Bishop, 120. 212

Hackett, Mr. Thomas, 77
Hall, Alderman, 205
——, Jonathan, D.D., Prebendary of Durham, *ibid.*
Hamond, Dr. Hen., 84
Harrison, Mr., 227
Henry, Mr., 245
Hendry, Jo., 247
———, Mr. Cuth., *ibid.*
Herbert, Mr. George, 132. 212. 282
Hern, Capt., 75
Heywood, Haywood, Sir William, 169. 188
Hickeringill, Edmundus, 173
Higgons, Sir Thomas, Knt., 83. 204
Hinkes, Widow, 245
Hixon, Richard, 245, 246
Hodgson, Wm., 247
Hope, Mr. James, 119. 127
——, Mr., 247, 248. 250
Howard, Mr., Governour of Carlisle, 75
———, Sir Philip, 190
Hussay, Lady, 230
Hutton, Henry, 213
———, Sir Richard, Knt., *ibid.*

Ireland, Chancellour, 155
Ireton, Capt., 70

Isaacson, Mr., 245
———, Anth., 247, 248

James, King of England, 12
——, ——, 69. 79. 182
James II., King, 40. 46. 49, 50. 83. 94. 96. 106. 114. 117. 122. 134. 136
Jefferson, John, Mr. Serjeant, 242. 247, 248
Jenkins, Mr. Secretary, 167. 169. 177
———, Sir Leoline, 180
Johnson, Mr. Samuel, 94
———, Mr., 127
Jones, Mr., 173

Katherine, Queen-dowager, 12
Ken, Bishop, 174. 237
Kendal, Mr., 127
Kennedy, Bishop, 164
Kingford, Mr. William, 119. 230. 247
Kirkby, Mr., 247

Lambton, Mr., 162
———, Henry, Esq., *ibid.*
———, Sir William, *ibid.*
———, William, Esq., 204
Lane, Mr. Joseph, 183
Lansdowne, Lord, 190. 204. 218. 220. 233
Laud, Bishop, 34. 164
Lauderdale, Lord, 165
Leeds, Duke of, 69
Leighton, Bishop of Dumblane, 165
———, Robt., 245
Leke, Lady Katherine, 218
Lever, Mr., 249
Levet. Mr., 173
Lincoln, Lincolne, Bishop of, 217
———, Guil., 218
———, Dean of, 222, 223. 230. 245
Lisle, Maurice, Vicar of Fishlake, 227
——, Mr., 246, 247
——, Mrs., 248
Lloyd, Floyd, Sir Richard, 180, 181. 183
——, Andrew, 180
——, Richard, *ibid.*
London, Henry, Bishop of, 94
Lumley, Lord, 69, 70. 92. 101
———, Richard, Lord, 192
———, ..., 228
———, Mrs., *ibid.* 229

Maddison, Mr. Charles, 127
Man, Rev. Charles, 176
Mapletoft, Dr., 218
March, John, B.D., Vicar of Newcastle, 167

Mary, Queen, 12
Mason, Will., 159. 247
Mauburn, Mr. Luke, 127
Melford, Lord, 78
Melsonby, Tho., 247, 248
Meriton, George, Dean of York, 182
Metcafe, Mr., 248
Mickleton, Mr., *ibid.*
Middleton, Earl of, 240
Midford, Captaine, 196
———, Mr., 174
Milbanke, Sir Ralph, 224
Miller, Ambrose, 245, 246
Mitchel, Bishop, 164
Monk, Gen., 66. 81
Monmouth, Duke of, 66. 69
Montague, Montagu, Dr., Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and of Sherburn Hospital, 169. 180, 181. 184. 190. 212
Morland, Mr., 159
———, George, Esq., *ibid.*
———, John, *ibid.*
Morley, Cuth., Esq., 218. 220
Morton, Bishop, 146. 182
———, Mr., 186. 207
Muscovy, Duke of, 82
Musgrave, Sir Christopher, 75, 76
———, brother, 206

Needom, Dr., 225
Neile, Mr., 147. 155. 157, 158
Newcastle, Marquis of, 204
———, Viccar of, 209

Oates, Titus, 42. 97
Oley, Mr. Barnabas, 212
Orange, Prince of, 54. 66. 69, 70. 74. 79. 88. 92. 96. 98. 101. 111
Osborne, Sir Thomas, *see* Danby, Lord

Padman, Mr., 246
Parker, Bishop of Oxford, 226
Parkinson, Tho., 248. 250
Pattison, Wm., 245
Peachey, Vice-chancellor of Cambridge, 94
Pennyman, William, Esq., 242
Peterborough, Lord, 66. 200
Peters, Mr., Secretary to the Bishop of Durham, 99
Potter, Mr., 245
Proud, Prowde, Mr., 163. 224. 247, 248
———, Jo., 249, 250
Purcell, Coll., 75

Ramsay, Mr., 248
Ramshaw, Jo., 247
Reed, Nich., 245
——, Anth., 246
Reresby, Sir John, 69
Rhodes, John, 227
Richardson, Capt., 205, 206. 230
Rider, Ryder, Mr., 198. 205, 206
Ripon, Rippon, Dean of, *see* Cartwright, Dr.
Robinson, Christ., 245, 246
Roper, Mr., 247
Rupert, Prince, 208
Rutherford, General, 164

Sancroft, Archbishop, 91. 160. 174. 183. 187. 208. 210. 213. 217, 218. 233
Sanderson, Bishop, 174. 236
Sandwich, Earl of, 180. 184
Saywel, Dr., Master of Jesus College, Cambridge, 212
Scarborough, Earl of, 69
Scarsdale, Francis, Earl of, 218. 220
Scot, James, Rector of Ford, 252
Sharp, Archbishop (of St. Andrew's), 164
Shaw, Matthew, 246
——, Mr., 247
Sheldon, Bishop, 174
Sisterson, Mr., 195. 197. 200. 206, 207. 247
Simpson, Jo., 246
Skinner, Mr., 247. 250
Smith, Thomas, Bishop of Carlisle, 75
———, Smythe, Sir Edward, 197. 200. 207
———, John, Esq., 200
———, Father, 186
———, Ber., *ibid.*
———, John, Minor-Canon, and afterward Prebendary, of Durham, 204. 207
———, George, Esq., 204. 228
———, Joseph, 228
———, ———, LL.D., *ibid.*
———, John, D.D., *ibid.*
———, Joseph, Provost of Queen's College, *ibid.*
———, Mr., of Burnhall, 239
———, Dr., 241
———, Mr., 247
Snawdon, Wm., 248
Softley, Thomasine, *ibid.*
Spearman, Mr. Sherriffe, 224
St. Andrew's, Archbishop of, *see* Burnet, Alexander
St. Asaph, Bishop of, *see* Beveridge
St. Paul's, Dean of, *see* Sancroft
Stagg, Will., 283

Stapilton, Miles, Esq., 147
———, Mr., 155. 160
Stote, Lady, 201
Stothard, Mr., 197
Strafford, Lord, 34
Stuart, Steward, Dr. Richard, 166. 169, 170. 177. 209
Sudbury, Dr. John, Dean of Durham, 151. 187. 191. 247
———, Sir John, 247
Sueden, Prince of, 171
———, King of, *ibid.*
Symmonds, Mr., 217

Taylor, Luke, 245, 246. 250
Tecli, 55
Tempest, Coll., 245
Teyiot, Earl of, 164
Thompson, Sir William, Knt., 192
———, Wm., 245
———, Jo., *ibid.*
Thornhill, Lady, 248
Thursby, Geo., 250
Thynne, Henry Frederic, 66
Tillotson, Dr., 176
Tong, 97
Touchet, Father, 240
Traquair, Earl of, 164

Underhill, Und'hill, Sir William, 163. 244. 247

Valence, Bishop of, 213
———, Monseigneur Daniel de Cosnac, Evesque et Compte de, *ibid.*

Waldegrave, Lord, 78
Wales, Prince of, 12. 97. 99
Walton, Hugh, Alderman of Durham, 247
Waterford, Richard, Viscount, 69
Welwood, James, M.D., 167
Weymouth, Viscount, 66
Wheler, Wheeler, Sir George, 184. 188, 189. 203. 205, 206. 209. 229, 230, 231. 234
———, Col. Charles, 203
Whelus, Mr., 248
White, Mr., 245
———, Tho., *ibid.*
———, *see* Adamson
Wilkinson, Mr. William, 191. 193. 197. 199, 200, 201. 245, 246, 247, 248. 250
William, King, 66
——— III., 69
Wilson, Mr. William, Registrar of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, 186. 191, 192, 193. 196, 197. 199. 201. 206, 207. 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225. 229, 230, 231, 232. 245. 247, 248, 249
———, Sudbury, 191
Wiseman, Sir Robert, 180
Wittie, Robert, Doctor of Physic, 161
Wolfe, Jo., 245
Woodmas, Mr., 229
Wright, Captain, 155
Wyat, Mr., 168
Wych, Wyche, Sir Peter, 66. 190

York, Archbishop of, 208
——, Duke of, 45. 48. 94

INDEX OF PLACES.

Aberdeen, 164
Acton Burnel, 200
Aix, in Provence, 161
Allison Bank, 75
All Souls', Oxford, 180
Amboina, 46. 97
Archdeacon Newton, 245
Aston, 180
Auckland, Aukland, 98
————, Bishop's, 167
———— Castle, 183
————, St. Andrew's, 155

Bailey, South, 282
Bantam, 46. 97
Barnardcastle, 274
Barnnoll, 181
Barns, 164
Bath and Wells, 174
Bearpark, 244. 268
Beconsfield, 170
Bedlington, 229
Berwick, 77
Bideford, 66
Billingham, 206. 244
Bishop's Auckland, *see* Auckland
Bishopton, 185
Bishop Wearmouth, 184. 232
Blakiston, 213
Borough-Bridge, Burrow-Bridge, 219. 221, 222
Boxted, 173
Boyne, 69
Bradbury, 245
Brampton, 213
Brancepath, 195
———— Castle, 224
Breda, 203
Brest, 77
Bristol, 150
Burnhall, 204. 239

Cambridge, 84. 99. 146. 181, 182. 204. 213. 248
Canterbury, 135. 178
Carboil, Corbeil, 66. 23
Carlisle, 74, 75, 76. 96, 150. 231
Chering crose, 186
Chester in the Street, 127
Chichester, 150
Christ Church, 178
Cleveland, 218. 220. 246
Cockfield, 205
Coken Boate, 191
Colchester, 173, 174. 235
Corbeil, *see* Carboil
Cornhill, 174
Cornwall, 66. 82. 121. 190
Crayke, 127
Crossgate, 224

Dauphine, 215
Denmark, 82
Derby, 69
Devon, 190
Dorcetshire, 167
Drem, 183
Dublin, 191
Duddoe, 251
Durham, Duresme, *passim*

Ealing, 174

Easington, 67. 90. 119. 122. 127. 129. 151, 152. 162, 163. 181. 184, 185. 192. 194. 196. 230. 244, 245, 246, 247. 249
Ebchester, 185
Edinburgh, 48. 75. 77. 96. 104
Egglescliffe, 146
Elemore, 213
Elmdon, *see* Embleton
Elvet, 242, 243
Elwick, 127
Ely, 178. 212
—— House, 192
Emanuel College, Cambridge, 152
Embleton, Elmdon, 167. 200. 207
England, 3. 166. 215
Esh, 200
Eslinton, 251
Essex, 173
Europe, 57. 213. 216
Exeter College, 172

Fingringho, 173
Fishburn, 248
Fishlake, 227. 246
Flass, 205
Ford, 252
France, 41. 63. 75. 77, 78. 80. 90. 96. 104. 191. 213, 214. 216
Frankland, 147. 156, 157

Gateshead, 204. 224
Germany, 215
Gilling, 176
Gillygate, 246
Gloucester Hall, 66
Goldsborough, 213
Granville, 66
Graunsden, Great, 212
Grindon, 185

Hague, 69
Hambrough, 190
Harthill, 69
Haver-de-grace, 77
Hawthorne, 245
Hetton-le-Hole, 217
Hexam, 74. 76
Holland, 35. 46. 48. 97. 103. 108. 110. 215
Honfleur, 77
Horden, 192. 245
Houghton-le-Spring, 204. 231. 247. 249
Humber, 69
Hunts, 212

Ireland, 77, 78. 108. 191

Jemaco, 190
Jersey, 66. 148
Jesus' College, Cambridge, 212
——————, Oxford, 148

Kellow, 127
Kensington, 231
Kent, 182
Kildale, 227
Kilkhampton, 66. 121
King-Sedgemoor, *see* Sedgemoor

Lambeth, 218
Lansdowne, 66. 82
Leith, 75
Lemon and Oare, 48
Levant, 82
Lime, *see* Lyme
Lincoln, 148. 219. 221
——— College, 189. 203
Linton, 183
Llandaff, 180
London, 48. 68. 93. 95. 159. 166. 171. 173. 182, 183. 186. 190. 192. 225. 246. 249. 262
Long-Newton, 98. 127
Long-Niddry, 183
Low Countries, 35. 45
Lumley Castle, 69
Lyme, Lime, 47. 66

Madrid, 204
Magdalen College, Oxford, 94. 191
Mar, Marre, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224
Marston Moor, 162
Merrington, 244
Middle Temple, 183
Midridge Grange, 204
Moreclack, 173
Morpeth, 162. 229
Morton house, 242
Muggleswick, Muggleswicke, 207. 225. 230

Netherby, 231
Newbury, 66
Newcastle, Newcastle on Tyne, 69, 70. 127. 167. 172. 224. 242. 246
Norham, 251, 252
Normanby, 218. 220. 242
Normandy, 148
North Allerton, 220
Northumberland, 146. 167. 172. 229. 251. 282

Norton, 127
Nottingham, 69

Oxford, 66. 82, 83. 94. 146. 168, 169. 171, 172, 173. 180. 183. 191. 226. 228
———, University of, 43

Paris, 189
Pespoole, 196
Pidding-Hall-Garth, 154
Pittington, 268
Plessey Hall, 147
Plymouth, 66

Queen's College, Oxford, 191. 228

Ravensflatt, 244
Reading, 75
Redworth, 245
Richmond, 189
Richmondshire, 226
Rome, 20. 88
Rose Castle, 75
Rouen, 7. 41. 65. 77, 78. 104. 113. 118. 127
Ryswick, 69

Salibury, 69
Salop, 180. 200
Salt Holme, Salt Holmes, 206. 244
Saumur, 148
Scarborough, Scarbrough, 161. 182. 246, 247
Scawton, 176
Scilly Islands, 66
Scotland, 47. 75. 77. 106. 108
Seamore, 246
Seaton Delaval, 217
Sedgefield, Sedgfield, 67. 90. 119. 121, 122. 129. 151. 159. 184, 185. 190, 191. 195, 196. 200. 244. 246, 247, 248, 249
Sedgemoor, Sedgemore, King-Sedgemoor, 46. 69
Seine, 77
Sevennes, 215
Sherburn, 184, 185
——— Hospital, 180, 181. 184
Shipley, 244
Shotton, 245
Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, 182
Sockburn, 185
Southwell, 262
Spain, 190
St. Edmundsbury, 151
St. Germain's, St. German's, 78. 239
St. James', St. James'ses, 193. 201. 240
St. John's College, Cambridge, 84. 99. 204. 212, 213
St. Mary-le-bow, Church of, 43. 122
St. Mungo's well, 183
St. Nicholas', Durham, Church of, 44. 155
St. Oswald's, Durham, 127. 159
St. Peter's, Cornhill, 174
Stanhope, 146
Stene, 94
Stodart's land, 245
Stonegrave, 182
Stowe, 66
Suffolk, 151. 205
Suffolck-stret, 186
Sommersetshire, 167
Sunderland, 246

Taplow, 170. 173
Temply, the, 186
Thorigny, 66
Thornley Gore, 242
Thornton, 182
Trinity College, Cambridge, 181

Valence, Valentia on the Rhone, Vallensines, 213. 217
Versailles, 213
Vivarett, 215

Wallingford house, 109
Warmfield, 212
Wearmouth, Weremouth, *see* Bishop-Wearmouth
Wells, 231
Westminster Hall, 128
Westmoreland, 213
Whickham, 231
Whitehall, 81. 106. 138. 184. 194. 196. 198. 200, 201. 203. 205, 206. 244
Wilkshire, 167
Windsor, 168. 171. 173. 177
Windleston, 155
Wingate Grange, 213. 242
Worcester, 178. 212
Worcestershire, 121

York, 29. 69, 70. 92. 144. 163. 178. 181, 182. 186. 213. 226
Yorkshire, 212

A JOURNAL

OF

THE FIRST AND SECOND SIEGES

OF

PONTEFRACT CASTLE,

1644-1645.

BY NATHAN DRAKE,

A GENTLEMAN VOLUNTEER THEREIN.

WITH AN APPENDIX OF EVIDENCES RELATING TO THE THIRD SIEGE.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE minute and curious record of old siege warfare now printed has hitherto been known only from the history of Pontefract by Boothroyd, who gives what he considered to be the meaning of its most important parts in his own language. His readings of names and his deductions are often so inaccurate that the MS., independently of its minor details, comes fully, even on those heads, within the scope of the Surtees Society. Let me, however, do justice to the local historian. He has brought together much useful topographical and genealogical information *. Dugdale's Visitation is also printed. Consequently I have not thought it necessary to enter much into illustrative matter, which if applied to every person and place mentioned would have swelled this volume beyond all reasonable bounds with matter already accessible. I have, however, compiled my index with considerable minuteness, and I trust it will be a valuable assistance to any future historian whose local advantages may induce him to identify places critically.

The name of Nathan Drake the diarist may be seen

* Some valuable observations in 2 Hunter's South Yorkshire must be read by the careful enquirer.

in the Society's print of Dugdale's Visitation, p. 59. He is there stated to be of Godley in the parish of Halifax, and for further particulars of his ancestry and literary descendants, the reader is referred to Watson's Halifax, Boothroyd's Pontefract, Hunter's works on South Yorkshire, and other obvious sources of information. He is said to have been deprived of Godley during the Commonwealth, and his son Samuel was expelled from his fellowship in St. John's College, Cambridge, and actively served the king. He was officiating minister of South Kirkby (the vicarage of the unfortunate Beaumont, see p. 105) during the later years of the Commonwealth, and after the Restoration was instituted to the vicarage of Pontefract.

The family have a parchment memorandum, probably copied from a much older one, inscribed thus:— "Samuel Drake, Vicar of Pomfret, D:D. of St: John's College Cambridge, created by a Royal deplomacy for his own and his Father's loyalty to King Charles the First, and bravery in the seiges of Newark and Pomfret Castles; collated to a Prebendal stall in the Metropolitical Church of York and Collegiate Church of Southwell; died in the year 1679, being poisoned by his physician, Dr. Johnson of Pomfret, for the sake of some valuable books in which he had privately and most vilainously inserted his name and as impudently demanded, but (on the cheat being detected) he did not get them. He married Jane Abbot of Pomfret by whom he had 5 Sons & 1 Daughter Ann married to Mr. Benson of Leeds."

Dr. Nathaniel Johnson (see Dugd. Visit. 6), although an antiquary, has not transmitted fair name and fame in other respects, for he is said to have embezzled 1500*l.*

which was raised by brief after the Restoration for the repair of All Saints' Church, which still lies mostly in the ruined state to which it was reduced during the sieges *, notwithstanding also the parliamentary grant of 1000*l.* (See p. 113.) His collections seem to have been purchased by Mr. Richard Frank, recorder of Pontefract, who enumerates among them in 1755:—"E. 4. Siege of Pontfreit castle. I have a copy from the same original MS. which the collector made use of." (3 Nic. Lit. Ill. 592.) One of these copies of our MS. is probably that in Trin. Coll. Cambridge, Ff. iv. 24. The catalogue of MSS. informs us that the scribe appears to have been often unable to decipher his original.

There is an engraving of Samuel Drake by Birrill, and it also states that his degree was conferred by Charles I. for his own loyalty and bravery during the sieges of Newark and Pontefract. There is however

* "Some have written that the four outward corners of the belfrey were once adorned with fair images of the evangelists, and no doubt but inwardly it was furnished with a proper number of bells. There is but one at present; which, indeed, has a very melodious sound. This place is remarkable for the two entrances of a double staircase, agreeable to their various doors below; both gradations turning round one centre, and circumscribed within the same space. From the top of this old square an octagon is raised, which truly is ornamented with beautiful spires. But we are told that this, which was built since the civil wars, is inferior to the ancient lantern, which was ornamented with the effigies of eight apostles, standing on pedestals, joined to the several corners, which became so terribly shattered by the discharge of a cannon that, through the force of an high wind, a sudden dislocation ruined the fabric." (Gent.)

The account of Pontefract from the hand of the Rev. Marmaduke Fothergill in 6 Magna Britannia, 396, agrees. "The old lantern, whose finances of the several angles were beautified with as many apostles, as also were the angles of the lower square enriched with the four evangelists."

no mention of him in his father's diary of the sieges terminated during that monarch's reign. As Whitaker states that his grandson Dr. Francis Drake had a good head of Col. Morris, in armour, with small whiskers and long hair, it is not improbable that he may have joined that desperate royalist, whom he must have well known, in the 3rd siege, during which Charles I. suffered execution.

Dr. Samuel Drake was succeeded in his vicarage by his son Francis, born at South Kirkby in 1658. He died about 1719, and his son, another Francis, was the celebrated author of the Eboracum, to which numerous Drakes are found in the list of subscribers. A monument erected to him in St. Mary's Church, Beverley, by his son, Dr. Francis Drake, vicar of that church and lecturer of Pontefract, states that he died in 1771, aged 76.

This Dr. Francis Drake made a copy of the diary, which is not always accurate, but which has yielded a few collations where the original is decayed. The copy is headed in a younger and differing hand from the heading on the original:—"A Journal of the first siege of Pontefract castle, kept by Nathan Drake, a gentleman volunteer in it. The original man^{t} in his handwriting is in the possession of his great grandson the Revnd Francis Drake, Lecturer of Pontefract." The writer really was the diarist's great great grandson. The heading on the original already mentioned is in a different and more aged handwriting, and possibly should be referred to the antiquary.

The diary is still in the possession of the Drake family, and every kind facility has been given for its publication. It is a thin small folio, in double columns

and exceeding closely written. It is much disfigured by damp, and the circumstances of its composition probably caused it to be in a worn and ragged state shortly afterward, as in one or two instances, where a word at the end of a line is a little indistinct or imperfect, the writer has retouched the word or supplied the imperfection above the line.

When the siege of Pontefract is mentioned, the romance of the third siege springs to the ideas. I found it impossible to omit an account of that strange sequel to Drake's diary, but for many reasons have allowed the evidences to tell their own story.

Although Drake does not notice any coinage, Sir Gervase Cutler, who died during the second siege in the castle, is stated to have taken 1000*l.* worth of his family plate thither to be minted. Many of Charles I.'s siege-pieces have no name of town or local symbol, and cannot be assigned to any place or date. They are occasionally struck upon irregular pieces of silver bearing the very mouldings of the divided salvers, &c. For the year 1648 the following Pontefract shillings have occurred. The maximum and minimum weights, which are excessively irregular, are founded on a collation of Ruding's examples with those instanced by Messrs. Chaffers and Bergne before the Numismatic Society on 23 March 1854.

CHARLES I.—1. (Ruding, pl. XXIX., fig. 11.) *Obv.* C. R. *under* a crown, DVM : SPIRO : SPERO.—*Rev.* A castle, OBS. P. C. 1648, XII. A circular die impressed on a lozenge of silver, 66 to 94½ grains. An example on a circle of silver weighs 58½ grains. This is the only type on which the value is expressed.

2. (Ruding, XXIX. 10.) *Obv.* As No. 1.—*Rev.* A castle from which a streamer flies. Out of one side a hand holding a sword issues. OBS. P. C. 1648. A circular die impressed on an octagonal piece,

65 to 79 grains. Examples on a lozenge of silver also occur*, some of them weighing 146 and 152 grains. Mr. Chaffers suggests that these were two-shilling pieces or half-crowns, Folkes asserting that crowns and half-crowns were issued. Ruding says that the supposed crown in Thoresby's collection proved to be only a shilling, and that his half-crown was about half as heavy again as the shilling in common.

CHARLES I. or II.—3. (No examples.) *Obv.* "The crown with C. R. *on each side* of it."—*Rev.* "A castle with P. O." "Somewhat square," made of plate got out of the country and passed among the besieged as coin just before Feb. 5, 1648-9. (See p. 105.)

CHARLES II.—4. (Ruding, xxix. 12.) *Obv.* as Nos. 1, 2.—*Rev.* The castle and streamer with a cannon substituted for the sword, OBS. P. C., legend, CAROLVS : SECVNDVS : 1648. A circular die on an octagonal piece.

5. (Ruding, Silver, xxix. 13; Gold, xix. 3.) *Obv.* a crown surmounting HANC : DEVS : DEDIT. 1648, legend, CAROL^{S} : II : D : G : MAG : B : F : ET : H : REX.—*Rev.* as No. 4, but the legend is POST : MORTEM : PATRIS : PRO : FILIO. A circular die, on an octagonal piece of silver, 71 to 78 grains: also occurring in octangular gold of the weight of a common 20*s.* piece.

For the loan of the very curious bird's-eye view of Pontefract Castle in its last days, the Society is indebted to the liberal courtesy of Lord Galway, who entrusted it to the hands of the editor to make a careful copy for reduction by the lithographer. It is evidently only a copy, but there is reason to believe that it is a correct one, and that, making allowance for its conventional treatment, it is worthy of considerable credit. It is dated 1645, but the besiegers' works are clearly those of 1648, and I have altered the date accordingly. Perhaps if we saw the original drawing we should find it prepared for the first year and altered for the second. The names of places which are placed in brackets are added from other authorities.

* One is engraved by Buck under his view of the castle.

Buck, in 1726, gives a view of the south side of the castle "from a drawing, taken during the siege, now in the possession of the learned and curious antiquary, Roger Gale, Esquire." It delineates fairly the slope of this side and the high mound of the keep; but, as to the building, the existing remains of the Castle-gate and the multangular wall near the Upper-gate with other reasons induce us to prefer Lord Galway's view. In 1734 the Society of Antiquaries published in 1 Vetusta Monumenta, 42, a view of the castle from the Duchy of Lancaster office. It is picturesque but highly conventional, as the representation of the church at once proves. In the fore part especially is much difference between it and Lord Galway's copy, yet these discrepancies are probably in a great measure owing to its earlier date and alterations in the works, and in many respects it is a very valuable aid when carefully studied and checked.

Hearne mentions a picture of the castle in the Ashmolean Museum.

Of this stately castle, says Gent, in his history of York (1730), "I have seen a fair prospect, as also of the town, beautifully done on vellum, resembling its ancient glory." "I have a prospect of the castle," he says in his history of Hull (1735), and this no doubt is what he roughly engraves in vol. 2 of his Historia Compendiosa Romana (1738), where we find "a comprehensive Dissertation on the Ancient and Present State of Pontefract, in Yorkshire: with an Account of the Civil Wars, as to what concern'd that strong and magnificent Fortress, thought to have been * *impreg-*

* "Colonel Wyndham, the Governour, assured King Charles the First, *It was so strong a Place, that it could not be taken.*" (Gent.)

nable: Likewise the manner of its Seizure; Rendition thereof; and entire Destruction. *Nunc Glycyrrhiza crescit ubi Castellum fuit* * *!*"

Gent's view has been repeated by Boothroyd, and has a general similarity in the ground plan to Lord Galway's view, but there are several variations in detail, and I prefer the latter. Gent translates an "explicatio prospectus" which is appended by him in a note and is here copied.

"Explicatio Prospectus, nonnullis cum Dimensionibus ejusdem. 1. *Rotunda Turris;* in quâ Richardus Rex Angliæ barbaro trucidari more dictus est †, ut ante memoratur. A Turre Rotunda ad istam Reginæ pedes 440. 2. *Rubra Turris* ‡. Arx Rubra circ. duas series §

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* "The courtyard of the castle, instead of sour Cadmæan forces, stocked with beds producing the sweetest liquorice." (Gent's Ripon.) In the magazine cut out of the rock there "are (he says) seven vacancies at the bottom, now converted as it were for store houses for their liquorice." Indeed the castle is better remembered by the conventional allusion to it on the "Pomfret cakes" of liquorice than by the most glowing descriptions of its former fortunes.

† "I have been told that in the middle of the room there was a pillar, round which the distressed King valiantly fought, and wherein remained some marks of his forcible strokes in our forefathers' days, when that part of the castle was standing." (Gent's York, 207.) The modern identification of an arched recess in the castle wall with the prison of Richard does not require any grave notice.

‡ "I imagine its nominal abstraction was from Red-mayn, a famous champion, whose tomb is in the church of Harewood, where the celebrated Judge Gascoigne lies buried. One of the castle towers was afterwards called by the name of Gascoigne Tower, as several writers have mentioned." (Gent.) Red Tower does not occur in the bill for demolition, but Gascoigne Tower does, and the way in which it is mentioned next to Treasurer's Tower leaves no doubt as to the synonymous nature of the two names.

§ "Chains." (Gent.)

longitudine extendit versus borealem partem Turris Rotundæ, et circa eandem distantiam Arcis Reginæ æque ac Rotundæ; linea intersecta Arce Suillingtoni ad Mansionem Janitoris rectis fere angulis. 3. *Suillingtoni Turris* *. Ab hac turre ad Mansionem Janitoris (angulis obliquis prima linea divisis) pedes 390. 4. *Thesaurarii Turris.* 5. *Reginæ Turris.* 6. *Regis Turris.* 7. *Constabularii Turris.* 8. *Portatoris Mansio.* 9. *Armamentarium* †. 10. *Stabulum Regis.* 11. *Horreum spatiosum.* 12. *Janua ad Orientem spectans.* 13. *Janua ad Occidentem.* 14. *Janua ad Meridiem* ‡.

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* The usual order of Swillington Tower and Treasurer's Tower is here reversed. Gent, in his translation, gives the usual order, as in Lord Galway's view. In the Prospect itself, No. 4 is placed behind the wall as in our view, but the doorway leading to it is wanting. Doorways are inserted in the projecting basements of No. 3, and of the Queen's, King's, and Constable's Towers. As to the name of Swillington Tower, Gent gives the following note: "Adam, lord of Swillington in the West Riding, was so great friend to the Earl [of Lancaster] that he was fined a thousand marks for his sake. I am apt to think that Swillington Tower might be so called for his confinement therein, or in honour to his person, whom the Parliament thought fit to clear from that erroneous judgment in the next reign."

† "The Magazine, cut out of a rock, with an inter-terraneous descent, the passage 4 feet broad, having 43 steps to the bottom, which is 6 yards over, 3 the breadth, (with 6 cavities cut in the sides of the rock) and 9 yards upward to equal the surface of the earth. Not far from this was a large Dungeon; at the 17th step of which, the entrance, a yard in space, is stopped by the falling in of the ruins." (Gent.)

On the walls at the side of the stairs which lead under a circular chambered arch to the magazine (which is entered by a pointed arch) are many names rudely cut by the brave defenders of 1648, some of them being several times repeated. We have among others less decypherable the inscriptions, IOHN 1648 SMITH—IAMES 1648 BROVgTON—1648 IOHN GRANT—I. E—T. K—16 GeO 48 BeALe. The 4 is sometimes reversed in form.

‡ "South-Gate. The area or spaces between this entrance and the Middle-Gate; also round by the King's Stable to the Porter's Lodge; were called the Barbican." (Gent.) The Middle-Gate is seen to the right of the Stables in our view.

15. *Janua Media.* 16. *Sacellum Sancti Clementis* *. 17. *Custodia Magna* †."

Gent has also rude cuts of Grange Chapel, (the little building surmounted by crosses seen to the right of my lithograph,) of Newhall (similar to my representation of it), and of All Saints' Church. He perpetuates an interesting account of the demolition of the castle from the original belonging to Henry Fairfax, Esq. This I have printed in a compressed form in its proper date.

In 1742, Mr. Paul Jollage engraved and inscribed to Sir Rowland Wynne a two sheet plan of the town with a view of the castle and its ruins, of All Saints' Church, the New-hall, the Chapel and the Market Cross; and in 1759 Mr. Frank, the recorder of Pontefract, who seems to have been possessed of Johnson's MSS., presented to the Society of Antiquaries "a copy of a parchment draught of Pontefract town and castle, with the circumvallations, stations, and names of the Parliament's commanders at the siege of 1648. Mr. Drake had before shown them such an one, framed and glazed, 1745 ‡." This view is not in the hands of the possessor of the Diary, but a request was made to the learned body at

* Queen Elizabeth "some little time before her death, ordered a beautiful chapel to be erected in Pontefract Castle: I suppose, in the place of the ancient building, for its greater lustre." James I. as he was in his progress to Scotland "visited the new-established college, within the castle, finished in his reign for a dean and 3 prebendaries; but it retained the ancient name of St. Clement, as first dedicated." (Gent.) It was collegiate from a very early period.

† "The Main-Guard, of a proportionable magnitude." (Gent.) This is the West Gate of our view. The latter name is applied by Gent to the Guard House in front of the same gate. The term "Main Guard" is given by Frank to the besiegers' work in Micklegate.

‡ Gough's British Topography.

Somerset House for the loan of Frank's copy. The result differed from that of the application to Lord Galway.

Besides the copy of Gent's bird's-eye view, Boothroyd, in a plan of the town, gives the circumvallation of 1648, having a general resemblance in form to that presented by Lord Galway's view, but differing in details, and comprising a much greater area. I do not pretend to explain this discrepancy. I have lately seen the draught at Somerset House. The Castle is given in elevation, being almost a fac-simile of Lord Galway's copy. The rest of the sheet is a ground plan. The streets and roads are I think more correct than in my lithogram, where the district near St. Giles's is much crushed and shortened. The circumvallation differs in extent from that in both the other examples, but the form is the same. It comprises less than in Boothroyd's plan, and in some parts even less than in Lord Galway's, in others rather more.

All the views that we possess of the ruined fortress in its glory have the usual inexactness of old drawings. They all show more members of the Round Tower than can possibly be seen from one point of sight; and, in conjunction with existing remains, Leland's description still gives the most satisfactory idea of it:—"The castelle of Pontfract, of sum [*var.* sometyme] caullid Snorre [*var.* Norre, Skorre] castelle, conteinith 8 tourres, of the which the Dungeon, cast ynto 6 roundelles, 3 bigge and 3 smaul, is very fair, and hath a fair spring. Ther is in the dike by north the Conestables Tourre."

The present ground plan of the Great Tower is a massive trefoil. The small roundels were corbelled between the larger ones. The sloping battlement which appears in Lord Galway's view is quite correct, a flight

of steps outside one of the roundels still remaining with its protecting wall which carried the battlement in question.

Leland's tower "in the dike by north," has been cut into for the road *. It is at the foot of the precipitous ground by which the castle was naturally defended on the North, East, and West sides, and can scarcely have been seen from the South, though the old views present it, correctly however interposing the castle wall. This tower was, in the next century, termed Swillington Tower, the name of Constable's being given to a differently situated feature.

The unfortunate Earl of Lancaster is stated by Pakington to have been put in a tower that he had newly made toward the Abbey, and afterward judged in the hall. He was beheaded on a hill without the town. Six other men of rank † were hanged at Pontefract the same day. Pakington's quaint and affecting account of the proceedings is worth a reference to 1 Leland's Collectanea, 465. The Earl's arms, England with a label, are still conspicuous, let into an old house outside the Upper-gate.

The Hall is not shown in our view. Its situation may be guessed at from the order in which it occurs in the account of demolition.

* "Part of this tower has been lately cut away in order to widen the public road. The tower was square, its walls of great thickness, being 10½ feet thick, nor was there ever any other entrance into the interior than by a hole or trap-door in the floor of the turret. The room was 25 feet square." (Boothroyd.) Part of it is still standing.

† "Syr William Tuchet, Sir William Fitz William, Syr Warine Lisle, Syr Henry Bradeburne, Syr William Cheny, barons, and John Page, esquier." (Pakington.)

Piper Tower, which was destroyed in January 1645 (see p. 9), is, by a curious misreading of the contraction for *per*, called Pix Tower by Boothroyd, and, from a remembrance of the Pix office at Westminster, is identified with the Treasurer's Tower. The latter however is afterwards mentioned as still existing, and it is plain from p. 7 that Piper Tower was next to the Round Tower, and that it was a gateway tower. Now, on an inspection of the wall between the Round Tower and the site of the Red (or Gascoyne's ?) Tower, the remains of Piper Tower at once disclose themselves with the little doorway below the general level and buttressed on each side.

The Western portion of the castle-yard is on a higher level than the Eastern, from which it is severed by a sustaining wall.

No attempt is made here to fix dates to the existing remains, and to King on Ancient Castles the reader may refer for some notice of the Keep. It may be permissible to remind him of the many thrilling events of which this now fallen but once frowning fortress was the scene. In Domesday it appears to be included in Ilbert de Lacy's manor of Tateshall, a name supposed to be preserved in that of Tanshelf, a township of Pontefract, the Taddenes-scylfe of the Saxon council of 947. The succeeding history is epitomized by Leland as follows:—

"King William Conquerour gave the castelle with the towne of Brokenbridg and very much land lying thereabout, to Hilbert de Laceio a noble Norman. This Hilbert* foundid the college of St. Clemente in the

* There is a curious seal of Ilbert de Lacy in a volume of the Archæological Journal, with his cross or mark.

castelle. There was a college and hospital in Brokenbridg afore the Conquest, wher the monkes lay ontil the priory was erected. It is yet an hospitale *. Robert, sun to Hilbert Lacy, impropriate booth this hospital and St. Clementes yn the castelle upon conditions to the new priorie †. There is a dene and a thre prebendes yet in

* St. Nicholas' Hospital.

† Robertus de Laceio &c. Sciatis me domum quandam religionis in dominio meo in *Kyrkebi* monastici ordinis in honore S. Johannis Apostoli et Evangelistæ, quam monachis de Caritate, filiis videlicet Cluniacensis ecclesiæ subjeci. Et ego pro salute mea et domini mei Willelmi regis primi, et Hylberti patris mei et Hawisiæ matris meæ &c. donavi prædictæ ecclesiæ S. Johannis &c. situm ipsius loci ubi habitant, cum tota terra de Brakenhil; insuper plenariam custodiam hospitalis de S. Nicholao ubi prius habitaverunt &c. in Kyrkeby unam carucatam terræ de donatione W. Foliott, et West-molendinum de Kyrkeby &c.: insuper ecclesiam Omnium Sanctorum in prædicta villa de Kyrkeby &c.: et insuper capellam de S. Clemente ne alteri religioni detur quam prædictæ ecclesiæ.

The Monasticon gives a second charter of this Robert in the reign of Henry I. "monachis meis in *Pontefracto.*" The witnesses are the same (T., Archbishop of York, occurs in both documents), and Hunter doubts the genuineness of the charter. It describes, by boundaries, Doddeworthe which was given by the former charter.

Hugo de la Val &c. pro salute domini mei Henrici Anglorum regis &c. et pro remedio animarum patris et matris et fratris sui Willelmi regis et prioris conjugis suæ et Willelmi filii eorum &c. concedo &c. quicquid Rodbertus de Laceio *tempore regis Willelmi secundi* et ego postmodum tempore regis Henrici donavi monasterio S. Mariæ de Caritate ad usum monachorum sub regula S. Benedicti servientium in monasterio S. Johannis Evangelistæ de *Kyrkeby castello meo;* viz. situm ipsius monasterii et septem acras terræ ibidem cum mansis earum et in Brachehel xiiij acras et ecclesiam S. Mariæ de Foro cum rebus ad eam pertinentibus. Hujus ecclesiæ scilicet dimidium erat prius canonicorum S. Oswaldi.—Et aut xij solidos ad festum S. Andreæ de theloneo castelli, aut decimam Lodestune per supradictos xij solidos a capellanis meis de S. Clemente commutatam &c. et ante castellum unam carucatam terræ de dono Willelmi Folioth

S. Clementes in the castelle." The name of Pontefract, if the second charter of Robert de Lacy be a forgery, seems to have been conferred between 1100 and 1181 in the place of Kirkby, and so agrees very well with Thomas of Castleford's statement that it perpetuated the memory of a miracle at the breaking of a bridge on the Aire or Ouse on the arrival of Archbishop William in 1153. But, as neither river is close to the town, it has been suggested that some accident to an old bridge over the millwash to the east of the town is a more probable origin. It was called "old" in Edward II.'s time, and Leland saw it in ruins.

Margaret, the queen of Edward I., was residing at the castle when she was drawn by the pleasures of the chase to Brotherton where she was delivered of her fifth son.

The last of the Lacys, who died in 1310, had survived two sons, one drowned at Denbigh Castle, the other killed by a fall while attempting to run round the battlements of one of the towers of Pontefract Castle. After this poor boy's death the castle became indeed a

&c. Iterum ex meo beneficio omnium reddituum meorum de Kirkeby decimam eidem monasterio concedo, et hoc privilegium de capella S. Clementis eidem confirmo, ut alteri ecclesiæ non possit dari quam monasterio S. Johannis.

Henricus de Lasci &c. Sciatis quod ego &c. pro salute animæ meæ et patris mei Roberti de Lasci et Matildis matris meæ &c. feci dedicari ecclesiam S. Johannis Evangelistæ in Pontefracto per consilium Rogeri venerabilis Eboracensis archiepiscopi qui eandem ecclesiam consecravit, et concessi sexaginta solidos singulis annis quos persolvent eisdem monachis receptores mei de Pontefracto &c. et in villa Pontefracti omnes &c. custodiam hospitalis S. Nicholay in eadem villa &c. ecclesiam Omnium Sanctorum in Pontefracto cum capellis et terris &c. pertinentiis &c. et Est-molendinum in Pontefracto &c.

"bloody prison, fatal and ominous to noble peers;" and well might Wolsey, who was lodged in Pomfret Abbey, fear a living death in the fortress. "Alas (quoth he) shall I go to the castle, and lie there, and die like a beast?" Here Thomas of Lancaster and his fellows—here Richard II. perished. The former had wished to defend himself at this castle, but his confederates had compelled him to march northwards, and the castle surrendered on the first summons. Henry IV. was frequently here. Here he received from the crafty Nevil the deluded Archbishop Scrope and his companion traitors; and here he tried the abettors of the Earl of Northumberland and Lord Bardolph. Pomfret was the prison of the literary king of Scotland, James I. It received another exception to the exclusively military characters of the age in the accomplished Duke of Orleans with other prisoners from Agincourt. Hither after the battle of St. Alban's the Duke of Exeter was sent, and after that of Wakefield the Earl of Salisbury and others were beheaded at this place, and the body of the Duke of York brought for interment in the priory. Edward IV. was sometimes here. Before his triumph at Towton he was reviewing his troops at Pomfret when Warwick rode up with the intelligence of a reverse at Ferrybridge, stabbed his own steed, and swore to remain and fight to the last with the meanest soldier. After the battle the body of the Duke of York was removed in state from the priory. Then, after Edward's decease, his friends Grey and Vaughan came to their untimely graves, and with them Earl Rivers, less favoured than his compeers in learning from Scotland and France, ended his patronage of letters and his life. Henry VII. was here, and so was Henry VIII. in 1540, but before

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THE

FIRST AND SECOND SIEGES

OF

PONTEFRACT CASTLE,

1644—1645.

1644. *May.* York besieged by the Scots and Fairfax. "We made fires upon the minster, and were answered by others at Pomfret." (Sir Henry Slingsby's Memoirs.)

July. Battle of Marston Moor. York surrendered. "Steered my course to Cartmel and Fourness, in a part of Lancashire, where, at that time Sir John Mainy was, with a brigade of horse, of broken and shattered regiments." (Slingsby.) The Earl of Manchester marched southward from York, and on July 22 "marched to Ferrybriggs, and passed near Pontefract Castle, a strong garrison of the King's, but, being only upon a march, did not think fit to set down before it." (Rushworth.)

August. Sheffield Castle surrendered by Major Thomas Beamont. "The governor and all field-officers, captains, lieutenants, and ensigns, shall march out of the castle upon the delivery thereof, with their drums and colours, and each his own horse, saddle, sword and pistols, to Pontefract Castle, or such other place as they shall desire, with a sufficient convoy or pass for their security; and the common soldiers with the inferior officers to march out with their swords and pikes, each to his own home, or where else they please." (Rushworth.) "Colonel Sands besieged Pomfret Castle, and took of the garrison 40 horse and many cattle." (Whitelocke's Memorials.)

September. "Colonel Sands for the Parliament besieged Pomfret Castle." (Whitelocke's Memorials.) "After staying [in Lancashire] some months, I returned towards Yorkshire with John Mainy. On

the 10th of September, 1644, we set forwards on our march for Skipton, and, by marching in the night, passed through the enemy that lay on every side. We had but one stop, which was at a bridge near Ingleton, where the enemy had set a guard; but we soon made our passage, with the loss of one lieutenant of horse, who was shot in the body, and died on the way as he was carrying. We marched in the night from Skipton, and came suddenly upon a new raised troop near Bradford; we took some of them prisoners, and the captain out of his bed. Thus, with a speedy march, we got to Pomfret. Sir John Redman, who at that time lay sick in a deep consumption, was governor of the castle. Colonel Sands, who lay thereabouts with fifteen colours of horse, heard of our approach, and that we were the Prince's horse, and much more numerous than in reality we were, sent to my Lord Fairfax at York; and his orders returned to march away to York. Before we came, Sir John was resolved to fight Sands, and goes with his horse to charge him, beats them off their ground; they retreat beyond the bridge, and would make good the bridge; that we soon cleared, and follow the enemy into Brothertonfield, where they drew up, meaning to charge us in a narrow lane. We fight for ground to fight on, and they to keep us in that strait; at last, having gotten into the field, we at once both charged and put them to flight, chasing them as far as Sherburn. We took 50 prisoners, and among the rest Sir William Lister's son *, who had marched out of York with us, being captain in the Prince's army. Sir John was lost in the chase, and could not be heard of, till next day we heard he lay wounded at a town three or four miles off; and, going with a party to fetch him off, we met him coming in a cart. After Sir John was well, we resolved to leave that garrison, and go to Newark, having divers gentlemen to go along with us, and amongst the rest, my Lord St. Paule. We made it one night and part of a day ere we reached Newark, and, by close marching in the night, got thither undisturbed." (Slingsby.)

"For the right honourable the lord Fairfax. My lord, It may seem strange to your lordship that I never sent to disengage my word; the truth is, I never had any convenience by reason of the siege. The exchange is granted me for Lieut.-Colonel Forbes; only this doubt was made, whether your lordship would be satisfied with the exchange. I have stayed beyond my time, which that your lordship will be pleased to satisfy Sir John Readman, Governor of Pontefract, that I shall be disengaged of my word, he will, upon the receipt of your lordship's letter, return you Lieut.-Colonel Forbes. In the mean time, I rest, my lord, your lordship's most humble servant, WILLM. ST. GEORGE. If your lordship shall not be pleased to accept this, by reason I could not perform my word so punctually as I could have wished, I shall return your lordship's true prisoner, when your lordship shall command." (1 Fairfax Corr. 186.)

* See Dugdale's Yorkshire Visit., 178. Lyster of Thorneton.

November. Helmsley Castle surrendered to Sir Thomas Fairfax without loss of arms and on honourable conditions. "Lieutenant Colonel Forbes, and all the rest of the prisoners, shall have their free liberty; and that Lieutenant Spright, and five soldiers belonging to me, now prisoners at York, shall likewise have their liberty." (Conditions drawn by Col. Crosland the governor, 1 Fairfax Correspondence, 121.)

December. "Knaresborough was surrendered to the Parliament upon conditions, and there were taken 4 pieces of ordnance, store of arms," &c. (Whitelocke.)

"The Lord Fairfax his forces took in Pomfret Town, and close blocked up the castle, and other castles thereabouts." (Ibid.)

["A JOURNAL OF THE FIRST SIEGE OF PONTEFRACT CASTLE, kept by Nathan Drake, a gentleman volunteer in it. I desire that this MS., in my great-grandfather's own hand writing, may never go out of the family.—FRANCIS DRAKE."]

A LIST OF ALL THE VOLLUNTERES as were at Pontefract Castle the 25th December, 164[4].*

Collonells.—Coll. Lowder, governor, Coll. Hutton, Coll. Romsden, Coll. Wintworth, Coll. Cuttler, Coll. Gray, Coll. Vawhan, Coll. Middleton.

Knightes.—Sr. Thomas Bland, Sr. Frauncis Ratcliff, Sr. Edward Ratcliffe.

Lieutenant Collonells.—L.C. Wheatelay, L.C. Wintworth, L.C. Darcey, L.C. Tindall, L.C. Portington.

Majors.—Ma. Beamont, Ma. Hudlestone, Ma. Mountaine, Ma. Wintworth, Ma. Copplay, Ma. Warde, Ma. Dinis.

Preachers.—Do^{r}. Bradley, Mr. Hirste, Mr. Lister, Mr. Kay, Mr. Pickrin, Mr. Corkor, Mr. Masham, Mr. Sikes, Mr. Oley, Mr. Burley, Mr. Mauknehole, Mr. Buckanhanan.

Alldermen.—Mr. Maior, Mr. Rusby, Mr. Stables, Mr. Thomas Wilkinson, Mr. Austwicke, Mr. Taytom, Mr. John Wilkinson, Mr. Oates, Mr. Smith, Mr. Cellom, Mr. Lunne.

Captenes.—Ca. Constable, Ca. Mollett, Ca. Hillton, Ca. Hudlestone, Ca. Shaw, Ca. Romsden, Ca. Harrise, Ca. Vaucer, Ca.

* This list is found on pages 5, 6 of the MS., among original matter written after the erasure of the list, which indeed is evidently unfinished as to the gentlemen volunteers. But it is a convenient summary of the status of the persons engaged, and, as a check upon the names in the more perfect list of watches which follows, it is an assurance to the reader that the editor is not exaggerating the shortcomings of Boothroyd's history of Pontefract. There are a few discrepancies between the lists. They probably arose from withdrawals and transpositions from illness or other causes before the watches were settled. The erased list furnishes the physician and surgeons, with an additional alderman of Pomfret, Mr. Kellom. Out of a corporate council of 13, 11 of its members defended the castle.

Grimstone, Ca. Washington, Ca. Clough, Ca. Beale, Ca. Chadwicke, Ca. Layborne, Ca. Croft, Ca. Seaton, Ca. Wheatley, Ca. Waterhowse, Ca. Pilkington, Ca. Redman, Ca. Horsfold, Ca. Swillavant, Ca. Portington, Ca. Cartwright, Ca. Standeven, Ca. Lowther, Ca. Lounsdale, Ca. Best, Ca. Cape, Ca. Browne, Ca. Munroe, Ca. Leiu. Smith, Ca. Flood, Ca. Musgreve.

Leiutenants.—L. Wheatley, L. Saivell, L. Lathome, L. Hoult, L. Gibson, L. Pearceie, L. Battley, L. Cooke, L. Couthburt, L. Collinson, L. Cape, L. Antropose.

Corronettes.—Cor. Nunne, Cor. Harrington, Cor. Audley, Cor. Saunderson, Cor. Naylor, Cor. Baumford, Cor. Spurgion, Cor. Adcherman.

Phisition.—Do^{r}. Collinnes.

Chirurgions.—Mr. Gray, Mr. Parker, Mr. Norton, Mr. Hutchinson.

Gentlemen Vollenteres.—Mr. Stringer, Mr. Hodgson, Mr. Gaskon, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Foster, Mr. Reaser, Mr. Harebread, Mr. Rookes, Mr. Farmarie, Mr. Nevell, Mr. Stappleton, Mr. Thimbleby, Mr. Pearcey, sen., Mr. Pearcey, ju., Mr. Pearcey, frater, Mr. Tindall, Mr. Anne, sen., Mr. Anne, jun., Mr. Anne, frater, Mr. Tofe!d, Mr. Emson, Mr. Massey, Mr. Musten, Mr. Atckinson, Mr. Preston, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Hopgood, Mr. Correr, Mr. Grauner, Mr. . . . . ., Mr. Strickland, Mr. Medcaulph, Mr. Hammerton, sen., Mr. Hammerton, ju., Mr. Hammerton, fra., Mr. Benson, Mr. Clithrow, Mr. Tindoll, Mr. Seaton, Mr. Foster, Mr. Massey.

A TRUE LIST OF THE MANNER OF OUR WATCHES undertaken by the knightes, gentlemen, and wollunters in the First Seege, with the names of them as they were listed in theire squadrones and divisions.

And first by the way you may take notise of the standing officers of the Garrison.

Collonell Lowther, Governor, adjuted by the paines of his brother Mr. Robert Lowther, Lieut. Collonell Wheatley, Lieut. Collonell Middleton, Major Dinnis, Capt. Cartwright, Capt. Munra, Capt. Gerrard Lowther sonne to the governor and capt. of horse, as was also Capt. Musggrave *, but those horse now turned foot and commanded by Mr. Lowther.

The gentlemen wolunteers were listed into 4 divisions, the first commanded by Collonell Gray, the 2th. by Sr. Richard Hutton, the 3th. by Sr. Jon Romsden and the 4th. by Sr. George Wentworth, who had in theire divisions these gentlemen followinge.

* He occurs under Sir Richard Hutton's list.

Collone Grayes list.—Collonel Gray brother to the Lo^d^. Gray of Warke, Lieut. Coll. Darcy son to the Lo^d^. Darcy of Hornby, Sr. Ed. Radcliffe, Baronet, pa., Sr. Francis Radcliffe, p., Leiu. Coll. Portington, Major Huddlestone, Capt. Huddlestone, Capt. Rodger Portington, Ca. Grimstone, Capt. Vavasor, pa., Capt. Best, pa., [Capt.] Wheatley;—[Capt.] Lumsdall, [Capt.] Seaton, Scots.—[Lieut.] Wheatley, [Lieut.] Smith, [Lieut.] Lathum, [Lieut.] Perry, ...* [Lieut.] Cape, pa., Mr. John Thimbleby, Mr. Charles Jackson, Mr. . . okefeild, Mr. Hammerton, pa., Mr. Stappleton, pa., Mr. Anne, pa., Mr. Ratcliffe, Mr. Cutbert Medcaulph, Mr. Jo. Medcaulph, Mr. Abbot, Coronet Spurgion, Cor. Harrington, Ensig. Harbert, Mr. Stables, Allderman, Mr. Smith, Alld., Mr. Taytom, Alld., Mr. Higford, Mr. Wilkes, Mr. Burton, Mr. Hey, Quartem^r^. French. *Clergy to this devision.* Mr. Key, Mr. Oley, Mr. Buchanan, Scotus.—In all 48.

Sr. Richard Huttons list, knight, high sherife of Yorkshire.—Captin Constable, Capt. Musgraive, Capt. Standeven, Capt. Laiborne, Capt. Croft, Leiut. Smith, Leiut. Antrobus, Corronet Nailor, Cor. Bamford, Cor. Matthwman, Mr. Gravener, Mr. Empson, Mr. Atkinson, Mr. Preston, Mr. Johnstone, Mr. Massey, Mr. Madockes, Mr. Taytom, ju., Georg Wentworth, James Ellison, Peeter Swift, John Langwith, Steeven Scammenden, James Kendrick, Mr. Burchell, Mr. Hopgood, Mathew Sutton, Robert Hallyfax, Robert Burton, William Watson, Thomas Walker, Edward Gauthrope, John Farram, Sargiant Fether, John Hestam, Robert Moore, Thomas Senior, Mr. Binnes, Mr. Willson, Tho. Pouke, John Oxley, Walter Steele.—*Clergy to this devision.* Mr. *Buchanan* †, Mr. Mankenhole his peculiar chaplin.—In all 45.

Sr. John Romsdens list. — Sr. Gervis Cuttler, Lieutenant Collonel Tindall, Major Warde, Major Wentworth, Captin Pilkinton, Capt. Morrett, Capt. Horfold, Capt. Swillovant, Capt. Standeaven ‡, Capt. Clough, Capt. Beale, Capt. Shaw, Corronet Harrington ‡, Cor. Nunnes, Leiutent. Saivill, Leiut. Fleeming, Mr. Burton, Mr. Baumforth, Mr. Carwike, Mr. Stringer, Mr. Gascone, Mr. Pearcye, se., pa., Mr. Will. Tindell, pa., Mr. Hodgshon, Mr. Pearcy, ju., pa., Mr. Jackson, Mr. Reeser, Mr. Georg Tindell, Mr. Foster, Mr. Hitchin, Mr. Scillito, maior, Mr. Tho. Wilkinson, All., Mr. Jo. Wilkinson, All., Mr. Lunne, Ald., W . . . Strickland, *Nathan Drake*, Peeter Heaton, David

* The MS. is much decayed at the edge, and some titles have been supplied from the other list. At this blank two names are illegible.

† He seems to have attended to two divisions.

‡ These two occur before.

Morrett, Steven Standeven, Georg Scillito, John Oxley.—*Clergy to this devision*, Mr. Pickrin, Mr. Hirst, Mr. Sickes, Mr. Corkor. —In all 46.

Sr. Georg Wentworthe list. — Sr. Thomas Bland, Collonel Vauhan, Leiutenant Collonell Wentworth, Major Coppley, Major Beamond, Major Mountaine, Cap. Baron Hiltons[came son] *, Captin Harris, Capt. Romsden, Capt. Benson, Capt. Chadwicke, Capt. Washington †, Mr. Gervise Nevill, Mr. Jo. Thimbleby, sen., pa., Mr. Ame, jun., pa., Mr. Brian Stapleton, Mr. Emson, sen., pa., Mr. Haumerton, pa., Mr. Rookes, Mr. Richard Lister, Mr. Rusby, Allderman, Mr. Oates, Allderman, Mr. Austwick, Allderman, Mr. Clithrow, Corronet Andestay, Cor. Saunderson, Leiut. Cooke, Leiut. Cutbert, Mr. Farmarie, Mr. Allott, Mr. Fenton, Joseph Oxley, Rich. Pilckliffe, pa., Danyell Feilding, Tho. Biggleskerke, Tho. Motherby, Gilbert Gray, Richard Dobson, Ricd. Beaumond.—*Clergy to this company*, Do[r]. Bradley, Mr. Lister, Mr. Massom, Mr. Burley.—In all 44.

[THE FIRST SIEGE AGAINST PONTEFRACT CASTLE, DEC. 1644.]

Uppon Christmas day, 25th *December*, 1644, Pontefract Castle was beseeged and the towne taken that day by the beseegers, and the beseeged playd 3 cannon against them ‡.

26, 27. [The beseeged shott] 16 cannon.

28, being Saturday, the beseegers tooke the Low church about 7 of the clock in the morning, wherein was 11 men and boyes. That day the beseeged made 3 sallyes downe to the Low church with losse of 3 men being killed in the church yeard and 11 men more wounded, whereof are dead since Captin Waterhowse of Netherton and 3 other men more. The rest are all recovered againe, and the beseeged playd that day 11 cannon; but what was killed or wounded of the beseegers at that time [*originally stood*, "is not knowne, but the constant report is that there was 100 wounded men caryed away, and there was many kill'd within the church,"—*erased*]. [We had an account the same night that there was 40 wounded men carryed away, and

* This is so in the MS., the word *son* being erased. In the other list Ca. Hillton occurs. John Hilton, popularly termed the Baron of Hilton, of Hilton Castle, co. Durham, was a colonel in the royal service, and his son John was a captain in the same. Boothroyd reads "Baron Killowson."

† "James Washington, son and heir of Darcie Washington, of Adwicke, in co. Ebor., Esq., died in the last siege of Pomfret Castle, being there in armes for the king, obiit patre vivente. Darcy Washington, 3rd son, died in the garrison of Newarke, being a captaine there for the king, unmarried." (Dugdale's Visit., 273.)

‡ In the MS. the diary of the first siege only is kept in two distinct divisions, one headed "Beseeged," the other "Beseegers." The state of matters is rendered much more interesting and intelligible by chronologically reducing these separative narratives into one. The division headed "Beseegers" commences on Jan. 16.

there was 60 killd within the church,—*substituted*] and church yeard at the same instant by the beseeged.

29, being Sunday, those 11 men and boyes having beene 5 daies in the steeple without meat or drinke (both being left in the church by the beseegers suddeyne aproach) they came all down the west end of the church by a roape *; at which time Joshua Walker (their captin) was shott into the thigh (but since recovered) and one other of them killed in the church yeard. All the rest escaped without any hurt at all.

That day and the 30 and 31, the beseeged shott 15 canon.

[1644-5] *January* 1, 2, 3, 4. The beseeged shott 15 cannon.

Sunday, 5th. Mr. Pattison was killed upon the topp of the Round tower, being shott into the head with a muskett bullit from the beseegers.

6, 7, 8. The beseeged plaid 12 peses of cannon into severall places of the towne.

During this time of the seege there went out of this garrison to Newarke with Captin Tulley 140 horse and men the 8th. January.

9, Thursday, the beseeged plaid one cannon against Newhall, wheare it broke a hoale into the wall and one of the stones hitt Generall Forbus on the face but was but a little hurt. That day the beseeged playd 10 cannon.

10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15. The beseeged plaid 24 cannon into severall places of the towne.

16. The beseeged playd 1 cannon into the closes below the towne, amongst the cutters up of clottes, but what was killed is not knowne, but they came there no more, and the beseeged plaid 6 cannon more. And during all this time there was 15 sling peeses shott. There is in all 128 cannon shott to this day †.

The 16th of January the enemy brought into the Markitt place in Pomfret 6 peese of cannon the same which had beene at Hemslay and Knavesbrough before, one carying a bullitt of 42 li. weight, another 36 li., 2 other 24 li. a pese, and the least 9 li. We hearing they would plant them against Piper tower and betwixt that and the Round tower where there was a hollow place all the way downe to the well, the gentlemen and souldyers fell all upon carrying of earth and rubbish and so filled up the place in a little space, and we rammed up the way that passed through Piper tower with earth 4 or 5 yeardes thick.

* Probably taken from the Belfry. (Boothroyd.)

† "*Jan.* The Lord Fairfax possessed Pomfret town, and close blocked up the castle, and Scarborough, Skipton, and Sandal castles were blocked up by the Parliament's forces." (Whitelocke.)

* . . . . forgott which heare I insert about a summons was sent by the Lord Fairfax the 16th January the day before they begunne to play with there cannon.

"To the Commander in Cheife of Pomfrett Castle.—In performance of the trust reposed upon me by the Parlament for the service of the publique and perticuler safety and preservation of this contrie, I [have marched] parte of the forces under my command on the reducing of that castle, which hitherto [hath] opposed the Parlament and infinitely prejudiced [the] contrie, to obedience of the Kinge and Parlament; [the which I] much desire may be effected without the effusion of blood, and to that end now send you this summons to surrender the castle to me for the service of the King and Parlament, which if you presently doe, I will engage my power with the Parlament, for your reception into mercy and favour therewith; but your refusing, or defarring the same, will compell me to the triall of the succesee which I hope will prevaile for the publique good. I shall expect your answer to be returned to me by Collonell Forbes to whome I have given further Instructions in that behaulph.—FER. FAYRFAX †."

The Governor upon the recaipt of this summons gave answer for the present to the messinger by word of mouth that the matter was of great consequence, and would require some time to consider of it, that he would call the gentlemen of the castle being many of good qualitie and consult with them about it, and upon consultation with them he would send him an answer which should be sometimes on the morrow at the fordest. Collonell Forbes to whom this answer was dellivered replyed that it should be wellcome to him, if it came not too late, and this delay the governor made with good advise, that in it he might have time to finish a battery which he had caused to be planted right against them and to line the battlements and strengthen the walles on that side, for which purpose he sett 60 men on worke the same night. Against the morning (according to his promise) he shapt this answer

"According to my allegiance to which I am sworne and in pursuance of the trust reposed in me by his Majestie, I will defend this castle to the uttermost of my power, and doubt not by Godes assistance, the justnes of his Majesties cause, and the vertue of my comrades, to quell all those that shall oppose me in the defence thereof for his Majesties service. For the blood that is like to be lost in this action, lett it be upon their heades

* Transferred from a subsequent page.

† This epistle is much decayed. Some words have been completed from Francis Drake's transcript. Those in parentheses are chiefly from Boothroyd.

who are the causers of it. This is my resolution which I desire you certefie the Lord Fairfax from your affectionate frend, RICHARD LOWTHER.—Pomfrette Castelle, 16th Jan. 1644."

But they prevented the sending of this letter, for the next morning by that it was light they fell a battring and the same day gave us 400 shot.

17. The enemy begunne to play with theire cannon against Pontefract Castle upon Friday morning before sunrising, being the 17th January 1644. Theire cannon was planted upon the west end of the castle upon Mr. Lunne's back yeard.

The beseegers begun to play with their cannon about 7 in the morning. That day they playd 400.

The first night after they begunne to shoote, was Capt. Munroe and Capt. Layborne sent out to vew how farre they had battered in the wall, which they found to be a yeard haulph, whereupon our men was commanded to carry earth to strengthen the wall within, which was done with all speede.

Our men went out every day into the graft* and fecht in theire bullets for 4*d.* a peece.

18. They playd 348.

19. 286 cannon. This day, Sunday, about 9 of the clock, was Piper tower beaten downe ther having beene 78 shott made that morning before it fell, by which fall a breach was to be made into the Castle wall, and [by] which fall 2 brothers of the Briggses of the [Half]peny howse† was killd and 3 or 4 much hurt but they are all againe since recovred, and 27 of the beseegers men blowne up with their owne powder by a shott from the castle which hitt their match and so struck fire into the pouder.

17, 18, 19, 20. The beseeged playd 16 cannon.

20. [The beseegers] shott 144 cannon. 21, 189.

21. Captin Browne was killed in the Barbican with a muskitt bullitt from the beseegers.

About that time was one John Spence killed in the Barbican by overcharging his owne muskitt which burst and killed him.

The 21th January, about 11 a clock, there came a drumme to the gates from Forbes and beate a parly. Word was brought to the Governor who sent to know his busines, he tould them he had a letter from Coll. Forbes to the Governor. The Governor returned answer, he would receive no letters from him unlesse they would sease battering, whereupon commaund was

* The ditch, a West Riding expression.

† On the road to Wakefield. (Boothroyd.)

given that the cannons should cease playing, then the drumme was commaunded to go downe to the lower gates, and then they lett him in, who brought with him this letter following:

"Sir, I desire to have a positive answer of the summons sent in upon Thursday last, that I may give an accompt to my Lord (who is now heare,) of your resolutions. Likewise I desire to know whether Mr. Ogales* exchanged for Leiutenant Browne, or for money, and if so for what summe. Sir, I shall remaine your frend, WILL. FORBES.—Pomfret, this 21th of January, 1644."

To the latter demaund in the letter the governor sent no answer at all, at least in writing I know not, but to that other concerning the summons he penned an answer before, which he now sent to all the Gentlemen for their advice and to know how they likt it, and whether they would stand by him to make it good: unto which they all assented with great allacrity, upon which approbation he dispatcht the drumme away with it. And supposing that upon our refusall they would have assaulted the breach, and . . . . . theire horse drawne up into a body in the Parke, and many of theire foot with roasemary† in theire hattes, as soone as the drumme was dispacht, the Governor commanded all the drummes to be beate and trumpettes to sound upon the battlements, all men commaunded to armes, every squadron to theire severall poastes, as they were before sett out, expecting the enemy with as much cheerfullnes as if they had beene going to a feast. In this posture we stood all the afternoone, theire cannon playing all this while vehemently upon the breech and the Kinges tower: for this day, notwithstanding the sessation for 2 howers, they gave us 189 great shott, but theire souldiers had no mind to the busines to enter upon the castle in any place, seeing themsellves so much deceived, for the commanders persuaded them that they neede not strike a stroke but that the castle would be delivered upon a summons, now, after they had made a breach. But they perceiving the contrary, and seeing how confident and resolute the castle was to defend itsellfe, they were much dismayed, many of them runne away, for fear they should be putt upon such a desparate service, whom theire horse pursued and catt, but could recover but some few of them. This

* This name is now wanting in the original. It is supplied from a copy by Mr. Francis Drake of his ancestor's diary.

† "1649. Mr. Lockier, a trooper who was shot to death by sentence of the court martial was buried in this manner.—The corpse was adorned with bundles of rosemary, one half stained in blood, and the sword of the deceased with them. Some thousands followed in ranks and files; all had sea-green and black ribbon tied on their hats, and to their breasts.—Many looked upon this funeral as an affront to the Parliament and Army; others called them Levellers." (Whitelocke, 384.)

night they gave us 4 great shott, according to their usuall manner.

On Weddensday the 22th they weare reasonable quiet, their ordinance ceast playing, whether they wanted powder or thought it but wasted on us I know not, but this day and the night they gave us but 6 great shott.

And the Lord Fairfax not finding the breach so cleare as he was informed and not able to gett his men to venture on it, returned to Yorke againe, without possession of the castle, where upon the Munday before both he and his son Sir Thomas Fairfax * came to towne to take the honnor of the busines, and possession of the castle, who were entertained with great honnor and exalltation, gaurds of horse and foot ready to receeve them, with great showting and volly of voyces and vollyes of shott; but went away without either beating of drum or sound of trumpitt.

[22. The beseegers shott] 3 [cannon], and 3 in the night. 23. That night 3. 24. That night 2. Saturday, 25. 15 cannon. 27. 1 cannon. In all to this day 1349 [apparently altered to 1390] and not any more cannon shott made since till the 1th [*sic*] Feb. nor not any one man killd with the cannon bullit, nor any man hurt with the cannon bullitt but one James Ellyate (the little gunmaker of Yorke,) who had his arme bruised with a stone burst with the cannon bullitt, so presently cut of, which is since well againe.

From the 22th to the 31th, the beseeged playd 18 cannon.

February 1. The beseeged plaid 4 cannon.

4. [The beseegers shott] 2 cannon and 1 in the night. The beseegers playd no more with their cannon till the 1[2] February and then they shott 3 cannon without any hurt at all to the beseeged. The beseegers have now shott 1400 cannon against . . . .

There went allso † with Mr. Corker at another time to the Prince out of this garrison during this seege 16 men and horse the 6th of February: he was the onely man that procured Sr.

* "Jan. Sir Thomas Fairfax and Colonel Forbes standing together near Pomfret Castle, a cannon bullet from thence came betwixt them, and the wind of it beat them both to the ground, and put out one of Colonel Forbes his eyes, and spoiled that side of his face, and yet no other hurt to Sir Thomas Fairfax." (Whitelocke.)

"The Commons proceeded in the business of the new model of the army, and nominated Sir Tho. Fairfax to command in chief.—Colonel Lambert was ordered to speed down into the north, to take care of the forces there (he being commissary general of the Lord Fairfax his army) when Sir Thomas Fairfax should come up." (Ibid.)

† This paragraph follows that recording Captain Tulley's exit to Newark on Jan. 8.

Marmaduke Langdall to com to releeve us which was performed the 1th March.

2 to 15. There was 29 cannons drakes and sling peeses shott [by the beseeged]. The same day was the howses behind Mr Wakefeildes set on fire; and there was shott from Swillinton tower 5 drakes to the Hospitall, and 12 sling peeses was shott from sevrall places.

16. They [the beseegers] shot 1 cannon. [The besceged shot] 3 peses of cannon.

17. [The beseeged shot] 3 sling peeses.

Shrove Tuesday, 18. [The beseegers shott] 2 cannon without any hurt. The beseeged shott 2 pecses of cannon into the sentry howses at the lower end of Northgate which was then set on fire by the beseegers, and 1 cannon into the Markit place, and the beseeged killd 5 men out of the Round tower into their workes from Wardes howse along the ditch with muskett shott*.

19. The beseeged killd a captin in the said workes.

20. One of our men was shott thorough both the cheekes in the Barbican but not killd. The beseeged shot one sling peese.

21. The beseeged shott 3 sling peeses and kild 2 men that day.

22. The beseeged shott 2 cannon into the Markit place and what with the cannon and muskittes the beseeged killd above 30 men in sevrall places.

23. The beseeged killd 3 men.

24. The beseegers killd one of our men in the Barbican being shott thorow the head with a muskitt bullitt and Captin Smith had his lippe cut with a stone which was broke with a muskitt bullitt, but very little hurt. That day we playd 1 cannon into the Parke where 3 men was seen to fall of the beseegers. That day there was 11 sling peeses shot by the besceged and divers muskittes and killd 5 or 6 men of the beseegers.

Munday, 24. There came marching over Fe . . . . . 6 collors, 250 men to the beseegers, haulph marching thorow the Parke to the towne and the other haulph throrow the Frealles to the church, the beseeged giving them a kind salutation from the castle, and the beseegers gave 2 volley of shott about 7 at night, which the beseeged thought was at the funrall of summe great commaunders.

25. The beseeged killd many men in divers places.

* "Feb. 18. Sir Thomas Fairfax came privately to town, and a committee was appointed to consider of raising moneys and recruits for his speedy taking of the field." (Whitelocke.)

26. The beseegers shott 3 cannon without any hurt to the beseeged. The beseeged shott 3 cannon into the Markitt place and 1 cannon to the beseegers gunnes where many of the beseegers men was killd, and this day there was killd Captin Maullett upon the top of the Round tower, being shott into the head with a muskit bullit.

27. The beseeged shott many muskitts but what was killd is unknown.

28. The beseegers fired Elizabeth Cattell's howse and the howses below Munkhill, and that day the beseeged shot 4 cannon into the Markitt place and is thought did great execution. That night the beseegers tooke away all their cannon and marched over Ferry brigg. They [the beseegers, that day] shott 3 cannon without any hurt, but the beseeged had one man shott thorow the caulph of his legg with a muskitt bullitt in the Barbican, but without any danger of death. That night the beseegers drew of their cannon and begunne to march with it away, having shott 1406 cannon against the castle.

[Jan. 17] Fridday	[Jan. 18] Saturday	[Jan. 19] Sunday	[Jan. 20] Munday	[Jan. 21] Tewsday		
6455 *	5534	4444	2222	255	[22] Wedensday	03
5455	6544	4444	1423	255	[22] that night	3
5455	6343	4444	1325	245	[23] Thursday	3
5454	6543	4354	2232	254	that night	3
6334	6534	4444	1233	255	[24] Fridday	2
4455	5543	4454	1224	255	[25] Saturday	15
5454	5443	4434	2131	355	[27] Munday	1
5455	5543	4423	122	355		37
5435	5243	4424	122	35		189
4445	5454	3434	122	35		144
5445	5444	4434	222	35		282
5455	5554	4434	123	44		348
5455	5545	4445	143	55		400
5454	5445	3443	242	55		1390
5435	554	4445	122	55		
5445	554	4444	222	55		
5445	554	444	223	55	Feb. 4th	0003
4555	454	444	222	55	12th	0003
4555	555	344	422		16th	0002
4555	543		42	189	Shroove 18· Tewsday	0002
4555	533	282			26th	0003
5550	555		144		28th	0003
400	344					1406
	3 les					

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* In these columns of the besiegers' firings, each figure, notwithstanding its position, is a unit only, as may be seen by the totals.

* One thing was forgott which is now heare inserted for. After that the enemy was weary with bursting their gunnes with battery of the castle upwardes towardes heaven and see that they could not prevaile that way, then they came to be partners with Guydo Faulkes to dive downewardes to the divell, to undermine us and to blow us up by their sevrall mines, whereof one mine was below Wardes howse under the moate of the castle towardes the Round tower, another within the Hospitall towardes the Kinges tower; making their boastes that they would bestow 100 barrells of powder upon us to blow us up, but, we perceiving theire intentions, we answered them at theire owne weapones and myned as fast as they, sinkinge in severall places within the castle and mining from thence and allso without the Castle walles neare to the castle. We had allso made 2 severall traverses within the Castle yeard very strong and to good purpose which was volentarely performed by the volentary gentlemen within the castle, and allmost finished at the time of our releefe when Sir Marmaduke Langdale came to releeve us. We sunke 11 or 12 pittes in sevrall places from whence we mined under the Castle walles that we could have mined from one plaice to another round about the castle if neede had required, and so have prevented all their plottes.

March 1 †, Saturday. The beseeged shott 12 cannon to the beseegers when they was drawing of their armye from divers partes both into the towne and about the towne, and noate this, that there was not one day since the castle was beseeged but that there was summe of the beseegers killd by the beseegedes muskitts besides those was killd with the beseegedes cannon. There was shott from the 17th January to the 1th of March, 96 cannon, and from the 25th December till the 17th January 128 cannon; in all, to the 1th of March, 224 cannon.

About 3 of the clock, Sir Marmaduke Langdall's forelorne hope did appeare upon the topp of the hill on this side Wentbridge, and so marched, one company after another, till his whole army came all into the Chequor feild, where both the armyes mett, and faced one another till allmost 6 of the clock, the Parlament armye allwaies giving ground (when Sir Marmadukes armye advanced) till they came to their foot which they had placed, and lyned the long hedge from Englandes howse to the hill toppe, where the first encounter begunne very furiously, the enemyes foot (behind the hedge) giving fire upon the front of our horse very valiantly, which was soone asswaged, for then

* Transferred from a subsequent page.

† March 1. An ordinance for provisions for the Parliament's forces before Pomfret. (Whitelocke.)

our foot from the castle coming on and the horse charging with the foot 4 or 5 times, recovring the hedge from them, beat them quite away towardes Ferry bridge, continually charging them all the way, there being left dead and wounded upon the ground about 160 men. And at Ferry bridge the enemy playd 3 times with one cannon, viz. 2 case shottes and 1 cannon bullitt, killed there 4 of our men, but we bett them from their cannon, and tooke it and brought it away, and followed them in chase betwixt Shearburne and Tadcaster, killd 140 of their men (as is reported) in the chase, took 600 prisoners, commaunders and officers 57*; doble barrells of powder 47, containing 124 lb. a peece; armes 1600; collores both for horse and foot above 40; and many wounded men brought and many dead since, and we lost not above 20 men in all the fight, the enemy being allmost 6 for one. There was brought in to the castle neare upon 20 cariages with all their match, muskets, pikes, bullits, and all other provition, and many packes taken in the chase, and the plunder of the feild was to the souldyers and to the contrey about. Sir Marmaduke Langdall coming into the castle betwix 10 and 11 of the clock in the night, having quartered his horse in the townes about, and he continued about the towne, refreshing of his men, till the Munday following, being the 3 March, at which time he marched away with the most of all his horse and foot.

[BESEEGERS' LOSS.]

Killd the first seege	Wounded
60	40
5	
3	
30	
3	
3	
5	
10	

160 kild and wounded
140 more betwixt Ferry bridge and Sherburne

[300]

* The parliamentary loss has been stated at more than 1000 men. Lambert himself was wounded, and many of his officers were slain. Among these were Col. Armyn, Col. Thornton, and Col. Malevery. (Boothroyd, 1 Fairfax Corr. 184.)

"Sir Marmaduke Langdale comes out of the south, with a body of horse, to raise the siege at Pontefract; and Colonel Lambert meeting them at Wentbridge engaged himself so far, that he came busily off; and, after some little bustle, most of our forces fled to Ferry-bridge. Only our regiment stayed on the field; and if we had but had two troops of horse with us we had kept the field, but we were totally routed. The castle-foot being on one side, and the horse on another, they put us to the rout. Many were taken prisoners, but those were soon released; so that we besieged it again in a month's time, or thereabout." (Memoirs of Captain John Hodgson.)

"*March.* Langdale got provisions into Newark, and was recruited to 3000, and Rosseter followed him with 2000 *." (Whitelocke.)

"The king had now Goring with a considerable party in the West, Prince Maurice in Cheshire, Langdale in Yorkshire, Prince Rupert and Sir Jacob Ashley gone towards Shropshire, and the Parliament yet no formed army." (Ibid.)

"Sir Marmaduke Langdale being on his march towards Pomfret, Colonel Forbes drew from the siege to meet him; the Lord Fairfax ordered them not to engage, but upon great advantage, till his additional forces came up to them. But they did engage, and Langdale's horse were beaten back to the last reserve, in which encounter Colonel Lambert and other commanders received some slight hurts; the Parliament's foot there being deserted by others who did not their parts, and galled by the garrison soldiers, who sallied out of Pomfret, were forced to retreat, with the loss of many arms, an iron piece of ordnance, two carriages, and some of their fellows. The rest of their carriages they drew off, over Ferry-bridge, almost a mile from the fight, which pass was made good by Colonel Morgan and his dragoons, against Langdale's men. The same night when this fight was, a party of the Yorkshire forces fell upon a party of the King's at Houghton, and took 100 horse and divers prisoners. The Lord Fairfax with the Yorkshire horse drew out their forces, but the fight was over before they came, and the rallied forces joined with them." (Ibid. under March 8. Whitelocke's dates are probably in many cases those on which news were ascertained in London.)

March 2. "Being now drawn off with my horse and foot from Sandall to Bradford, Yorkshire, I thought it expedient to give your lordship an account thereof, and the reasons which induced me to do it. My lord, it was past three in the afternoon of Saturday last

* "*Mar.* 4. We hear of Sir M. Langdale's going northwards, with 2000 horse, which I hope is no news to you. It is thought that his design is to raise the siege at Pomfret Castle.—Our thoughts here are for the present much upon the North, expecting what will be the issue of Langdale's journey. It is very satisfactory here, that Rossiter was so closely on his heels, and wish that every particular be known unto you in time. There are many here that plot as zealously to crush it in the bud as others do to bring it to perfection." (Sir Tho. Widdrington, in London, to Lord Fairfax at York. 1 Fairfax Corr. 166.)

before your orders came from Colonel Forbes to draw off to Ferrybridge, which (though I used all possible expedition therein) I could not do until within night, and then began to march with not above 240 horse and foot in all (for reason of the sudden notice, many of my men were absent), expecting to have found no enemy either at Pontefract or Ferrybridge, but discovered them at both places, by intelligence from some of them whom we took prisoners. Whereupon we were forced to break up their quarters in Longhoughton, where some troops of Colonel Carnaby quartered. We forced our passage there with divers of their horse and some men of theirs prisoners, and it was generally conceived most secure to make for Bradford, in regard we did not know how the enemy had dispersed themselves towards Leeds. My lord, your lordship may perceive by these inclosed what a distraction this late accident hath wrought in these western places." (Sir John Savile at Bradford to Lord Fairfax. 1 Fairfax Corr. 177.)

March 3. "We have notice that the enemy is retreating to Doncaster *, but we hear of Prince Rupert's advance on this side Gloucester †. Now that the country about Wakefield is not secured, the enemy at Sandall ranges at pleasure." (Sir John Savile at Bradford to Lord Fairfax. 1 Fairfax Corr. 179.)

March 5. "To the right honourable Ferdinando Lord Fairfax, these.—My lord, your officers will inform you how far you are short in medicaments, the number of the wounded considered. Here is a chirurgeon of your party that will go as far as he can with such things as he hath received. Your lordship will receive with this a list of officers and soldiers, if I may receive the like from you upon a safe-conduct. I shall send officers to treat of a general exchange, and remain, my lord, your humble servant, RICHARD LOWTHER. Pontefract Castle." (1 Fairf. Corr. 185.)

March 9. "For the right honourable the Lord Fairfax, these — My lord, your lordship's of the 7th of this instant came but this morning: for the time and place, the first is precipitated, for the other it is at too great a distance. If your lordship please to give a meeting at Ferrybridge, upon mutual engagements for the safety of those who shall be appointed to treat upon both parties, I shall agree to it, and to that purpose desire a new safe-conduct for such as I shall nominate; the time, Wednesday next, by nine in the morning. The list your lordship sent of our prisoners with yours is altogether imperfect. I desire a particular under whose commands and in what regiments they have served, as also a list from Hull and Wressell in the

* "Langdale retreated to Newark. Col. Rosseter and other of the Parliament's forces fell on his rear near Doncaster, and took divers prisoners." (Whitelocke.)

† *March* 11. "I am sorry to hear of the sad accident in Yorkshire. It is very probable that the storm will yet be greater there. Prince Rupert is gone northward also; and it is conceived that Prince Rupert, Prince Maurice, and Langdale will, in conclusion, fall into one body." (Sir Tho. Widdrington, at London, to Lord Fairfax. 1 Fairf. Corr. 182.)

same way. For your chirurgeon I cannot admit of him; but if the medicaments be sent, I shall join my own surgeons with one of your party, a prisoner here, to use the best of their art in the cure of the poor wounded soldiers, and shall remain, my lord, your humble servant, RICHARD LOWTHER. Pontefract Castle." (1 Fairfax Corr. 185.)

March 9. "If your lordship please to let me know what officers you demand for Sir Simon Fanshaw from Pomfret, I shall endeavour to effect the change with Sir Marmaduke Langdale." (Colonel Willys, at Newark, to Lord Fairfax, at York. 1 Fairfax Corr. 188.)

"The governor of Pomfret writes me word, that Sir Simon Fanshaw is mistaken for a lieutenant-general, upon which his exchange is hindered. I do assure your lordship, by all the ways I am enabled to engage myself, that he was only lieutenant-colonel of horse to Sir Charles Lucas who was the lieutenant-general. Therefore, if your lordship shall think the exchange for Mr. Mulling and a lieutenant proportionable to him, it shall be continued by &c. R. WILLYS." (Ibid.)

THE SECOND SEEGE AGAINST PONTEFRACT CASTLE, *March*, 1644[-5].

From the 1st of March to the 10th theire was but little done in Pontefract Castle but fetching in of provition and other necessaryes for the use of the castle.

11. Tewsday. Captin Layborne & Major Mownteynes man rid out towardes Wenthill and betwixt that and Ferrybrigg tooke Mr. Ellis of Brampton, that great sequesterator, and one quartermaister & brought them into the castle.

13. 20 or 30 of our gentlemen went down to Turnebridge* and brought in Leiutenant Collonell Lee and Leiutenant Collonell Ledger and 3 gallant horses †.

15. There went out a party of horse towardes Dauncaster and in that way they mett with Collonell Brandlin's regiment and routed them, tooke one major, one captin, one leiutenant, 3

* Beyond Ackworth. (Boothroyd.)

† Mar. 14. "The enemy is not this side of Newark, and the messenger saw all our horse at their rendezvous on Wednesday, at Mansfield, and Major Carter told him they would be at Ferrybrigg on Saturday.—Colonel Broadling [Brandling?] I have sent for to come together at Methley, and to make good that pass. Yesterday, at 3 o'clock, he heard nothing of the enemy, but only Pontefract horse fetching in provisions; neither know any thing of the cause of Colonel Forbes leaving Leadston. And he lay then quartered at Badsworth Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, for Sir Joseph Worstenholme would not let him quarter at Nostall." (Sir John Savile, at Wakefield, to Lord Fairfax. 1 Fairf. Corr. 180.)

officers, 67 souldyers, and about 100 horse. That night allso our men went downe to Turnebridge again, and brought away from the enemyes storehowse 40 new paire of bootes with other provision.

21. Fridday. About 2 of the clock in the afternoone the enemy came in again and tooke the Upper towne, killed Captin Redman about the bridge, and a souldyer upon the toppe of the Round tower and tooke 3 of our men prisoners. That day we shott 14 cannon and 2 in the night, but the Lower towne we had at liberty. They could not beseege it upon that end, and from thence we fetch in wodde from the burnt howses and other necessaryes, the enemyes forces being not so strong by much as was thought. The truth is thought that this seege was for nothing but to keepe us within the castle untill they had areyed men & plundred the contrey to prevent the Prince's victualls at his coming *.

22. We shott 15 cannon to sevrall places and we had a woman shott thorow the hand and a man shott thorow the thigh with the same bullitt upon the toppe of the Round tower (but neither killed). The enemy fell a trenchinge in divers places about the towne but espetially before Allderman Lunnes howse †.

23. We playd 5 cannon all into the towne ‡.

* "Mar. 17. Letters from the Committee of Nantwich informed that Prince Rupert, Maurice and Langdale were all joined in one great body and that without a speedy relief, Sir Will. Brereton's forces would be in great danger. The House ordered a letter to be forthwith sent by the Committee of both kingdoms, for a party of the Scots horse and dragoons to advance towards Sir Will. Brereton, and ordered supplies for his forces."

"Mar. 27. The Scots forces, being joined with Sir Will. Brereton, the Prince's forces retreated, and would not engage. Prince Rupert marched towards Worcester, Prince Maurice to Ludlow, and Langdale northwards." (Whitelocke.)

† Mar. 22. "The Lord Montgomery was pleased to acquaint your excellency with my capitulation of surrendering Naward Castle, and you were pleased to give me your pass agreeably. My lord, a party of the Scotch horse conveyed me to Pontefract, where the commander-in-chief, Colonel Forbes, undertook my further convey; but it so fell out that some party of the King's advancing, and your horse retreating, it was not held fit I should pass then, but I was modestly requested to retire to some place until your present affair was over, which I had no reason to refuse; but I went back to Gilling [Castle], where I have kept myself." Applies for fresh pass or convoy. (Col. Atkins to Lord Fairfax. 1 Fairfax Corr. 189.)

‡ Mar. 23. "I have endeavoured to inform myself of their strength at Sandall, and find that they are 100 foot and 50 horse, besides those 50 horse lately gone out upon a party from Pontefract garrison, and could not return to it again by reason of our leaguer there. I advised with the officers here, and the result was that we were too inconsiderable to lie in Sandall, for we are not above 150 foot, now that Capt. Spencer is marched, as (it seems) your lordship's pleasure is; and we humbly conceive 300 foot and 6 troops of horse, of 50 in every troop, to be a proportion small enough for that attempt; yet I refer myself in this, as in all things else, to your lordship's wise consideration." (Sir John Savile, at Wakefield, to Lord Fairfax. 1 Fairf. Corr. 181.)

24. 1 cannon into the towne.

25. 3 cannon into the Parke to Will: Boothes & one cannon into the towne.

26. 1 cannon, but uncerteine what execution all the cannon did.

27. 7 cannon, but how many men was killed with the cannon is not knowne, but there was 3 men killed with muskitt bullitts.

28. 2 cannon towardes Newhall. We had two of our owne men shott that day, the one by the cock of his peese at unawares shot his next man into the thigh, and the other the barrell of his muskitt burst and so hurt himselfe. And we killed, upon 2 sallyes forth, 1 of the enemes at Munkhill, & 2 upon Baghill.

29. At night 10 cannon, all to Mr. Rusbyes, and up that streete, but what execution was done is not known to us.

30. 2 cannon into the towne, and we had one Nicolas Baune killed with muskitt bullitt upon the platforme by Treasurer tower by the cannones mouth.

31. 7 cannon into the towne and Parke and killed 3 men there. (*Sally* *.) And that night Captin Smith with 30 souldyers did sally forth of the castle and burnt downe the enemyes . . . . . sentry lathe †, killed them, 4 men att least; and there was 3 cannon more shott into two severall places of another sentry lathe.

1645. *April* 1. The beseeged killed 1 of the enemyes att Munkhill and 1 more at the Low church.

2. Two horsemen rid forth & killd . . . . . ‡ in 2 footmen to the castle.

3. We shott 12 cannon into the towne and 1 in the night but what was killd is not knowne, but one drummer was killed within a howse of serteyn.

4. The beseeged shott 1 cannon into Mrs. Oates howse & one cannon to the sentry att Skinner Lane end and 2 cannons towardes New hall, but what hurt not knowne.

(*Sally.*) That night we sallyed forth in 3 companyes, in all 90 men, & we shott . . . . § cannon and burnt downe Allderman Rusbyes lathe (being their sentry) and parte of his howse; killed there 1 captin and 3 souldyers more which was knowne; beat them from all their sentryes in the lower end of the towne.

* The word *Sally* is placed in the margin of the original opposite each outward attack by the besieged, and is printed, as in this case, within brackets.

† *Lathe* signifies a barn, here turned into a watchhouse.

‡ "And brought." (Francis Drake's copy.)

§ "Seven." (Francis Drake's copy.)

We had one man taken prisoner. They lined divers hedges betwixt the .....* and the Parke and sett upp their collors att [Skinner †] Lane head, but our cannon from [the Kings †] tower beat them downe, thus were we still imployed on both sides.

5. (*Sally.*) Our horse did sally foorth under the command of Captin Washington and Captin [Beal †] and 40 musquteyers under the command of Captin Smith. Our horsemen behaved themselves valiantly, facing a whole troope ..... with 5 men, made them retreate within the towne and duble their number of horse ..... fall forth with 100 musquetears & lined the [hedge †]. They gave fire freely on both sides [but our men †] manteyned the feild bravely and tooke [2 butchers †] and their horses loaded with flesh to the towne, before the enemyes faces, which did very good service to the garison upon Easter day; [but, the] said 5th day, we killed one man upon Baghill, and tooke another prisoner, and tooke two horses; and we shott 6 cannon that day both into the towne and other places and that night 5 cannon into the towne but what hurt was done is not knowne.

[6.] The enemy basely stayed all wine from coming to the castle for serving of the Communion upon Easter day, allthough Forbus (their Governor) had graunted protecktion for the same, and one Browne of Wakefeild said if it were for our damnation we should have it, but not for our solvation. But that day, being Easter day, (the 6th Aprill), which was prepared for the health of our soules, was prepared for the liberties of our bodyes, for, after sarmond done [att 11 of the †] clock the Governor gave strait command that all men should presently be in armes, which was as willingly done both with horse and foot. (*Sally.*) Then, after a little delibration, orders being agreed upon, Captin Washington and Captin Beale commanded the horse. Capt. Munro with 50 musquetears did sally out of Swillinton tower up into Northgate. Captin Flood with 50 musqutears sallyed forth of the Lower gate & so up by the Haulpeny howse & fell upon their trenches. Then there was 50 gentlemen volunteres wherof one haulph did second Munroe's musquetears and the other haulph Capt. Flood's. The gentlemen weare chosen out from the 4 collonells within the Castle viz.:—Sr. Richard Hutton, 12 gentlemen commanded by Capt. Croft: Sr. George Wintworth 10, commanded by Leiut. Warde: Sr. John Romsden 10, commanded by Capt. Benson; and Sr. Jarvis Cuttler 10,

* "Denwell" (Boothroyd). "Well" (Drake's copy). The original word is torn away.

† Francis Drake's copy.

commanded by Capt. Oglebie. These resolu[t] spirittes, (having received orders) cherefully passed upon their service, entred their trenches, gave a long and strong allarum, and returned with honour. Our cannonears allso plaid their parte bravelie and did good execution in the Markit place and other places in the towne. We killd in that sally 26 men or more, tooke one prisoner, and divers muskittes and swordes and drummes and we had [2*] men killd & 2 men wounded and we shott 26 cannon wherewith is supposed could be no lesse than 100 men killd. But we lett them not rest thus, for the same night, about 10 of the clock, Captin Smith, Capt. [Ratclife*], & Leiutenant Wheatlay with 100 musquitears fell upon Northgate and so into the Midle streat of the towne (above their trenches) gave fearce fire amongst them and did bloody execution for allmost one hower, where was very many of the beseegers killd, and we had but 1 man killd (his name was quarterm^{r}. Dawson), and one, a common souldyer, was wounded, and we shott of 6 cannon then, where the enemyes powder was sett on fire at Mr. Lunnes and about 20 men burnt, but few of them likely to live.

7. We made a sally forth to Baghill with 12 horsemen, killd one man there and brought away his horse, and tooke one Willson, a trooper, prisoner, and brought in his horse and killd 8 or 10 men with muskittes from the Round towcr in their trenches. That day we shott 2 cannon into the towne but what hurt was done is not knowne.

8. Our horse did sally forth to Baghill under the command of Capt. Washington and Captin Beale and 40 musquitears commanded by Leiutenant Moore. Our horse faced the enemy a long time, and they retreated and dobled their horse, and brought up 100 muskiters, and lined the hedges, and our men, seeing them bring up such forces, retreated in time without any losse; onely Leiutenant Moore was shott thorow the arme but now [allmost, *erased*] well againe. That day we shott 2 cannon and 2 sling peeses into the towne but what hurt was done is not knowne.

9. Leiutenant Perry dismounted one of their scouts on Baghill, runne him twise into the body, but his comrad faild him, and so he lost both horse and man. That day wc shott 3 cannon into the towne att the releeving of their sentryes, whear was killd 2 men and a woman, and the beseegers carryed away 5 wayne loade of [wounded men*].

10. Our cannons made 5 shott, and kild 2 men which was

* F. Drake's copy.

knowne; and 5 men was killd from the Round tower, and 4 men and a horse att Munkhill. That day they carryed away 5 waine loade of men over Ferry brigges, and the same day the enemy drew their men into a body, it was thought to know what force Sr. John Saivell brought of horse and foot, being newly come from Sandall with litle comforth. That night our cannon made 2 shott charged with case shott into their trenches where the enemy was heard to crye *O is me, O is me,* divers times.

11. The enemy came forth with a party of 12 horse and 30 muskiters. They lined Baghill allong the ould hedge 2 howers and then retreated under a hill for a safegard. That day our cannon plaid 2 cannon and 1 in the night, but what hurt is not knowne, onely one man was kild upon Baghill with a muskitt from the Round tower.

12. Alderman Thomas Wilkinson* unfortunatly was killd with a muskitt bullitt from Baghill at Barbicon yate: (*Sally.*) and our men did sally forth with 7 [horse†] to Munkhill but no execution done with the horse on either side, but one of our footmen killd 2 horses there, but the men gott clere. That day we shott 5 cannon into the towne, but what hurt was done is not knowne.

13. The enemy showed 3 or 4 troopes of horse as though they did intend to draw into a body, but drew away into severall places‡ . . . . . Before noone a troope or 2 came to . . . . . where being drawne into order upon the sand bed below the hall§, our cannonear made a shott from the Kinges tower when we was att the sarmond, dismounted a whole file, killd 2 dead both man and horse, the other 4 were sore hurt. The enemy showed 5 troopes of horse more then was before that day. That day our cannons made 6 shott into the towne, and 3 cannon more that night to the enemyes barricade which was broke quite downe but what execution was done is not knowne.

14. About 10 of the clock there came a party of the enemyes foot to drive away summe cattell which was sent out to feede neare Swillington tower, but our musketers caused them to runne away and saved the cattell. About the same time there came 3 loade of munition whereupon we conjectured they doe intend to fight with the Prince hereabouts, because that 3000 Scotts lyes at Leedes and other places quartered to joyne with

* See his pedigree in Dugdale's Visitation. "Thomas Wilkinson, Mayor of Pontfract 15 Car. I. anno 1639, slaine in Pontfract Castle, Colonell Lowther then being Governour for the King, anno 1644" [1645].

† F. Drake's copy.

‡ F. Drake's copy inserts "till."

§ New Hall. (Boothroyd.)

theire forces when they were drawn from Knavesbrough, Skarbrough, Yorke, Cawood, Selby, & Pomphrett, to make a body for a feild. (*Sally.*) About 20 of our souldyers with muskits and swordes went to a corner of a hedge near to Newhall where the enemy had a baricado, came suddenly upon their worke, & beate the enemy from it and they fled to their horse gaurds, but our men fell a pulling downe theire worke so long as their horsemen were ready to charge them and then our men retreated. They had not any command to goe nor no commander to command them but one William Wether (*alias Belwether* *) led them on. 5 of our footmen being engaged with 4 of their horsemen neare Baghill, Leiut. Perry and Jonathan (Sir Jarvis Cutler's man) mounted upon their horses and rid up to them, quit the men at Perryes coming; but Jonathan seeing one of the enemyes coming back, charged him bravely with his sword, but he turned his horse and run away basely and so our men retreated with creditt. (*Sally.*) The same night about 6 of the clock the afforesaid Bellwether with 6 firelockes fell on the enemyes trenches below Brode lane end and beat them from theire trenches. There was great shooting on both partes, and we killed of the enemies 1 commander with a buffe coate and a black skarfe (is supposed to be Collonell Eden) and 3 souldyers more, besides what was killed with the cannon. Our cannon played 5 times into the towne and to Trinitie backside and that night we played 4 cannon into the towne, but what hurt was done is not certeyne.

15. Two of our musketeres went up to Baghill and beate of the enemyes scoutes and so retreated. Our cannon playd 9 times into the towne and to Baghill but what hurt was done is uncerteyne, onely at one cannon was seene 4 men to fall at the least. That day was 2 men killd upon Munkhill, one upon Baghill, and 1 in their trenches. About 12 of the clock the enemy drue forth 30 musketers and lined the ould dike upon the topp of Baghill and gave fire towardes the castle all the afternoone till 6 a clock, about which time we shott of the iron gunne into the bottom of the hedge where the enemyes lay, which caused them to make a great lamentation, but what was killed is not knowne. There was one of the enemy's horsemen came into the Freales, and there light with a footman of ours (his name T. G.) was walking late at night in the Closes where they had an encounter and the enemy runne the footman 4 times into (and thorow his arme and thigh), but without any

* Apparently a play between *Bill* Wether and Bell-Wedder, a Northamptonshire phrase for a spoilt child.

danger of death; and he runne the horseman thorow the legg, and into his horse noase, and the horseman himsellfe almost to the midle of his raper into his body, and so the horseman gott away, but whether alive or dead is not knowne. That night there was 2 cannon playd into the towne *.

16. William Ingram plaid 2 cannon into the towne in the morning and shott thorow Mr. Lunnes howse topp, into the Markitt. (*Sally.*) About 10 of the clock we made a strong sally forth into their trenches. Captin Himsworth with 50 musketers went out of the Lower gate to the trenches at Allderman Lunnes howse: Captin Munro with 50 musketers out of Swillinton tower to Northgate, & so through the upper trenches. There was appoynted 50 gentlemen vollenteres to second the musketers: Collonell Hutton commanded 12 by Capt. Croft: Collonell Wintworth 14 commanded by Leiut. Ward: Collonell Rumsden 12 commanded by Lieut. Coll. Galbreth: Collonell Cuttler 12 commanded by Capt. Ogleby. After these gentlemen followed Leiutenant Fevell (Captin Himsworthes Leiut.) with 10 musketers to a little worke. All the rest followed Capt. Himsworth who assaulted the great trench. They cleared the little worke and the great trench with much vallor, beate the enemy up to another trench nearer the bridge; there was kild in the great trench 17 men, and many hurt. Our cannon plaid 20 shott during the time and did much execution. There was one Captin Wade taken prisoner and 4 souldiers; it is thought there was killd, hurt, and taken prisoners 50 men at least, 1 leiutenant killd, taken 60 armes, 7 drummes. (*Sally.*) Our horsemen did sally forth with 38 horse under the commaund of Captin Beale and Corronett Speght, stayd all the time upon Baghill and there faced the enemy that their horse never came forth to any rescue. Captin Washington and Corronet Speght rid out in the after noone with 2 horsemen more and mett with one quartermaister Hill, and tooke him and his horse, and brought them to the castle. That afternoone we playd 6 cannon and 4 sling peses, but what hurt is not knowne.

This day there came newes from Bonevant (the governor of

* "Some of Pomfret garrison sallied out, but were beaten back with the loss of Colonel Tindall, Lieutenant-Colonel Middleton, and other officers, and many soldiers." (Whitelocke, under April 15.) It does not follow that Whitelocke's date is quite accurate, but it is singular that the diary is silent as to this transaction. Boothroyd supposes that it happened in connection with some party sent out from the castle to Sandal or elsewhere, and beyond the enemy's works, and was unknown to Mr. Drake at the time. Tindall was only Lieut.-Colonel. (See page 5.) "Leonard Tindall, Lieutenant Coll. under Sir John Ramsdon, Knt., in the service of King Charles I." (Dugdale's Visitation. Tindall of Brotherton.)

Sandall Castle: that at 3 severall sallyes they had killd 42 men, and taken above 50 prisoners, whereof one was a captin. The passage of this busines was after this manner. Sir John Saivell with his hipocriticall and trecherous rebells bent their drummes to praiers, and being singing of psalmes before sermond. Captin Benevant caused his drummes to bent to praiers, so that they thought they was secure, but our men after they had dedicated themselves unto God, with upright hartes and religious praiers, in breefe manner: *Ys Armes*, and fell upon them.

17. *Sally*: Our men sallyed forth to their worke at Newhall, but did nothing worth the noting. The enemy carryed away this day 7 wayne loade of hurt men was hurt the day before at the sally forth of our men. That day our cannon plaied 5 times and 3 sling peeces into severall places from the castle, but what execution was done is not knowne.

18. This day there was 44 oxen and milchkine grasing in the feildes, which we espying, sent out 30 horse commanded by Captain Speght and Captain Beale, and 50 foot commanded by Major Bland and Major Dinnis, & brought them into the castle. At that same time was Sargiant Munkes (one of our sergiants) shott into the thigh & there is great hopes he will [*in, inserted*]. Within one houre there came to Newhall 600 horse and foot (of Scottes) commaunded by Collonell Mountgommorey: they are all commanded men without collores*. So as now we are belegured round about againe. But thou, our good God, be our comforthes, and deliver us from these rebellious traytors. That day we playd 21 cannon and 3 sling peses, and at theire coming in was killd summe say 4 of theire commanders (Collonell Hamelton was thought to be one) and 6 souldyers, & others say 2 commaunders and 8 souldyers: whereupon the enemy drew forth a great body of horse and 50 musqueteers to Baghill to prevent our men from sallying forth least they should take up market folkes who should have brought fresh meat to the markitt, but our cannon plaid once amongst them, killed one man, hurt divers, & made them all to runne away, and we had a gunner's mate killed with a muskitt bullitt thorow the portehoale, as he was about to give fire to the gunne. This day allso we sent out above 20 bease from the castle to grase in the Closes about the Castle walls and 30 musketeres to gaurd them, and the Scottes came forth and lined the hedges and gave fire upon our men, but 2 other of our men came forth behind them, and

* "Eight hundred Scots joined in the blocking up of Pomfret." (Whitelocke, under April 21.)

gave fire upon them and beat them into their gaurd, and killd one of them and hurt another. This day we fired the lower end of the towne and the lower end of Munkhill.

19. (*Sally.*) A few of our foot went out to Munkhill, and beate the Scottes 3 times from their workes, and killd 2 at one time, and there was seene divers to faule at other times. (*Sally.*) And, in the after noone, 3 of our men went up Grange Lane and beat the Scotts from the upper end of the lane where was seene 1 or 2 to fall at that time. That day we shot 3 cannon, one of them to Baghill (loaded with case shott), and shott thorow the hedge where lay many of the enemyes foot, and there was seene diveres hattes to fly of and is supposed many men killed.

20. Sunday morning, the Scottes fired the upper end of Munkhill about 4 of the cloke, and fell a trenching from the upper end of Bondgate Millne dame to Wardes, theire baricade at Cherry orchard head neare Newhall, and from thence made bulwarkes in divers places to Munkhill topp. This day we playd 5 cannon, whereof one was to theire baricade upon the back of the schoolehouse, and shott it thorow, where there was many of their men, & is supposed did great execution. The rest was shott into the towne, & one of them to Newhall. This day the Scottes made a strong allarum among themsellves, and a musketer of theirs killd a major of theires for a Cavelear.

21. The iron gunne which lay in the outworke above the Upper gate was fecht in to be planted upon the Mount* before the Castle gate which was then making ready for hur being there, but was not finished fitt to play till the 24th day. At night the beseegers in the Upper towne brought about 40 or 50 musketeres to Baghill, and there lined all allonge the hedge and the dike with them, which gave fire (for two howers and a haulph or more upon our men which were making the platforme for the gunne) very vehemently but did no hurt there.

This afternoone the Scotts sent a drumme to the castle, and Captin Flood and a souldyer was sent to fetch him in from the Lower gate: but the Scotts shott from Munkhill at them, and shott the souldyer through the legge, and after the bullitt grased upon Captin Fluddes legg, and numned it a little, but no hurt; the souldyer's name that was shot was Anthony Foxkroft. That day we shott one cannon into the towne. Captin Grimstones man, being taken with the enemy as he was coming to

* There was found in the Park closes about 1793 a ball weighing 58 lb. and upwards, which in Boothroyd's time belonged to Mr. Milton of Spittle Hardwick. It might have belonged to either party engaged in the siege. Many balls of 40 lbs. weight have been found in and near the town.

seeke his Mr., which was gone away with Sir Marmaduke Langdale 6 weekes before, was soare burned with match because he would not confesse where his Mr. was which he came to seeke and did not know where to find him.

22. The Scotts continued making their trenches stronger, but runne them no further on, and the English in the Upper towne brought up theire men to Baghill, where they playd very hard upon our men which were working at the platforme upon the Mount. That day we shott 1 cannon & 3 sling peeses, but what execution was done either by them or by the muskittes is not knowne. That night the Scottes marcht all away from Newhall thorough the Parke that same way they came*.

23, being Weddensday morning, came Sr. John Saivell with his company to Newhall, and possest the place which the Scottes had left, not without great ..... of company. This morning came the beseegers from the Upper [towne] to Baghill with 50 musketeres, and lined the hedge and the dike with them; they played very soare against the castle but did no harme, onely a young maid was drying of clothes in Mr. Taytons Orchard (close by the Lower castle gate) she was shott into the head wherof she dyed that night. That day we shott 5 cannon, but what hurt was done is not knowne. There was 2 [of the enemy] killd that day, 1 in Trinetys, and the other on Mr. Lunnes backside.

24. The beseegers came up to Baghill with 40 musketers in the morning, and they shott at cattell which was grasing in the Closes under the castle, and likewise they shott at the castle; and our musketeres from the castle shott at them, and killd one of them there, and beate them away from thence. (*Sally.*) Presently after a few of our men went to Munkhill, and killd one of Sir John Savelles men there, and in the afternoone, at the buriall of the maid, a few of our musketers attended the corpes to the church, & gave a volley of shot, which gave the beseegers in the Upper town an allarum, whereupon they came to Baghill both with horse and foot, and playd very hard for a little time against the castle: and likewise our musketeres shott at them from the Round tower and beate the enemyes in their trenches: from the Round tower that time we shott 4 sling peeses to Bagghill, & 3 cannon at night into Mr. Lunnes howse, where it was spoken that the officers and commanderes were met upon a consultation, but what execution they did is not knowne. This day the aforesaid Bellwether took a woman, (a suttler which came from Bar-

* "Letters from the North informed that the Scots were upon their march southwards, with 9000 foot and 3 regiments of horse." (Whitelocke, under April 28.)

wick), as she was carying a stand of ale to the souldyers at Newhall, and brought hur with the ale into the castle, (but eased hur of hur money she had about hur before). She confessed the battell which was made about Westchaster, and that the kinge had there gott the better, and that the beseegers in Pomfret were not to stay above 2 or 3 daies at the furthest.

25. The beseegers from the Upper towne came up to Baghill in the forenoone with about 50 musketers and about a troope of horse in severall companyes. The foot lined the hedge and the dike all along Baghill, and shott very furiously for about 4 howers together, but did no hurt at all to the beseeged. During that time we playd 6 cannon and 4 sling peeses, but what execution was done by the cannon is not knowne, but we saw eaither hattes or heades flye up at the fall of the bullitts, and the bullittes grased amongst them 3 times, from whence was heard great exclamations at one time. (*Sally.*) In the afternoone 3 or 4 of our souldyers did sally forth to Munkhill, and beat 16 of Sr. John Saivell men 3 times from the howses at Monkhill to theire workes, and after tooke a souldyer in Munkhill closes & brought him into the castle. That day we killd one man from the Round tower in the morning, & 4 men more in theire trenches at night, at the releeving of their sentryes, from the Round tower.

26. The beseegers from the Upper towne came to Baghill about 8 a clock with about 40 or 50 musketers, and lined the hedge & dike all alonge the hill side, and shott very hard for 5 or 6 howers, but without any hurt to the beseeged. At that time was 1 cannon shott full amongest parte of them but what execution it did unknowne to us. There was one cannon playd more into the Graunge lathe where there was many officeres and souldyers, and 1 cannon more up into the towne into the Markitt place. That cannon killd one man against Mrs. Jackson doore and so grased up the Markitt place.

(*Sally.*) About noon, 7 or 8 of our souldyers sallyed forth to Munkhill, and there fought with a party of Sir John Saivell's souldyers, killed one, laymed another, and beat them into theire trenches. There came allso about 40 horse into the Closes hard by Munkhill to have taken our men but they retreated a little back within muskitt shott of the castle, but the horsemen durst not come within that compasse. (*Sally.*) About 2 a clock allso there went up again to Munkhill 5 of our souldyers, and gave them a larum, and beate them back, and killed another man, and brought him away with them down to Denwell, and went up againe and killed another horseman which came braving up towardes them, but that horse and man was both fetch of and that man was caryed behind another man to Pomfrett where he dyed

presently after he came thither. (*Sally.*) About 4 a clock allso 7 or 8 of our souldyers sallyed forth to Munkhill toppe and a little further, and made show as though they weare Parlamenteres, called to a horseman (was supposed to be an officer) who came allmost close to them & then saw he was mistaken & cockt his pistoll at them, but they discharged 2 muskits upon him and shott him thorow his side but his horse carryed him of to Newhall, there being little hopes of any life of him; and then they wheeled about to the toppe of the Abbey close, calling to the souldyers upon the toppe of the castle, bidding them *come forth out of their houlds if they durst*, and called them *Papistes*, and so went down to the bottom of the close into the lower Abbey close, where, upon the other side of the hedge, were many musketeres lined, and they called to them & wished them to go nearer with them and shoot at the castle, and then one of them came forth to them and came forwardes with them towardes the castle, but, having got him at a little distance from the rest of his companions, they took his muskitt from him, and brought him along with them into the castle. This day came 150 foot souldyers over Ferry brigges to Newhall about 6 a clock at the releeving of the sentryes. We killd 2 of theire men from the Round tower and shott other 2, and then we shott 1 cannon into the Markitt place, where there was many people, and the ball grased all along the Markit place, but what execution it did is uncerteine to us. That night the beseegers sent foot, at least 100 men, to Baghill, and threw up a trench haulph the way in the ould dike. (*Sally.*) And about 12 a clock in the night, we sallyed forth of Swillinton tower, with 60 men commanded by Captin Smith and Leiutenant Fawell, into Northgate, and gave them a strong allarme, which caused them to beate their drummes and faule to theire armes, both in the towne and throughout all their trenches, and they shott very furiously in all those places, our men shooting at them very hard with their muskitts for the space of haulph an hower, and so retreated without any loss at all. At the same time allso there sallyed forth, with the other, 16 men commanded by Leiutenant Smith (Leiut. to Capt. Munroe): he led them downe to one of theire sentryes at the lower end of the towne, beate them from theire workes, and caused them to runne towardes Newhall to the other trenches. During that time we shott of 2 cannon to Baghill, but what execution was done is unserteyne.

27. *Sunday.* The beseegers came againe from the Upper towne to Baghill about 8 a clock, & there continued all the day, shooting very hard at any they could see whether within or about the castle with about 100 musketeres, so that we could

not put forth our cattell to grasse. In the forenoone there came downe 3 very good hoggs downe at Brode Lane end towardes the castle, and our souldyers seeing them (out of Barbican), went out and fetcht them in, which was a good booty for the souldyers. About 12 of the clock, a killnehowse of Mrs. Oatses, (neare to the Upper church), was sett on fire, but by what meanes is unknowne to us. During the time of the burning our cannon made 7 shott to that place and to the places thereaboutes, but what execution was done is uncerteine to us. Our men shott very hard all the day into theire workes, as well as they to us, where there was seene one man of theires killd and diveres shott and carryed of, but we had not any man hurt (praised be God). (*Sally.*) That night, about 11 a clock, 6 of our souldyers, commanded by one Lowder, sallyed forth downe to their worke below the Low church, gave them a larum, beate them from their workes to Newhall, which caused them to give fire throughout all theire workes round about the castle: and that night was 100 men working in their trenches at Baghill, but went not fare forwardes by reason of the stones there.

28. The beseegers from the Upper towne about 6 a clock came with above 150 men to releeve those which were on Baghill all night, and wrought still forwardes in their trench all the day, and shott very furiously upon the least occation, but did no hurt to the beseeged: and we drive out our cattell to grase neare the castle and brought them in againe in safety after they had been feeding most parte of the day. (*Sally.*) About 9 or 10 of the clock, 3 or 4 of our men went to Munkhill, and there met with sume parte of Sir John Saivells men, & killd one of them and came back againe. About 11 of the clock there went 200 horse from Pomfrett (or the townes thereaboutes) thoroug the Parke to Ferry brigges, (*Sally.*) and about 3 a clock 12 of our souldyers went forth to Munkhill without any order or knowledge of the Governor, being led up by one Lowder a souldyer, a good stout man, gave an alarum to Sr John Saivells quarters about Newhall, from whence issued foorth neare 100 souldyers. Our men charged them bravely till they came almost close to one another, where our men killed 2 of theires, and wounded as many men (as is thought) of theirs as went up of oures, and then they basely runne away, and tooke one of the killed men along with them, but the other our men brought downe with them to Denwell and buryed him by the other was killed 2 daies before; though they suffred our men which were killed at the Low church to lye there 10 dayes unburyed, having been often sent to and requested to doe it. This day we shott 2 cannon and one sling peese to Baghill but what

execution was done is uncerteyne. That night allso about 12 of the clock we shott one cannon to Baghill amongst 100 men at least standing together, which grased through them and made a lane, but what execution was done is not knowne. That night there was at least 300 men lay in that trench working and shott very furiously all the night.

29. This morning we put out summe horse & cattell to graze about the castle, but the enemy shot 1 cow and 2 horseyes that they dyed that day. The enemy shott still very hard all that day from Baghill and from other workes which they had made under the hill (betwixt it and the castle) and they continued still working their trench all along the hill (which they had allmost finished). We shott 4 cannon that day to Baghill, and our men shott very hard that day with muskits from the Round tower to Baghill, where was 2 killd, the one was supposed to be an officer, the other a souldyer, (*Sally.*) And that day 9 of our men went out to Munkhill and beate Sir John Saivells men from their first trench there, and so came back to the castle without any hurt to either side. That night 4 of our commanders, with their servantes being as many, rid forth of the castle towardes Sandall & so to Newarke. They weare accommodated with the lieutenant collonell & 20 musketeres & firelockes into the Parke, where just after their parting the commanderes mett with one of the enemyes scoutes, gave fire upon him once, and is supposed either killed him or took him along with them. And after theire departure the musketeres and firelockes came throug Norgate back againe to the castle and they went up to the enemyes lowest trench nere Mr. Rusbyes and gave fire twise over upon them very bravely, and so retired into the castle without any hurt at all.

30. The enemy came very yearely in the morning, with 150 men at least, to Baghill to releeve the sentries there, and gave fire very furiously upon any occation all that day, where they killed one horse in the Barbican. And our men from the Round tower did not let slip the least occation, but gave fire upon them, where we killed 2 there, one was supposed to be an oicer, the other a souldyer and shott 2 or 3 men more there. We shott allso very hard upon any sight of any man into all the trenches above the castle towards the towne, where we saw one or 2 men killd and at least 4 or 5 men more shott. That day the enemy burnt poor Cate Lillhole howse on Munkhill and allso that night they burnt a little howse under the Castle wall betwixt the Haulpeny howse and the wall. There is now shott in the second seige from the 21th March to the 1th of May 315 cannon by the beseeged.

May 1. This morning the enemy releeved their trenches on Baghill very yearely, with (as we supposed) 150 men, where they had made a Triangle worke, and walled it with stone, and filled it with earth, and, as we conceived, there was a little work within it for officers to sitt in & to shelter them from rayne: we playd one cannon to it that morninge, which burst the stone wall without and we supposed shott through the inworke allso, where they was drinking (for they had greate store of ale brought them that morning) and very many of them runne out of that worke very fast. So that we supposed the cannon did good execution. That day they shott very slowly both from Baghill and from their lower worke in the Round close under Baghill. (*Sally.*) In the afternoone 8 of our men went out to Munkhill, where Sr. John Saivell's company had lined a long hedge and a deepe ditch with about 60 or 70 men. We shott at them from the castle with our muskitts, as well as those 8 of our men which went up the hill into the ditch, and at that time we killed 2 officers, and our men runne hastely into the ditch and beat them all away where they runne all away very basely. Our men then retreated downe the hill and had summe more ammunition sent to them. After that the enemy drue up a great parte of their horse which they had both in the towne and at Newhall, & they drue up the foot allso from both places, but the horse staid not within muskitt shott of the castle. (*Sallyes* 2.) Our men fell up twise more to Munkhill, and beate them from the hedges into theire workes, and killed them 2 men more at that time, and shott many more. After that went up 3 men more from the castle, and beate them from theire workes. Our men then retreated back, and in theire retreate one of those 3, (his name was Nathanyell Sutton, a barber,) was shott into the shoulder & so into the body, whereof he dyed instantly, but our men brought him offe. There was another of those 3 allso was shott on his brow and it entred the skull a little, so that [we hope in a short time he will recover, *erased*] he is well again [*substituted*], (his name was Captin Dent). The 3th. of those men was allso shott through his dublitt as he stooped, and so it went up to his neck, but never bruised the flesh, so that he was not hurt. He was a drummer, but had no drumme at that time. Our men had done very good service that day, if those three men had not gone up without either order or commaund. That night the enemyes cut bowes under Baghill and made blindes at either end of their Triangle worke, and planted a drake (as we supposed). About the beginning of May the enemy brought againe a long drake belonging to Sr. John Saivell and planted hur upon Baghill upon the south side of the

castle and there she playd about 8 shott and they conveyed hur away.

2. This morning they shott theire drake (as we supposed). They releeved theire sentryes before 8 a clock, and went of (as we could pretty well tell) about 120 men. They shott very little all that day, but they killed one oxe of oures from Munkhill nere Swillinton tower, but we fetcht him offe. We killd that day with our muskitts, from the Round tower, at least 14 men, and shott many more. At the releeiving of our gardes, betwixt the Lower gates and the Mound, one of our souldyers, as he was coming of, was shott into the head with a muskitt bullitt (we knew not whether the bullitt came from Baghill or Munkhill, but we supposed from Munkhill) whereof he dyed instantly. This night we gave an allarum to the enemy in the North street at their sentryes, upon the backside of Mr. Lunnes, at which time we sent away Mr. Wm. Booth and Mr. Thomas Baumforth to Newarke.

3. This day the enemy releeved their sentries, as formerly they did, both at Baghill and at other places, and they shott very slowly, every day lesse then other, but the enemy shott a ould meare of oures was turned forth to grasse, and allso they shott 2 oxen more of oures which weare at grasse, but we fetcht them of and made very good use of them, and they likewise shott a boy of a poore mans of Munkhill (which was keeping of the cattell) into the thigh, and so glented off, but little hurt. But, at the releeiving of their gaurdes towardes night, we killd 4 of their men from the Round tower about Trinities, & at the lathe end, behind Mr. Lunnes, and shott many more of them, and that night we had 2 letters sent from Newarke with very good newes from the South, and allso of the good condition that all the Kings forces were in, which did not a little comforth us to here of theire good proceedings and our freindes' wellfare.

4. This day, being Sunday, the enemy releived their gaurdes, as at other times, but shott very slowly on both sides all that day. And in the afternoone there came a souldyer into the castle which runne away from the enemy, and tould us (as neare as he could) how all thinges stood with the enemy; and we exchanged summe prisoners which were taken from about Newarke, or on this side, and brought to Pomfrett, and so they was sent into the castle.

5. This day they releeved their gaurdes as at other times, but with farre lesser numbers, for whereas at sumtimes before there came up 150 to theire releefe, theire came up this day 34 and 2 officeres, and they shott very little all the day, but at Munkhill they had made waye through all the burnt howses along the

toppe of the hill till they came to Widow Tupman's howse (which they had burnt,) and in it they kept their sentry howse, and shott out of it when they could see any occation, but they did no harme all the day. There was great shooting from their trenches about Paradise orchard, Trinities, and Mr. Lunnes, and Mr. Rusbyes against the Round tower and the north side of the castle, but they did no harme to the beseeged, but we shott from the Round tower very hard and, at the releefe of their gards, we killd one man, and shott many more of them.

6. The enemy releeved theire gaurdes this day at Baghill as at other times, but shott very little from thence all the day, nor from their gaurdes at Munkhill, but in all theire workes up the towne they shott very hard, and we likewise at them, where we killd one of them in Paradise orchard, & allso another in theire trenches on Mr. Lunnes backside, & shott 3 or 4 more of them. There came in this day a horse litter from Ferrybrigges into the towne, which went away next morning the same way it came. We supposed [it] did carryo away summe wounded officer in it. That day we playd 2 cannon to Baghill. A little before the shooting of the first was 2 women seene to bring 2 standes of ale into their Triangle worke, at which time the first cannon plaid full into that work, & made a breach into it, & we supposed did summe execution for they runne very fast out of the worke: and the other cannon drive away 3 or 4 stones from the toppe of the worke amongst them which was within, but whether any execution was done or not is not knowne. This night there came into the castle a sargient from the enemy, which told us summe news of the enemyes proceedinges in the towne.

7. This morning the enemy shott of theire drake from Baghill to the castle (it was loaded with case shott,) and scarce hitt the castle, for summe parte of it hit the stable, and summe the battlementes of the castle, and the rest flew over the castle, but did no hurt at all. The enemy shott one of our men from Baghill as he was working in a trench in the Barbican. They shott very little all this day from all theire workes. In the afternoone there came 10 of the enemyes souldyers vaporing with their swordes into the Lower church, but 8 of our men, seeing them, went downe with their muskitts, gave fire upon them, and they runne away as fast as they could. This afternoone at the releeving of theire gaurdes we killd one man in the trench behind Mr. Rusbyes, and there was 2 or 3 more laymed in the out workes.

8. This day was but little shooting on all sides till the afternoone at the releeving of their gaurdes, at which time we killd

one in their trenches behind Mr. Rusbyes, and divers was hurt but no more seene to fall. There was but 34 went up to Baghill to releeve theire gaurdes at releeving time, but there went up 20 more was seene to goe up against night. This night Captin Horsfold (with his men) went forth to Sandell Castle, and allso Bellwether was sent againe towards Newarke. They had a few musketeers went forth with them to Baghill, but they saw not any man stiring there, so they returned back againe into the castle.

9. This day we shott 2 cannon from the Kinges tower towardes the Markitt place about 10 of the clock, and allso 1 cannon more thither in the afternoone, but what execution they did is uncertein. We shott little on both sides all the forenoone, but, at the releeving of their gaurdes, there was hard shooting on all sides where we saw one man to fall in the porte-hole upon Baghill, and we killd 2 more by their workes below Brodelane end, whereof one was an officer (all in redd) with a staffe in his hand [his name was Capt. Coulerk, *in the margin*], the other was a souldyer. About 4 of the clock the enemy sett on fire and burnt divers barnes and howses in severall places of the towne, as, namely, from the North street 2 barnes of Mr. Maiores and Mr. Robt. Battleyes (joyned together) and allso all along those howses from that place in to the High streete (called Miccklegate) where there was many good howses and killnes burnt and Robt. Battleyes new howse. The fire burnt all the night in the barnes. They allso sett on fire another howse below Mr. John Wilkinsonnes (on the other side of the street) but was put out. That night, about 9 of the clock, the enemy gave a valley of shott in the Markitt place. We heard it reported at the buriall of a Leeuetenant [Lieutenant Collonell Eden, *in the margin*]. We shott 1 cannon more from the side of the Treasurers tower upon that platforme. That cannon playd full into the middle of the fire, and brought downe a parte of the howse with it, but whether it did any execution more or not is not knowne.

10. This day the enemy made a new worke on Munkhill in manner of a haulph moone, to prevent us from sallying forth out of Swillinton tower. The same day there was one man killd from the Round tower in the bearne en[d] behind Mr. Lunnes, and some hurt, but we know not how many. This night there were [sent] out of the castle 2 men to Sandell.

11. Sunday. We had 2 learned sermonds, the one by Docter Bradlay, the other by Mr. Oley (as we have every Sunday 2). The Lord give us grace to follow them. We killed 2 of the enemyes from the Round tower. This day allso we had one of

our men was looking out of a porthole on the Round tower (a wright by trade), and seldome using to rome thether, but he was shott thorow the arme, and though at a weekes end full of payne yet there is no signe of his death. We had allso a boy about 9 yeares of age (as he was getting of greene sawse * without Swillington tower) was dangerously shott in the belly from their works at Munkhill. This night, also, a gentleman of ours was talking with one of the enemyes officers upon the Round tower, conditioning that neither side should shoot, but yett one of the enemies souldyers, contrary to conditions, shott in at the poarthoale side, where the bullitt grased upon the side, and so hitt the gentleman upon the buckle of his gerdle and burst it, but (praised be God) did not so much appeare as the very show of a hurt.

12. This day there was fire given very freely on both sides but not any hurt t'our knowledg on either side. About 8 a clock our iron gunne plaid to Baghill but what execution it did is not knowne. This night, about 9 a clock, our gentlemen and souldyers being merily disposed, did drinke whole heallthes (of the New well water) to the King and all his good freindes, pledging one another with such hallowes and shoutes, as the enemy, wondring what should be the cause of such sudden joy, took an allarum, drew out all theire horse into the feild and dobled all their gaurdes (which pleased us well) and then, our taptoo being beat, every man to his gaurdes or to his bed.

13. This day we kill one of the enemyes upon Baghill, and 2 from the Round tower and divers more were hurt. They grow now so fearfull that they will scarcely looke out of their trenches but when they are forced to releeve their gaurdes. This day were carryed away 3 or 4 lodes of goodes towardes Ferry Bridege, which makes us thinke they will not stay long.

14. This morning the enemy drive both sheepe and cattell towardes Ferry Brigge. Some thought it was to victuall Yorke, others thought it was to prevent our army from having any victual, for they fetcht them from the townes nere about Pomphrett. In the afternoone Coronett Thurley was shott in the arme in Barbican. There was this day one of the enemies killd and devers shot from the Round tower. About 5 a clock there came a troope of horse riding fast from Dauncaster, fower of them rid into the towne and the rest to Newhall. In the eevning all their horse was drawne up in a body into the Parke, to what end is not knowne. This night, Captin Benson, with

* Young willows?

his man and two more, went to Sandall Castle and we see divers fires abroade this night, but we know not the occation thereof.

15. This day was the souldyers set on worke to fill up a filthy pond which was in the Castle yeard, and made a place to draw the water away under ground, and sett it, and covered it with stones and earth againe, and clensed all the Castle yeard, which was a very good worke to clense the castle from many noysome smelles. About 2 a clock in the afternoone, Thomas Lowther (a souldyer), with 2 souldyers more, espyed two of the enemyes to come out of their workes (being both of them leiutenants) to watch our men which was fetching in of wodde from the lower end of the towne, fell upon them suddenly, & one of them struck at Lowther with his partisan, but he awarded the dangerous blow and runne him quite thorow with his raper; and another of his fellow souldyers shott him thorow the thigh, but was not slain, but brought into the castle; the other lieutenant runne away. The name of him that was brought into the castle was Thomson, his woundes was presently drest by a chirurgion of ours in the castle, and within two howers there came a drumme for him upon exchange out of the towne, and he was exchanged for a leiutenant of ours that was prisoner at Cawodd. About 12 a clock in the night came in Bellwether that was sent to Newarke 7 daies before, and another souldyer of ours with him which was there. And also Tho. Hanson which was sent to Sandall Castle 3 daies before. They mett both together at Swillinton tower and brought letters from his Majestie with very joyfull newes *. *Gloria Deo.*

16. (*Sally.*) This day we gave the ennemies 2 allarumes; the one at Munkhill, about 1 a clock, where we fell upon the new worke, and charged their sentryes before they tooke the allarum, and then they fled from thence into the Newhall and

* "Prince Rupert, who had met with very little opposition in council, had throughout the winter disposed the King to resolve to march northwards and to fall upon the Scottish army in Yorkshire, before Fairfax should be able to perfect his new model to that degree as to take the field. This design was not unreasonable; nor the Prince to blame for desiring to take revenge on them for what passed the last year; which, now they were separated from the English, who had indeed defeated him, he believed was easy to be done. That purpose of marching northward was now the more hastened, that, in the way, Chester might be relieved, which was closely besieged; and then they might come soon enough to Pontefract Castle, before which the Scottish army then was (*sic*); and if they could defeat that, the King would be again, upon the matter, master of the north, which, by the insolence of the Scots, and the dislike they had of the new model, was conceived to be better affected than ever." (Clarendon, after April 30.) Chester was deserted on the King's march in the middle of May, but the northern project was abandoned in consequence of Fairfax's movements, and the defeat of Naseby was the result.

dobled their gaurdes and charged again upon them, so our men retreated and came into the castle. About 5 a clock a few of our men went forth to their worke below the Low church, and gave fire upon them, then they drew out about 30 men into the Graunge barne, right opposite againt our men. Then our men fell into a thick orchard of trees, & so they gave fire one against another for haulph an hower, and then our men retreated againe into the castle without any hurt to our knowledg. (*Sally.*) About 11 a clock in the night we made out a party nere about 40 men to a new worke the enemy had made at the bottom of the Abbey cloase, where we itended to have fallen on to some good purpose. And we shot of one cannon from the Kinges tower against our falling on, but by report a woman got out of the castle and gave them intelligence, but it is sure they *had* intelligence, for they had lined all the hedges thereabouts, and called to Captin Smith & tould him they were provided for him. Neverthelesse we gave fire upon them for almost haulph an hower and so retreated into the castle, having had 2 men hurt in that service. And during this time we sent out Thomas Hanson and another man to go to Sandoll Castle.

17. This morning there was one of the enemyes killd in the Markitt place from the Round tower and we had one man shott going out of Swillinton tower. There was this day a drummer from the towne & allso a trumpiter from the Lord Mountgommreyes brother; both came to the castle together. The trumpiter was fetcht up into the Governer's chamber and stayd there for about haulph an hower, and so they went away both together. This day there went a cariage from the towne loded and covred with red, and drawne away with 14 oxen and a horse, and went towardes Knottinglay, but was gone the next morning very yearly, we heard not whither. The trumpiter tould us that the enemy was not above 8000 both horse and foote in all the country.

18. (*Sally.*) Being Sunday, after praiers was done in the morning, the Governor staid the sarmon, and gave order that all should to armes, which was with all willingnes performed. Ould Major Warde was commanded to the New mount within Barbican to observe all the towers in the castle towardes Baghill that no man nor woman should make any signes either with hatt, hand, or handkircher, or anything ellse that might be perceived to be a signe to give notice. In the intrim, Captin Smith & Captin Flood, Ensigne Killingbeck and Sargiant Barton went out first over the bridge towardes Munkhill. Capt. Smith with 30 souldyers went up by Denwell lane to the outworks upon the back of Munkhill & beat them from those workes & so

went along therie trenches & cleared them as he went to theire first lower worke. Captin Flood with Anchient Killingbeck and 50 souldyers charged up the High street to Munkhill toppe, fired the howses there, and so fell upon their first workes in the High streete by Scottes and entered that worke where he met with Captin Smith. Close with him Cap. Munroe with Ensigne Ottoway & Sargiant Copland with 70 men issued out close after the other & went downe close by the Low church, charged upon their lowest worke, beate them from it, killed so many as they could overtake, fired the howse neare to it, runne up the lane to the Graunge bearne and killed all that was within it who was drinking heallths (after their dinner) to the higher howse of Parlament, from thence went up to Munkhill to the workes there, and overtooke the other companyes at Cherry orchard head neare Newhall. Leiutenant Collonell Gilbreth, Leiutenant Willowby and Leiutenant Warde with 60 musketeers stayed at the Low church. And ould Major Warde and Lieu. Favell with 40 musketeers lined all the walles in the Low barbican. For these men, at the Low church & heare, weare reserves upon purpose that, if either the towen or Baghill had faullen out to have seconded the enemy at Newhall, then upon the first notise they would have rescued our men. We had allso about 20 horse commanded by Captin Beale came up to Munkhill upon that service, but they could not passe the trenches that was made there. The commanders aforenamed charged very bravely to the very Newhall of which they left sufficient evidence in 2 men which they there killed. The enemy runne away basely by 40 at a time over St. Thomas hill towardes Ferry bridge, and what way they could soonest take. Our men did greate execution, both breefly and gallantly, having not left one man in all theire trenches but dead, and retreated honorably the same waies they went out, and in theire retreate looked over the slaine men, and, though they staid not to strippe them, yett they tooke of some of theire best loose garments as hattes & shoowes, not forgetting their pockittes, where they found in some 10 groats, some 5*s*., some 10*s*., some more, which gave them some encouragement in want of pay. Having left dead upon the ground about 50 or 60 men and mauked (we beleeve) as many more, and brought into the castle 2 prisoners & 2 leguer * ladyes (which ladyes we presently dismist), we having had onely one man killed, a gallant gentleman and a brave souldyer, (his name was Corronet Blockley) who was shott neare Cherry orchard side but came to Munkhill of himsellfe and from thence brought into the castle,

* Leaguer is a camp.

where he dyed that night, and allso a common souldyer soare wounded and taken prisoner. During which time our cannon plaid twise from the Kinges tower where the enemy had a troope of horse. The bullitt grased full amongst them and killd one man which we saw. Two cannon more was shott to Baghill; the first was loaded with case shott, havinge 16 dozon of muskitt bullites in hur, which tooke at least 10 yeardes compasse just upon the toppe of theire worke at Bagghill, from whence the enemy shott not one shott of 2 howers after; and the other cannon was playd at a company of horsemen which was behind the hedge at Baghill, which grased amongst them, but what execution the both did is unknowne to us. One thinge I had forgott, for, besides the light pillage our men brought away, yet they tooke time to take up theire armes too, as swords, muskuites, haulbordes, drummes, saddles, spades, and in every trench a bagge of powder and some match, which for hast they had left behind them. That night, about 9 a clock, there was 2 waggons loded at Newhall, and went forwardes Ferrybridge. We supposed they was loaded with wounded men. And about 11 a clock there was a great fire seene upon the toppe of Sandall Castle, which continued for the space of 2 howers.

19. This morning, in the forenoon, the enemy cept theire workes so close that we could scarce gett any shott betwixt the Round tower and the Kinges tower, yett we kill'd one man at theire worke side in the bottom of the Abbay close. Our souldyers, seeing the could not gett any shott, fell a showting upon the leades and cryed *A prince, a prince*, so loud and so strongly as that the enemy tooke a strong allarum, fetcht all theire horses from grasse soddenly, saddled them, and drew them into the Graunge lane. There went downe from the towne 42 men to Newhall, and as many to Baghill to strengthen theire gaurdes. In theire running to and from we killed 3 or 4 more of the enemyes, and wounded as many.

20. This day we had a report that the enemy had footmen at Ferrybrigge, but at noone this great number appeared and prowed but 22, thus they feed their souldyers with bragges. Afterwardes there appeared about 200 horse from Ferry bridge, marching under the hills from Darington to the Westfeeld, and so into the Parke, and then turned into the lane at Tansill, and so into the Parke again. Then our cannon from Treasurers tower plaid upon them and killd 2 men. And then they made haste, behind the ridge of the hill in the Parke, out of sight; and that night there came 6 or 7 more troopes to them and

marched from thence to Wakefeild or thereabouts. There was this day 5 or 6 men killd from the Round tower at Baghill and at the other workes under the shott of the Round tower. Our cannons playd twise more that day up the towne and to Newhall, but what execution was don by them is not knowen to us. The enemyes little cannon (or bable) at Baghill plaid 3 times this day towardes the castle, but we neither know nor can learne where it hitt or gave any impression.

21. This day, being a very rayney day for the most parte, there was little done worth the noting till about 2 a clock 5 or 6 of our men went downe to the Lower towne to fetch wodde, whereupon the enemy, both from Baghill and all theire workes about Munkhill, shott as if they had beene madd, and in the middle of that allarum there came out of the towne and marched in single file thorough the lower end of the Parke to Newhall about 500 men with their drummes and collors to releeve their gaurdes there. We shott two cannon towardes them, but what execution was done we know not, but onely one man and his horse was killd. And towardes night and in the night there went about 300 men from Newhall up into the towne to refresh themselves, for Sr. John Saivells men had scarce ever beene in bed since they came to Newhall. This night Will Wether alias Bellwether went to Newarke again.

22. This morning one Kerbyes sonne, going to gett grasse for his fathers horse, was shott with a muskitt bullitt. This day the enemy made two shottes with theire bable from Baghill, but we know not what became of the bullittes. This day allso our Governor had letters from his Majestie and Sr. Marmaduke Langdall that a royall armey was advancing towardes us for our releefe, (a comforth long expected and as joyfully accepted,) with harty desires and earnest prayers for a prosperous blessing upon theire endevours. This night allso came Hanson with letters from Sandall confirming the former repoart. In the intrim we yet have no want of victualls, but are fully resolved to maintane the castle against all REBELLS whatsoever.

23. This morning the enemy shott theire little bable from Baghill againe, but did no execution, not so much as made any signe of impression in the Castle wall. We had allso letters this day that, from Skipton Castle and Lathom Hall, they sent aid and relieved Grinoway Castle in Lankeshire with 60 beastes and other necessaryes when it was at the very poynt of yeilding to the enemy for want of victualls, and being a very considrable place. There came allso Michaell Blagburne (a clothier) [and tenant to Sr. John Romsden, *erased*] and a tenant [allso, *half*

erased] of Major Beamondes, who tould us that the Scottes was marching northwardes,* and rejoyced much at the wellfare of their landslordes. With this theire creeping into favour with theire landslordes we tooke as a good signe that we weare in a good condition and that we should shortly regaine our liberties so long desired. This day allso there came a captin from the enemy (with a drumme) to speake with Captin Speght, who said he would tell us the truth that the kinge was advancing to releeve us with all speede†. This night allso went Captin Washington and Leiutenant Wheatelay to Sandall, and there was a great bonefire made at Sandoll Castle, and we answered it with another in that night, which we tooke for a signe of good newes. We had allso newes that they f . . . within Skarbrough Castle issued forth from thence and killed and tooke 300 of the enemyes, and nayled up their cannon and burnt theire cariages and so retreated into the castle‡. The tennants allso before mentioned tould us that Collonell Bruerton had drawne offe his forces from the seege of Westchaster, upon the report that the king was advanceing§.

24. This morning about 3 a clock the enemy gave fire as though they would have entred the castle presently, upon what reasons we know not, unlesse they were greeved at the bonefires upon the Round tower that night, for they shott most at that place. About 10 a clock, a woman which was gathring of pott hearbes was shott by the enemy into the thigh, but not dangerous of death. About that time our iron gunne shott once into the towne but what execution it did is not knowne. About 4 or 5 in the afternoone, 4 of our men went down to the Low church (where the enemy was) and as soone as the enemy espied, they fled all away but one (who was supposed to be a leiutenant). He stayd behind, and threw stones so fast that our men could

* "May 24. The House sent earnest letters to the Scots' army, and messages to the Scots' commissioners, to hasten the advance of the Scots southwards, to join with other forces to pursue the King's army." (Whitelocke.)

"The Scots' army retreated again northwards, suspecting the advance of the King's forces that way." (Ibid. under May 27.)

† "The King went towards Shropshire." (Whitelocke, under May 20.)

‡ "Letters from Scarborough informed, that some of the garrison sallied out, and at first put the besiegers to a stand, but they recovered, and beat back the enemy. Sir John Meldrum wounded, and Lieutenant Cockeram and other officers slain, and some of the garrison slain. Lieutenant Colonel Stanley was taken prisoner, and carried into the castle, and there slain by them in cold blood." (Whitelocke, under May 19.)

§ "Sir William Brereton drew off from Chester, to prevent the King's surprising of his forces." (Whitelocke, under May 20.)

not enter in of a good time, but at length one Thom. Lowther, a man who, if his judgement had beene according to his vallor, was as sufficient as most men, he boldly entred upon the leiutenant, and without all question had brought him along with him, had he not beene unfortunately shot by the enemy at that instant thorough the boane of his legg, which the enemy espying runne in all hast to catch him, but our men (with much labour) brought him offe into the castle, where he had his legg presently cutt off, and now recovers very fast againe. This day we had letters that his Majesties armyes was devided, and the king with one haulph came to releeve us, and that Prince Moris went with the other haulph towardes the releefe of Carleell; the army consisting of 15000*. This night the enemy shott very freely, but towardes morning they exceeded, giving whole vollyes of shott round about the castle and crying *A Cromwell, a Cromwell*, the officers having possessed the souldyers that Cromwell was marching (in his Majesty's REAR) with a strong army. And towardes morning the enemy burnt 2 or 3 howses in the Northgate, as allso the[y] sett fire in the Water mill below the castle† and burnt downe 2 or 3 little howses thereabouts, and tooke a poore tailor and his wife (who dwelt in those howses) prisoners; the rest of the people which was within them escaped towardes the castle, which when our men espied gave fire upon them from the castle, killed one (was an officer of certain) at the Millne doore, and shott another into the shoulder. The one they fetcht of dead and the other quick. We know no reasones of this burning of howses in the Northgate, unlesse it were to draw on the townesmen to pay their assessment freely (which about 2 daies before they had assessed) or ellse they would burne the towne.

25. This day, being Whitsonday, there was little shooting from either side, nor not any one hurt that we heare of. We had 2 very good sermondes that day and went quietly to our rest, we hearing that the enemyes made theire gaurdes very strong and cept strickt watch least we should sally forth as we had done the Sunday before.

26. This day, being Whitson Munday, we had our great iron

* "I have intelligence at this instant that the enemy at Newark are drawing out this night with all their horse and dragoons, whether to the North or to the King is uncertain, and another messenger tells me they are now drawn out and are marching this way.—I have intelligence even now, by a drummer of mine from Newark, that they are designed for Pontefract." (Col. Hutchinson at Nottingham, to Lord Fairfax, 24 May. 1 Fairfax Corr. 223.)

† In Bondgate. (Boothroyd.)

gunne removed from the Mont before the gates and planted of the platforme withon the Upper gates where she was before, and we plaid one shott with hur into theire sentry howse over against Mr. Rusbyes, where it gave such a blow as they runne out of it by 40 or 60 at altogether and was thought did great execution. This day allso was the little drake planted upon the toppe of Swillington tower, and was twise shott towardes Paradise orchard where there was a strong gaurd cept in that worke all along the hedge, but what execution they did is not knowne. There was one Will. Jubbe and a boy went out of the castle to fetch in some grasse for the horses and cattell (as there went out many more besides them) but, they being too negligent to looke well about them, the boy was shott in at the mouth side and thorow the cheeke but not any mortall wound, and Jubbe was taken prisoner and caryed up into the towne, where, they finding him to be but a simple man, many came about him and gave him good store of stronge ale till the had soundly *foxt* him, thinking then to have gott good intelligence out of him and in the night brought him towardes Newhall there to be examoned, but in the way (the souldyers being not too vigilant over him) he tooke his opportunety and slipt away from them and came into the castle again before 11 a clock. This night allso came in Captin Washington from Sandall who went thither the Fridday night before and brought good newes of the Prince's good proceedinges, that he had summons to Manchaster to turne out the women and children out of the towne, or ellse he would come before it, that Westchaster seege was raised*, that Darby was summoned, and that Skerbrough had relieved themsellves, killed all theire officers excepting 2 or 3, and had killed and taken 300 men, dismounted theire great iron gunne and the 2 pockitt pistoles with all the rest of their cannon theare, and that they had nailed their gunnes and burnt theire cariages there, and had taken Skarbrough towne. Whereupon for joy was a boanefire made upon the toppe of the Round tower. This day allso the enemy sett on fire theire owne worke in the Northgate. We suppose it was by some mischance, but it was quench again that night. There was allso a parly this night betwix 3 of our capteines and 3 of theires, but the enemy gave fire upon our men and then our souldyers gave fire towardes theires and so the[y] parted.

* "Sir William Brereton raised his siege of Chester, and drew into Lancashire to join with the Scots' forces, and the King's forces relieved Chester." (Whitelocke, under May 22.)

27. This day we plaid two cannon in the morning, the first thorow their trenches against Mr. Rusby and the other thorough Mrs. Oates howse in the Markitt place but what execution they did is not knowen to us. There was little shooting all that day, but Joshua Walker killed one of the enemyes who was taking a pipe of tobackoe in the lane by the Primrose cloase under Bagg-hill. There was a little poore wench was keeping of a cow under Swillington tower was shott into the thigh by the enemy, but not killed. This night, a little after 12 a clock, came in Lieutenant Wheatelay who was sent with Capt. Washington the Friddy night last, who brought along with him betwixt 40 and 50 horse and as they came by the way they light with 2 of the enemies skoutes and toke them and theire horses, the[y] allso tooke about 120 or 130 cattell which they brought along with them and came to Baghill toppe. An hower before which time, our men was all in readines. Parte of them was in Barbican neare to the Sally poart, and the rest was betwixt the Lower gate and the Mount at the Castle gate expeckting a signe when they should sally foarth (which fell out thus). The cattell being many together and making great loowing in the Checquer feeld before Baghill, Lieutenant Wheatelay came riding before them as fast as he could downe the closes by Baghill, crying *Armes, Armes, to your Armes, a prince, a prince,* which was a signe to us. (*Sally.*) Whereupon was all the 3 great gunnes discharged presently, which was a signe for us to sally foorth, which we did presently with all speede. Cap. Flood, with Captin Ogleby and Lieutenant Killingbeck with 50 musketeeres was commanded to Baghill and was not to enter the enemyes worke but to stay under the hill side close to theire worke and to give fire upon them if they should sally foorth which they performed very bravely without daunger of shott. Lieutenant Collonell Gilbreth with Lieutenant Smith and Lieutenant Warde followed next after them up the hill with 40 musketeares to theire worke at the little round close called Primroase close under Baghill, from whence they presently beat the enemy into theire great worke at Baghill. Next after him followed Captin Smith and Lieutenant Ogleby with 30 musketeares who went up to Elizabeth Cattell's howse and to the Burnt howse thereabouts who shott from thence to theire lowest workes under Broade Lane end for going to releeve them on Baghill where they gave fire very bravely and cept them from releeving them. During which time Capt. Munroae, with Capt. Barthrome and Sargiant Barton, issued out at the Lower gates to the enemyes workes below the Church where he cept them from issuing forth or

from thence or from Newhall. And Capt. Joshua Walker with his about 20 snaphanches* went out through the howses on the south side of the Church, and so, up the Closes, to the toppe of Baghill, where they mett all the cattell withe the Sandall brave souldyers, who delivered them to him, and then went all back againe excepting some 10 or 12 which helped to bring downe the cattell to the castle, but, they driving them downe the hill too fast, they lost many of them†. But they brought in 97 into the castle, and a foale above a yeare ould which runne in with the cattell. And then our drummes beate a retreate for all our men to fall of and retire to the castle, which they very orderly did, and during which time our iron gunne plaid 3 times to theire workes in the towne and about the towne. Thus having (by Godes assistance) releeved the castle to our great comforth, we made boane fires upon the towers of the castle and played with our cannon from the Kinges tower into Mrs. Oates howse in the Markitt place in signe of this great releef which God had bestowed upon us, not having so much as one man hurt during this time, but onely one William Dickson who was firing the great gunne was shott from Baghill on the side of his cheeke, but never touched the boane, and was allmost cleane well within 4 daies after. Our commanders had very much to do to kepe theire men from falling upon theire workes both at Baghill, and allso they would needes goe up to Newhall, though they had commaund to the contrarye.

28. This day the enemy would scarce speak to us of all the

* "SNAPHANCE: a spring lock to a gun or pistol. It differed from the modern firelock in the hammer not forming the covering of the pan. The term was sometimes applied to the instrument itself, as in 28 Archæologia, 139." (Halliwell.) Sir Thomas Beaumont writes from Pontefract, June 7, 1643:—"For the match you write for, I shall shortly send you some; but I put you in mind once more, to use your Snaphance pieces to keep centery with, as that will save our match." (Boothroyd.)

"The modern fire-lock was invented about this period, and the improvement was suggested by a peculiar fire-arm called the *snaphaunce*, from its being invented and used by a set of Dutch maraunders called *snaphans* or poultry-stealers: the light of the match betrayed them, and they could not afford to purchase the expensive wheel-lock; they therefore substituted a flint for the pyrite, and an upright moveable furrowed piece of steel in lieu of the wheel; the cover of the pan being pushed back, the piece of steel was brought to stand over it and the spark elicited as at present. The snaphaunce was known as early as Elizabeth's time; but the fire-lock dates from about 1635. Before this invention, the wheel lock was frequently called the fire-lock; but that term was afterwards used for the modern piece alone." (Planché.)

† "For they began to be in a low condition within; and, one Tuesday night, Sandal-men coming at unawares, got in some 50 beasts. Our men took 30 from them at the castle side: 6 or 7 horsemen were forced into the castle, that had not liberty to come out. After this they grew quiet, and made no sallies." (Captn. John Hodgson's Memoirs.)

day long, being so asshamed that they, having so many men in all their workes, should suffer us to be thus releeved, and tould Collonell Ourton (theire Governor) that there came 500 men with the cattell, where we had not above 50 horse in all. The enemy shott very hard to the castle all the day, but did no hurt at all (praised be God). Theire Governor allso sent a letter with a drumme and 3 women owners of parte of those cattell, as it weare in a commaunding manner to our Governor, either to deliver back the cattell, or to take composition for them in money, which our Governor presently answered that if he could take the castle, he should have the cattell, otherwise he should not have the worst beast was brought in under 40*l.* We killed one of the enemyes horse this day under the Paradise orchard this day in Mr. Rusby closes. This night those 10 or 12 men which came from Sandoll intendid to have gone thother againe, but, as they went downe by the Castle side towardes Munkhill, our musketeres which should have gone with them to the workes at Munkhill having theire matches all lighted, the enemy espyed and shott at them, and, at the Hospitall doore, hitt one of the Sandall men upon the side of his cheeke, so that they turned back againe into the castle. During which time we shott the iron gunne into the hedge by theire workes at Baghill, where there was many horse, but what execution it did it is not knowne. This night allso the enemy sett on fire a howse on the lower end of Northgate, which burnt above 2 daies and 2 nightes, they allso made a barricado in the lane going up to Baghill, to stoppe us from sallying forth.

29. This day some of our souldyers went forth to gett grasse for the cattell and horses, and one covetous man, having beene 6 times before (and had 4*d.* for every burthen,) went out the 7th time, and would not come away with the rest of his fellowes, and so was shott by the enemy. And after they had taken him and given him quarter, another of the enemyes runne him thorough and so killd him quite out, but could not take him away, so we fetcht him offe. This day we killd allso another of the enemyes horse, in the same ground where the other was killd, before under Paradise orchard. In the afternoone the enemy sent downe about 300 men to Newhall (being the tenth day,) to releeve theire gaurdes there, and at that time, when they was all about Newhall yeard, we plaid one cannon from the Kinges tower into Newhall yeard, where we supposed they all was, but what execution it did was not knowne. There came back from Newhall, about 7 a clock, in single file through the Abbay close, about 480 men, and so

marched up into the towne. This night the enemy made a triangle worke in the closes above Denwell, neare to the upper side of Swillinton tower, to prevent our sallying forth from thence. About 3 a cloc in the morning there went about 30 souldiers more from Newhall up into the towne. They marched (as before) in single file through the Abbey close.

30. This day the enemy shott very hard from all their workes, but did no hurt at all, (praised be God) and we shott our little drake, which was planted upon Swillinton, 6 times to theire new worke over against it, where we beate them out of the worke behind the outside of it, but what execution was done we know not. About 8 a clock towardes night we shott of the great iron gunne into theire workes behind Mr. Rusbyes and Mr. Lunnes, where it shott thorough theire workes amongst them, but we know not what hurt was done. This night the enemy repaird theire new worke against Swillington tower.

31. This morning one of our souldiers killd a woman in the Markit place with a muskit from the Round tower. The enemy shott very hard all the day from all theire workes round about the castle, but did no hurt at all (praised be God.) In the intrim we sent some shottes amongst them with our muskitts when we saw the least opportunitie, to keepe them in play, and likewise we mixed amongst them some cannon shott. We shott in all 6 cannon and most of them to the Markitt place, where we saw 3 draughtes (which came empty in the morning) was loading about Bonny Couper's shoppe and thereabouts, but 2 of those cannon was plaid from the Kinges tower, which made them soone remove their standing quite away and went towardes Ferry bridge. We supposed they was loaded with goodes out of the shoppes and at the other cannons playing there was supposed divers to be shott, for we saw them carrye away 3 men at one time, but what execution more is not knowne to us. The Governor of the towne sent a complamentall letter to our Governor about exchange of men and other matters, but in the conclution he writt, beeing too weake an enemy, [*Blank of 2 lines as if for extract.*] This night there came in letters to the Governor of very good newes, which was imparted to the gentlemen the next morning.

June 1. This morning being Sunday [the governor called us and read the newes, Newarke besette—that ..... W .... ington was both taken, *erased*] and allso that upon Tewsday last was Darby summoned by Sr. Marmaduke Langdall and also greater confirmation of raising of the seege at Skarbrough and the taking of many collonells and officers and the killing of

Melldrome there *. This day we had 2 good sermondes; and in the afternoone, whilst we was at the church, there beeing many souldyers upon the Round tower, upon their watch there, and many of them sleeping there, one of them as he lay upon his belly sleeping, came a bullitt which shott him thorough the thigh, but touched no boane, so that we hope he will quickly recover againe.

2. This morning we shott the great iron gunne loaded with case shott, having 14 dozon of large muskitt bullites in hur. She was shott into the enemies workes behind Mr. Rusbyes and Mr. Lunnes, where there was many officers mett, and flew full amongst them, but we know not what execution was done. This day allso was Mr. Massey sent into the towne about exchange of prisoners from Hull and other places which Ourton their Governor graunted as much as he demanded, and sent away for them presently where before he fallsefied his word. The officers in the towne persuaded the common souldyers that we sent Mr. Massey to parley with theire Governor about dellivering up the castle to them, (thus they feede the common souldyers up with lyes). During Mr. Masseye's stay with Ourton (theire Governor) there came in a commander which told the Governor that he could not keepe the souldyers from mutaning, whereupon their Governor was not well pleased that he should speake it before Mr. Massey. This night the enemy made a new worke like unto a haulph moone in the Closes below Baghill over against the Church, having now 26 workes and trenches round about the castle, which puttes them to extraordinary hard duty to maintaine all theire workes, which makes them wondrous leane and in bad liking.

3. This morning we had good newes came from Newarke, that upon Saturday morning last, about 6 of the clock, the king took Laister † by an assault in 2 howers, took 1000 horse, took 1000 men prisoners besides the governor of the towne with many great officers (besides all which was killed in the assault), tooke a countis was in it with hur 3 coatches, took allso 8 peses of cannon with all their ammunition and powder (which is said to be very great), hath allso sent to Newarke from Leistershire, Darbishire, Nottingamshire and other places 4000 horse least the enemy should follow after them with any carriages, and

* "Sir John Meldrum died of his wounds received in the siege of Scarborough castle." (Whitelocke, under June 3.)

† "Saturday the last, to Leicester, which was taken by his Majesty at two, many soldiers rewarded with the plunder, the slain equal on both sides; the countess of Devonshire's we demolished with fire." (Iter Carolinum, 2 Coll. Cur. 441.)

from thence marchth to Darby, after which (God willing) he will visitt and releeve these North partes*. This day we had a man went forth to gett some grasse for the cattell and horses, (as went many more besides him), but, as he was coming in at the Lower drawbridge, was shott in the legg, but hit not the boane for he brought in his burthen. We had another man also shott going from praiers to the watch, wheare, leaning upon the great gun above the Upper gate, was hitt with a bullitt came thorough a clift of the worke was made befor it, and so shott him thorow the arme, and then overquart his back cleare without the boanes, and stuck in the outside of his back, and cutt out, and yett there is very good hopes of his recovery for his arme is the worst [he is now well again, *inserted*]. After this there was one cannon shott of from the Kinges tower into the Markitt place where there was great store of company and did great execution. There was sene 3 or 4 taken up. This night the enemy repaired a little the new worke they had made.

There is now shott of our great cannon from the 1th May till the 4th June 37 cannon and 8 drakes, and the enemy shot during that time 7 drakes.

4. This day the enemy shott very little of all the day till towardes night and we killed one of theire men in theire workes at Monkhill from the Queenes tower. They likewise shott one of our men which was sleeping in the Low barbican. The bullitt first grased upon the wall, and then it turned the bullitt so that it light upon the outside of his arme, and runne up at least 4 inches through the flesh, but touched not the boane and so he growes allmost well againe. We shott one cannon from the Kinges tower to the new worke in the Closes under Bagghill against the Church, but the gunne lying too hie for the place did no execution. This night they begunne a new worke againe, neare to Zachreye Stables orchard head, about 120 yeardes from the other and this night allso they made a boane-fire upon Sandall Castle, which so soone as we perceived we seconded with another upon the Round tower. One thing I had forgott, that at the releeving of theire watch, about 7 a clock, the enemy gave fire from all theire workes round about the castle as if they intended presently to take the castle with theire muskitts, but theire fury lasted but a little, and not any hurt done at all, (praysed be God.)

* "Langdale's regiment were in discontent near Leicester because they might not advance northwards; but the king quieted them with a promise that they should march thither within 15 days." (Whitelocke, under June 11.)

5. This morning there was a boy, (who was prentise with Mr. Richard Stables, but now in the castle,) he went forth to gett some grasse for the castle's use, (for the horseyes and cattell,) but was shott thorow the arme and parte of the shoulder, but recovers pretty well againe, and walkes up and downe the Castle yeardes: and this day we killd an ensine of the enemies, and shott another man of theires, but they gott him into the worke. There was great shooting all this day, and towardes night Will. Ingrame shott the great iron gunne 3 times into one of the enemies new workes under Baghill, and was thought did very great execution. At the releeving of the watch the muskittes and forelockes on both sides spared not any powder, where we killd one of the enemyes men at the Primrose close under Bagghill, and shot another upon the topp of Baghill. This night the enemy stole some hides againe out of Peeter Redman tanpittes.

6. This morning the enemy showed divers troopes of horse round about the towne, which made us thinke that they would draw into a body, but there was 4 of the enemyes in the mill under the castle stealing the iron from about the mill, and one of our men espyinge runne downe and cryed *Come on, we shall take them all*, and 3 of them runne away and then our souldyer tooke the 4th man and brought him into the castle. And then that man tould us that those horse came from Dauncastar, and that they were still about the towne: he said allso that a parte of the king's forces were come as farre as Tuxford, but theire officers did conceile it from them till that morning. He tould us likewise that our iron gunne had killd the night before a muster maister and a common souldyer on theire workes: he likewise tould us that the enemy tooke all the men they could within 4 miles of the towne in theire beddes and brought them to towne, and said that they had taken about 140. He allso tould us that the souldiers runne away every day summe. This eevning our men killd one of the enemy near Primrose close, by theire workes, and shott another upon Baghill, but they drew him into theire workes. This evning Will. Ingrom shot the iron gunne to the upper worke above Zacherey Stables, and hitt the toppe of it, and the hedge where under it many of the souldyers lay: and after that he shott another into the Markitt place where there was many men standing there, but what execution they did is not knowne to us. About 12 a clock on the night the enemy came out of Newhall with 5 drums, one of them a good distance from another. One of them stood at Newhall cherry orchard and 2 in the Abbay close, the one at one

end the other at the other, and so beate along towardes the towne, in manner of Scotch march answering one another, and there was one or two beating in the towne. There was allso a trumpitt sounding in the Parke, to make us beleeve (or ellse theire owne souldiers) that the Scotch was coming, or ellse for feare we should sally forth, but we never regarded it, but the enemy stood on theire gard all this night and had done so the night before.

7. This day was there little shooting till towardes night at the releeving of their gaurdes, but about 10 a clock our men espied a souldyer of the enemies coming downe from Munkhill to the mill, where 2 of our men went out: one was Jonathan (Sir Jarvis Cuttler's man,) the other was Rich. Laipidge. Jonathan tooke him and brought him into the castle and eased him of his money, but he confessed little for he was then drunke. At the releeving of the gaurdes (as before) there was very hard shooting on both sides, and we shott from all places of the castle because we had about 21 men was getting gras; for we shouted so very hard, as we gave the enemy 2 allarumes, which caused them to draw out some of theire men from theire lowest worke under Broadelane end, and we beate them twise back into theire workes, and killd one of them and shott another, but what ellse more was hurt we know not, and the enemy shott one of our men was cutting of gras into the side . . . . . but he is little worse for it praised be God.

8. This day, beeing Sunday, we had 2 exceeding good sarmondes by Mr. Key and Mr. Hirst. The enemy sent away 9 prisoners towardes Yorke, but there was not any of them was taken from the castle. There was little shooting all day till about 6 a clock, but none hurt then of either side. About that time we espied a great body of horse from the towers of the castle coming from Wenthill, and there they devided themsellves, some to Cridlin stoopes and 5 troopes came allmost within cannon shott of the castle, and so went towardes Knottinglay. These horses, with divers more which went over at Medlay bridge, was reported to be quartred about Tikhill, Rosinton and other places beond Dauncaster, to the nomber of 400, and, hearing of our army advancing towardes these partes, removed theire quarters. They brought 2 cariages along with them. The enemy releeved not theire gardes at Baghill till towardes 9 a clock at which time there was very hard shooting and we killd one of them coming to theire low workes under Baghill and shott another man; but in the night the Leiutenant Collonell put out his meare and foale, tyed hur in a cloase neare to Swillington tower, but the enemy espied hur, came and cutt

the roape, gott on hur back and rid away, calling to our men which stood neare by that place (but saw him not) wishing them to take up the foale. He had 9 or 10 firelockes with him but our men never saw them.

9. This morning one of our souldiers, standing upon the toppe of the Lower gatehowse with his back towardes Munkhill, was shott from thence sidlinges upon his back daungerously hurt, and the bullitt not taken out of 4 daies after, hath beene in great paine since, but no feare but he will recover againe [he is well againe, *inserted*]. They had a strong gaurd of horse releived Newhall the last night, about which time ridd 2 men galloping into the towne in great hast, we supposed to bring some newes from Yorke. The enemies drumme reported it openly at the Lower Barbican wall that the king had taken Darbye. We heard the cannon play divers times that day, some supposed to be at Welbeck, others about Sheffield. There was hard shooting this afternoone about 8 a clock from all partes round about the castle but we heare not of any hurt with the muskitts at which time Will. Ingrome shott his iron gun into the Markit place, where there was many souldiers coming from theire gaurdes, and was there gathered together. The bullitt grased twise in the streete amongst them, where there was great running away but what execution it did is not knowne to us. This night one of the Sandall souldiers went forth out of the castle about 11 a clock and about 12 we saw a fire upon the toppe of Sandall Castle and we answered it again by another from the Round tower, we hope presageing some good newes. There was 2 killd and one hurt from the Round tower.

10. This morning the enemy was hard at worke in a cloase neare Baghill called Moodeies close to prevent any provision for coming to us, they likewise begunne a worke neare to Swillinton tower, but, beeing espied by our gaurdes from thence, we made them to leave worke in hast. This day the enemy shott a boy of ours was houlding of a cow at gras and we had a man likewise shott in the neck but little hurt. This night there came 8 troopes of horse from Dauncaster and drew up into a body neare Carleton, and so marched under the hill out of our sight towardes Hardwicke. There came another troope from Darington and marched into the towne, and another troope from Ferrybridge to Will. Boothes in the Parke, and stood still there till they sent 6 men into the towne. There came 8 troopers galloping back and spoke with them, then they departed 4 waies, all galloping away.

11. This day we had little shooting all the forenoone, but

about 2 a clock the Governor commanded all men to their Armes, which was presently performed, but there fell a shower of raine for a good time, so as all men gott under shadow till the rayne was over. About 4 a clock, when it was cleare agane, and then having had orders what to doe, they sallyed foorth.

(*Sally.*) Captin Munroe led out the first company and with him went Leiut. Moor and Sar. Barton with 30 musketeers; these went down to the church, and so, vewing it whether there was any enemyes or no and finding none, went through it, and so to Mr. Kellomes howse, from whence f[led] out some of the enemies was there; and there he stayd with his company to defend that place, least the enemy should sally forth from the lowest worke below the Church, but they all runne away at the first charge.

Next after him sallyed forth Captin Smith and Captin Flood, and with them Aunchient Killingbec, and Anchient Ottoway, with 80 musketeers; they followed after Capt. Munroe, through the Church, and so through Zachrey Stables howse up to the lowest worke the enemy had, neare to his orchard head, where Capt. Smith with his company led up first to the worke, and so past by it a little forther along the hedge above the worke, to prevent the enemy from sallying forth of their upper workes to the releefe of those who was in the lowest worke, which place he bravely mantaynd. During that time Capt. Flood with his company fell upon the workes, which were very hard to enter, because but one little place for entrance, and that so narrow and low that one man could scarce enter but must stoope; there he playd upon the worke and shott in at most of the porthoales where the enemies within mantayned the worke very stoutly, and shot very hard at our men so long as a forst entrance was made, but during that time 8 or 9 got out over the worke, but one or two of them was shott and taken, the rest got away. Capt. Flood entred the worke and tooke the captin, the sargiant, the corporall and 8 more soare wounded, and killd all the rest within and about the worke, and so retreated, bringing the prisoners along with them to the castle.

Collonell Gilbreth, with Leiutenant Wheatley and Leiutenant Warde, with 40 volunteers and souldiers, both clubbes and muskitts, were a reserve in the orchard hard by the worke, in case the enemye should sally from any place to prevent them.

Lieutenant Willowby and Leiutenant Midelton and Sargiant Parker, with 40 musketeers, mantained the howses on the North side of the Church about the Starre, and there prevented the enemy from coming from the Graunge lathe and that parte of

Munkhill, and those workes to our annoyance, which he well performed.

Leiutenant Monkes, with Sargiant Barton and 3 files of musketers, being in all 20 men, was commaunded towardes Munkhill to stoppe the passage, least they should issue forth; where they playd theire partes bravely. The enemy and they striving both for one wall and a hedge, with that little company our men both got the wall, and mantaynd it, bringing up one file at once to the most convenient place, where they gave fire freely, and fell offe again, and another company came up. So that the enemy suppose to be theare a great company, and so our men beat them back to Munkhill againe, and killd one man all in redd, and supposed to be an officer, and shott 2 or 3 more, and so at the beating of our drumes for a retreate (according to order) they came offe with honor.

Captin Joshua Walker, with his 3 files of snaphanches and firelocks, beeing 19 or 20 men, sallyed forth of the castle with the first company into the Church, and so into the Steeple, where he was commanded to stay 24 howres, tooke with him both victuales and drink, match, powder, and other amunition, and mad all his men in a readines against the enemy should come forth of theire workes to the rescue of any of theire men, and allso to anoy them at the releeving of their watch, which he bravely performed; for, after our men had taken the first worke and left it againe, the enemy coming downe to recrute it anew, he gave fire freely upon them, and killd 12 of the enemyes before night, whereof 3 weare officers one of them was supposed to be a leiutenant collonell or a captin at least, in a gallant suit of apparell with a great redd skarfe. There was also divers more was wounded and [he] mantayned the Church and Steeple, the time of his command, to the great annoyance of the enemy.

The firelockes and snaphanches of volunteares remayning within the castle was commanded to the toppe of the tower and battlements round about the castle to prevent the enemy from sallying forth of theire workes to the rescue of theire men, which was a very good service, for we saw one officer fall upon Bagghill was shott from the Round tower besides what was shot in other places.

All the rest of the commanders officers and volonteares was left in the castle was commaunded downe into the Barbican, with haulberdes clubbes pikes and some muskits and firelockes to prevent the enemies approach neare to our men.

During this time and in all this daies worke there was killd of the enemy above 40 men, and 11 men brought prisoners (as

before said) into the castle, besides divers men was wounded; and our men brought with them all theire muskits, pikes, powther, shott, match, with all other amunition was within the worke, and the pillage of all the souldiers which did not a little rejoyce our men. And in all this time we had bu[t] 2 men wounded whereof the one is dead since. The other is but little hurt, and those was shott behind the howses on the north side of the Church.

During the time of this sallying forth we plaid 4 cannon. 3 of them was shott out of the iron gunne by Will. Ingrom to the upper worke about 80 yeardes from that worke with cannon bullitts and once with case shott with [*sic*] into and round about it. The other cannon was plaid from the Kinges tower to Newhall and that waie, but what execution was done by the cannon is not knowne to us.

After all this, divers of our men went forth into the Churchyeard to gett gras for the cattell and horseyes, where we had one man kild and another man shott.

12. This morning came the Lord Fairfax and the new Generall Pointes from Yorke to Pomfret with 4 troops of horse to gaurd him. It is said that Poyntes came to take an accountes of what souldyers the ould generall did deliver to him. There was little shooting this day till towardes night at the releeving of the senteryes, at which time the enemy shott very hard from all theire workes round about the castle, at least a whole volley of shott from every place, whereunto we gave them answer from the castle, and what with shooting and showting we gave the enemy a strong allarum, which caused the enemy to bring up theire horse in small companies to the further side of Baghill but staied not theare any while. This day we killd 4 men of the enemies from the Church and about 6 a clock we had a man shott in the left arme was going downe to the Church but no danger of death. The Lord Fairfax and the new General Poyntes went towardes Yorke againe. Captin Munroe mantained the Church that night till the next releeving.

13. This day the new Generall Poyntes came from Yorke poast againe, we supposed it was to draw up all theire horse to be neare together. This day we drue downe a trench from the Lower castle gate, through Mr. Taylomes orchard, to the Church, for the safegaurd of our men thither, which we allmost finished; and made blindes of bowes and soddes, which the enemy had gott, from the Church to Mr. Kellomes, for our men to gett gras that way, wheare they brought in neare 100 burdin, which they got neare to the enemyes works; for our men did so ply them with shott from the Steeple that they durst not looke out of

theire workes, and from the Steeple they killd one of the enemyes coming from Baghill to the worke and shott 4 or 5 more. Leiut. Willoby releeved the Church and mantaned it with 24 men till the next night, at which time there was great shooting on both partes, but we heare not of any man hurt.

14. This morning there went out a young man from the castle himsellfe alone to the workes at Mr. Rusbyes backside, and, finding but 2 men there, he entred the toppe of the worke and shott one of them, and the other fled away, and so he returned to the castle. Our men in the Church plaied their partes well, and killd a woman was bringing a stand of ale from Munkhill by the Grange lath side, and shott 2 or 3 men more thereabouts and at other workes. This day, beeing the 10th day for theire releefe at Newhall, there went downe from the towne about 320 men, and the other which was there returned back and in theire going back the Dutchman playd his cannon from the leades by the Treasurer tower and killd 3 men in one file in the closes under the Headlandes, what more was killd or hurt is not knowne. The iron gunne allso playd once up into the towne into the howses neare to Allderman John Wilkinsonnes, and through those howses, but what hurt was done we know not, but they runne out fast out of theire howses. Captin Himsworth releevid and mantayned the Church with 26 men till the next releefe *.

15. This day, being Sunday, at afternoone the enemy went downe Boanegate with a troope of horse, which we espying from the Kinges tower, we plaied the cannon from thence, which light amongest them, where we see 3 horses and men lay killd; what others more was hurt or killd we know not, but horses was seene to runne away without men. We playd allso another cannon up the towne, which went through the howses against Mr. Rusbyes, but what hurt was done we know not. This day there went 2 loaded waynes with wounded men, as we supposed, from the towne through the Parke to Ferry brigges, and allso 2 wagons loaded which went through Chequer feed to Ferry brigges. Towardes night, at releeving of the gaardes, there was great shooting on boath, but we heare not of any man hurt. Captin Cartwright releeved the Church with 26 men till the next releefe; but this night the enemy drue a trench on the

* "This was the day of the famous battle at Naseby. The King had drawn off from Borough hill to Harborough, purposing to march to Pomfret, and thinking if he were followed, he should fight with more advantage northward, to which he had a great inclination, especially because the same appeared more feasible since the removal of the Scottish army." (Whitelocke.) But Fairfax came up and a battle was given and lost.

south side of Mr. Kellomes, to prevent our men for getting of gras where they gott before.

16. This morning we had a boy and a man shott as they was getting of apples. The same boy was shott through the side of the cheeke about a weeke before, and growne well againe, but now playing the foole and calling to the enemy saying *why durst they not shoot, and they no neare them,* but they presently shott the boye through the body and the man into the thigh with the same bullitt. The boy is not likely to recover, but the man will soone be well againe, as the chirurgions report. There was great shooting showting and rejoyceing this day by the enemy, and bragging that theyre forces had beaten and routed the Kinges forses, and that the King was fled and could not be found, and sent to us a letter of it into the castle; and likewise Generall Poynts sent downe a gallant man in apparell with a drumme and a letter like to a summons to our Governer, *to deliver up the castle, for they had great forces coming towardes us, but yet there was mercy if he would yeeld.* Our Governor no sooner heard, but by word of mouth made present answer, *that he neither feared his forces nor vallued his merey, and bid him presently be gone and tell his Mr. soe,* and then he was sent presently away. But we had a letter that day from Collonell Washington dated 14th June* at Newark, that the King was that night at Melton Mowberey, and intended, God willing, to be with us within 10 daies, and this battell which the enemy speakes of should have beene the day before, which we conceive not be true. There was this day 4 or 5 waynes loaded in the towne and went through the Parke towardes Ferry bridge. We playd allso 3 cannon this day from the Kinges tower, 2 of them to Baghill to 2 troopes of horse was theare, and one to the Markitt place to some horse was there, but what hurt was done is not knowne. There came many troopes this day to towne, and quartered about the towne. Captin Smith with 20 musketers releeved and mantayned the Church till the next releefe. This night the enemy runne a trench through 2 little closes neare to the worke to prevent our men from getting of gras.

17. This day there hath goane many loaded waines from the towne towardes Ferrybridge. The enemy would gladly have enlarged theire lowest worke where we tooke so many of theire men in it, but our men plyed them so with shott from the Church, that they durst not looke out whilst it was light. In the afternoone there was very hard shooting on either side but we heare not of any man hurt. Leiutenant Wheatelay, with

* The very day of the battle.

about 20 musketeers and firelockes, mantayned the church till the next releef. This evening about 8 a clocke our souldyers were disposed to be very merry, hearing that the enemies letters which they had sent into the castle the day before was nothing but lyes (as indeede it is theire usuall trade), and the day following Capt. John Warde mantained it upon his solvation to Sir George Wintworth that the King was routed at the battell. Our men made many spoartes, playes, and showtes in the Castle yeard, and they likewise went up to the toppe of the Round tower where they made 3 or 4 great showtes, and allso those in the Church did the like, which caused the enemy to take theire armes and go into the Markitt place, at which time we had made ready the iron cannon and playd one shott through a howse upon the bridge, and so grased in the Markitt place full amongest them but what execution was done we know not. This night the enemy went forward with running of theire trench, keeping theire men mostly at worke to make them bele[eve] we would presently yeild up the castle.

18. This day we had 2 letters from Newarke dated upon Sunday last, wherein was specified that upon Sunday the Kinge was at Melton Mowberey * and that (God willing) he intended to be at Newarke † upon Tewsday and so march for our ayde. There was allso newes in them of the great dissentions in the parlament and in the citty of London about many matters. This day the enemy shott a cowe of ours feeding in the Church yeard, which we drive up into the castle and killed hur presently. The new Generall Poyntes, and Overton the Governor of Pomphrett, with other officers and commanders, met this day about Dauncaster, to consult upon a councell of war: and this afternoone there passed by through Ferrybridge towardes Dauncaster 13 or 15 loaded waines, we supposed they was all loaded with amunition, because they was gaurded with 4 troopes of horse and some foote, but we could not well diserne the foot because it was a darke day and they passed close by the cariages. This night Captin Kitchen with 20 musketeers and firelockes mantained the Church till the next watch. And there was not much shooting nor any man hurt this day that we heare of of either side. About 11 a clock in the night there was boanefires sett both upon the toppe of our castle and allso upon the toppe of Sandall Castle, both about one time, which

* The day after the fight. The King really was at Ashby de la Zouch in the morning, (having marched from Leicester in the night,) and at Lichfield in the evening. (Iter Carolinum.)

† "Sir Marmaduke Langdall fled to Newark," [from Naseby.] (Whitelocke.)

we held for a token that they had heard the good newes as well as we.

19. The enemy mustred theire men this day, so that there was little shooting, and drew up theire men into the Markitt place about 2 a clock, at which time Will. Ingrom made ready his iron gunne and playd to them, where it grased but a little before them, and so went through them, but what execution it did is unknowne to us. This day came draughtes back againe which went the day before towardes Dauncaster, and the Governor of Poumphrett came back to the towne with the Genrall Poynts with him from Dauncaster *. This day the enemy made great poastings up and downe, never resting. At the releeving of the watch Capt. Joshua Walker went downe to releeve the Church with his 20 snaphanches where presently they killd 2 of the enemy. This night, about 11 a clock, was sent from the castle Captin Washington and Lieutenant Emson towardes Newarke. They went through Denwell lane, and so up the Closes, and gott cleare of all the enemies workes without hearing of either muskitt or pistoll going of whilst they was within the hearing of the castle. This night allso there was a great boane fire made upon the toppe of Sandall Castle, and we answered it with another from this castle.

20. This morning Genrall Poyntes, (being come from Dauncaster the night before,) called a councell of warre, and he and his officers sate upon it as the Lady Cuttler tould us, who came from them at noone †. This day we had newes brought us of the battell which the enemy gott against the Kinges forces neare to Harborow as they was coming from Oxford ‡, upon Fridday night and Saturday the 13th and 14th of this instant. But, upon Sunday morning, Genrall Goring with Genrall Jarett came in the rescue, and plaid theire partes bravely, both that day and the day following, and recovered all the 12 peeses of cannon was lost before, and all the forces the enemy had taken, with all theire ammunition, wheare (it is said) that Gen. Cromwell was slayne, and we gave them chase to Norhampton from whence the enemy had drawen allmost all the forces was in the towne to the battell. Thus the newes came to us. This afternoone the enemy came to Newhall with a wagon and a cannon in it, and 4 other loaded waynes. The cannon was brought up

* "Colonel Morgan blocked up Sandal Castle, and M. G. Poynes went to Pomfret to order the battery there." (Whitelocke, under June 24.)

† Her husband died in the castle on the 25th. There was no fresh meat for him there. See under the 25th.

‡ The King was at Daventry on the 7th, "from whence Oxford was relieved from a siege and victualled." (Iter Carolinum)

to Munkhill to a place which they had beene making ready 2 nightes before to plant hur in, and towardes night there was a wayne loade of planke brought from the towne through the Parke to Munkhill, where they unloaded them, and wrought all that night and the next day at both the worke and the platforme to plante the cannon against the Church. There came with the cannon about 90 footmen, which marched in a single file by Newhall orchard head through the Parke, and so into the towne; they was all new arreyd men. The enemyes wagon, which brought the cannon and the fower waines, came all downe the back lane on the North side of St. Thomas hill: at which time our cannon plaid 3 times from the Kinges tower, whereof 1 cannon plaid full amongest 3 of the cariages being alltogether, and the other 2 cannon playd to the men, but what execution was done we know not. Leiutenant Smith with 20 musketeers mantained the Church till the next watch. This night there was a fire upon Sandoll Castle, and we answerd it with another from this castle.

(The 20th June the enemy brought againe a demiculverin bearing a bullitt of 18 lb. weight. She was brought to Newhall that day, and the 21th day at night they brought hur to Munkhill on the North side of the castle, where they planted hur that night against the Church*.)

21. This [day] we had a poore man who before this seege dwelt at Munkhill and having his howse burnt by the enemy came into the castle for suckor, and going forth [th]is morning to gett grasse for the cattell by Munkhill mill, was there shott dead upon the place where he was getting of it, and fetcht in at night and buryd. Our cannon from the Kinges tower playd once to them was makeing the platforme for theire cannon at Munkhill. There was little shooting all this day by the enemy. Our snaphanches shot often at those was making the worke for the cannon. This day came downe Owerton (the Governor) with divers more officers to see the worke, and the enemyes wrought very hard all day in the platforme, and finished the worke. We had newes this day that the forces from Newarke went into the isle of Arkexam and there met with a strong party of the enemyes horse, and there tooke and killed 500 both of theire horse and foot about Arksey. Lieutenant Willowby with 20 musketeers mantained the Church this night till the next watch. This night there came in a souldyer from the enemy, who brought with him his muskett and his sword.

* The words in parentheses after each of the few next days' proceedings are from a different part of the MS.

He tould us that he arreyed but a little before, and said that they scarce left any man in the contrey but arreyed them and brought them thither. He likewise tould us that the enemy gott the better of the Kinges forces at the battell the 2 first daies, but [th]at after the King recovered all was lost before and routed the enemy. This night the enemy brought up the cannon from Newhall, and planted hur against the Church. This night allso we begunne to make a new worke before the Lower castle gate to prevent the enemyes cannon from anoying us there.

22. This morning, about 2 a clock, the enemy fell upon the Church on every side and entred into the Church with about 100 men, and allso came up our trench haulph way to the castle, and allso up the High streete towardes the castle, but our men within the Steeple and the Church topp plaid theire parte very bravely, and beat them both out of the trench and highway, out of the Church, and out of the Church yeard, for they shott with their muskitts and likewise threw down stones amongst them both into the Church and Churchyeard; and likewise our men shot from all parts on that side of the castle, and we shott 2 sling peeses, so that they gave them small comforth to tarry there. We killed 4 or 5 of the enemyes men, which we saw them dragg away into Mr. Kellomes howse, besides many was shott and wounded, and carryed away; for, after our men in the Church by ringing the bell theare had given us an allarum into the castle, we made them too hott service to tarrye there and then every man fled to theire workes carrying theire dead and wounded along with them. (*Sally.*) This fight continued for haulph an hower, for, after our men begunne to sally forth of the castle, they presently tooke to theire heeles. Presently after this was done, the enemyes cannon (bearing a bullitt of 18 weight) begunne from Munkhill to play at the Lantirne of the Church steeple and played 13 times within little more then an hower and a haulph. During that time, our cannon from the Kinges tower begunne to play at theire worke wher the cannon was planted, and in 5 times shooting dismounted their cannon, so that they plaied no more that day. All this day, (beeing Sunday), the enemy cept men at worke making ready theire cariages againest the next morning, which they finished. All this day, after this morninges worke was done, was little shooting on either side; but, in the afternoone, the enemy releeved all their gaurdes, and brought downe 400 men to Newhall, and likewise there went as many back from thence into the towne. Leiutenant Faivell (Lieut. to Capt. Himsworth) releeved the Church and mantained it till the next releefe. This night the

enemies officers from all theire workes neare to the castle tould us so many abominable and apparent lyes as is a shame to heare them related, (but indeed such hath been theire practise from the beginning,) and persuading us now by faire meanes to yeeld up the castle.

(The 22th day beeing Sunday the 22th day they playd 13 cannon.)

23. This morning, about 2 a clock, the enemy begunne againe to play theire cannon, and playd but one, and that we could not perceive did hit the Church, and rested till it was lighter and then begunne againe to play, and at the 16th shott there was an open place made in one side of the Lantirne of the Steeple. And after that they playd 3 shottes to the Steeple below the bells and 1 to the Lower gatehouse of the castle. All this was done before 6 a clock, and then rested till after 12 a clock, and then begunne againe to play and playd that afternoone to the Steeple, and the Church 34 shott. They shott in all this day to the Church, with that one to the Castele gate, 60 shott. During all this time since morning there was little shooting with muskitts on either side, yett we had a souldyer was lying a sleepe in the Lower barbican was shott into the arme with a bullet from Baghill, he supposed he lay without any hurt of shott. There came this day with the cannon from Ferry brigges 74 foot souldyers, all newly arreyed men, they came all in a single file marching through the Parke to the towne. Towardes night, Leiut. Moore with 20 musketeers was sent downe to the Church, but not to stay there, but leave 2 there for a sentrye, (because there was [little ?] likelyhood of keeping it,) and the rest of his company to stay in the open howses above the uper side of the Churchyeard there, to anoy the enemy if they came, and to give us warning of theire approach, which we expected they would doe, because they drew many of theire forces downe to theire lowest workes neare the Church. Against night we drew our iron gunne from above the Upper gate howse, into the Gardin within the Gatehowse where we had made a platforme, and sett up a sconce for saufgaurd, and made hur ready to play against the Church and, about one a clock, (as we expected,) the enemy shott of 1 warning peese to the Church, for theire men to fall on, which they did, and came into the howses round about the Church but entred not the Church but with 2 men. And then Leiutenant Moore with his musketeers gave fire into the Church, and likewise the iron gunne, being soundly charged before, gave fire allso upon the Church, which caused them all to quitt those places, and runne away to theire workes, but what execution was done we know not.

The 23th day they playd 60, that night they playd 01.

From the 4th June till 24, 29 cannon.

24. All this day, till about 5 a clock in the afternoone, there was little shooting on either side, at which time we playd 1 shott with our iron gunne into theire lowest workes against the Church, which playd through the worke, but what execution was done is not knowne. After which was done, the enemy playd 1 cannon to the Church steeple and no more; and, after that was done, there was hard shooting on both sides with muskittes at the releefe of theire gaurdes, but we heare not of any hurt, excepting one of our souldyers was getting of apples was shott in the legge.

This evning was Aunchient Autterway commanded downe to the Church with 2 files of musketeers, but not to stay there any longer but till tapptoo beate, which was about 10 a clock, and then to retire back into the castle, for we expected the enemyes falling on that night into the Church.

(The 24th day they playd 01.)

25. This morning about 1 a clock the enemy entred the Church *, and the lower end of the Towre, there beeing none to resist them, at which time our musketeers from the castle shott very hard at them, and likewise we playd 5 peeses of cannon from the Kinges tower to the Church steeple and allso the iron gun from the Gaurding playd 5 shott into the Church so that they durst not appeare in the Steeple, but what execution was done is not knowne. There hath beene little shooting all this day, but the enemy keepes digging up dead mens corpes, and making a worke in the Church. This day morning, that worthy knight Sir Gervis Cuttler departed this life, the enemy not suffring any fresh meate ever to be brought to him since he fell sick, onely one chickin and one poore joynt of meate his lady brought with hur 2 daies before he departed, neither will the enemy suffer him either to be buryed in the Church, or conveyed to his owne habitation to take place with his auncetors †. This night we playd our iron gunne to the Church but it was not answered againe by the enemy.

26. This day we had newes brought to us that Tanton was

* "M. G. Poynes took the church at Pomfret." (Whitelocke, under June 30.)

† This gallant loyalist had made his will on his way to the wars in Scotland in 1633; and as it is printed in 2 Test. Ebor., 168, it need only be stated here, that he desired to be buried in his St. James's quire in Allhallows Church in Silkstone, without pomp or ceremony, but with decent and Christian burial, and no tomb but a plain stone, with *Christo Resurgam* only upon it. He raised many men at his own charge, and took his family plate, value 1000*l.*, to Pontefract castle, to be coined into money for the king's service. (2 Hunter's South Yks., 267.) The Lady Cutler here mentioned was his second wife Margaret, daughter of John, Earl of Bridgewater.

taken by an assault by Sr Richard Grinfeild and that there was 1500 men killd and taken prisoners and 10000 armes taken besides theire gunnes 60, and ammunition, but of this we are not certeyn, yett the enemy did confesse this night that it was taken *. This day we allso buryed that worthy knight, Sr. Jarvis Cuttler who was first cophined and then the cophin and all wraped up in lead, and after a funerall sarmond he was buryed in the Chapeell within the castle, with 3 gallont vollyes of shott according to the honnor of such a brave souldyer as he was: from whence his corpes may be conveyed to the place of his auncesstors (after the seege) when his freindes please. The enemy yett keepes the Lady within the castle and will not suffer hur to goe to hur children, though often sent to about it. This night there went out 2 of the Sandoll men from the castle and they told us they would goe to Sandoll. This night allso there runne a rouge out of the castle to the enemy, his name was Medcaulph, who tended of Allexander Medcaulph being sick of the gout. He stole of the chamber a riding coate, a doblitt, a paire of britches, a paire of stockinges, a paire of showes, a hatt and 3 bandes and a rapire and got over the Barbican wall, his company being that night upon the watch there: and, coming to the enemy, he caused the chirurgeon and the drumme (which used to dresse the prisoners woundes and to bring victualls to the prisoners in the castle) to be committed to prison; informing to theire Governor against them that they brought newes into the castle, and likewise that they brought us tobackoe.

(The 26th day they playd 02.)

27. This day there was divers troopes of horse round about the towne, and they weare still cept sadled in the C[l]oses till about 4 a clock, at which time those towardes the upper end of the towne went on the high way towardes Carleton in vew of the castle, those allso which was about Newhall and the lower end of the towne went on by Baghill faceing the castle till they came to Carleton way, and then they all passed through Carleton, and round about the hill, and some of them went downe towardes the high road and so came in againe, and others came back through Carleton againe to make a show as though they was so many fresh troopes to releeve them, which we little respected. The enemy had this day a thankesgiving both in the towne and allso at Newhall for some great victory obtained against the Kinge and had 2 sarmondes at least. And for joy whereof they shott 2 valley of shott throughout all theire workes, one after another round about the castle, and allso

* There was no truth in this. The Parliamentary garrison still held out.

playd 2 cannon, with one whereof they play through the Drawbridge and allso through the Lower castle gate, the other plaid short of the Drawbridge and lit upon a peese of timber and rive it in peeses. The enemy allso shott 2 of our men with one bullitt in the Barbican from Baghill, but did them very little hurt. And we killd one of the enemyes from the Round tower on Mr. Rusbuyes backside. This night was a boane fire at Sandoll Castle, and we answered it with another from the Round tower.

(The 27th day they playd 01.)

28. This day we had newes that the Scottes begunne to stoppe up the passages about Newarke and to beseege it. But the Newarke forces presently sallyed forth of the towne and fell upon them, killd 500 of theire horse and foote, and beate all the rest quite away and tooke theire cannon along with them. And this we imagine to be true, because that it is generally reported that this day there went by 5 or 600 horse and cariages towardes Ferry bridge, and is supposed that the cannon went along with them, and we heare that the most of the Scotch army lyes betwixt Dauncaster and Rothrom or thereabouts. This evning the Lady went forth of the castle, being sent for by a drumme from Ourton (theire governor) to goe home if she pleased. But when she came to the enemyes first gaurd, they stript both hur and hur wayting maid to hur very smock, and likewise hur chaplin and a tenant of hurs which came downe with the chaplin to the sally poart, to search for letters but they had none. They cept the Lady and hur mayd at theire gaurd all night till the next day at noone, and would not suffer hur to goe up towne, (for it seemes the Genrall came in after, and denied hur coming from the castle.) This day we had a horse turned forth into the Castle dikes to feede there, but, the gras beeing bad, he strayd a little further to the sight of the enemy where they shott very hard at him. Our men ventured to fetch him back, and they shott very hard at our men, but yett they fecht him of, and our men kild one of theire men with great hazard of theire owne lives.

29. Sunday. There was little shooting all this day and the enemy did not releeve theire gaurdes till about 9 a clock. A little after noone, the enemyes Genrall (Poyntes) sent downe the Lady Cuttler with hur wayting maid to the Barbican gates againe, she having not had any meate of 24 howers. Our Governor of the castle would not suffer hur to come into the castle againe, because they had sent for hur out and given hur free liberty to go home to hur children, therefore he thought it stood not with his honor to be so fooled by them, and by that meanes the poore Lady with hur maid and hur chaplin staid

starving in the streetes till about 10 a clock in the night, at which time the enemy sent for hur up into the towne, and for any thing we heare, she sent for 2 horseyes that night, and so went away the next day *. There was this night 2 boane fires upon Sandoll Castle and we answered it with one heare upon the Round tower.. We supposed to be good newes because of 2 fires.

30. This day the enemy drew all theire horse from all partes heareaboutes and brought along from Dauncaster some cariages with them. They allso drew downe theire horse from about the towne to Brotherton marsh, there to make theire generall randivowes (at which time, as one troope of horse marched over St. Thomas hill, our cannon playd once at them from the Kinges tower, but it did no execution). We supposed there was 1000 horse at least. After they had done there, there came up about 400 horse faceing the castle over Baghill [and went downe †] behind the hill and there stayd feeding theire horses in the Back-closes and in the corne in the Townefeild behind the hill. Other companyes went thorough the Parke and so went parte to Fetherstone, and parte into the Closes upon the west end of the towne neare Clay dicke, where they stood the last time when Sr. Marmaduke Langdall came to releeve us (and we well hope he will come againe). Other companyes went to Carleton and townes thereaboutes, and many stayd at Ferry bridges and Knottinglay. So that we conceive that the most of theire forces lyes now heareabouts which makes us thinke that we have some forces coming to our releefe, and that these either intend to give battell heareabouts to the King or ellse to draw northward very shortly. This afternoone the enemy drew downe about 600 foot from the towne to releeve theire gaurdes about Newhall and Monkhill, and there came as many back from thence into the towne. Now for certeyne there stayed not above 300 men about Newhall, but onely to make a shew to us that they was so many (which we little respeckted). This eevning there went 7 or 8 empty waynes into the towne but to what end we know not. We expeckted this night that the enemy, being so many, would have made an assault upon the castle in all places where the[y] could, which made us duble our gaurdes and keepe strong watch, but instead of assaulting us, they cutt

* Captain John Hodgson in his Memoirs has the following passage:—"After this [the relief of beasts from Sandal, May 27] they grew quiet, and made no sallies. They then began to turn out women and children, and one old man; and our Governor, Colonel Overton, examining them, sent them in again."

† Supplied from Fra. Drake's copy.

downe a great company of boughes from the trees. They had neare upon 20 axses hewing, but instead of fauling upon us they made a baricado at Will. Farrow doore, lest we should sally forth against them.

July 1. Of all the wodde the enemy cutt downe the last [night] this day the[y] made up gappes to turne our men from going forth to gett gras, and with the rest of it they [made] figates of which they made a baricado, and with wodde allso crossd over the lane going up to Baghill, and from the end of it runne a trench all along the hedge against Alderman Stables backside, of which they have shott since very hard, making it full of poart hoales to shoot out at. This day there was very hard shooting with muskittes on both sides, and we cannot conceive but that we killd very many of them, for we shott full amongst them into the worke, where was seene divers to faule, so that there is many wounded or killd. We playd 1 cannon from the Kinges tower up into the towne, but what execution was done is not knowne. This eevning the enemy was seene to bring downe some ladders to the lower end of the towne and figates allso, which made us doble our gaurdes, and, about 12 a clock in the night, the most parte of the men in the castle was commanded downe into the Castele yeard to theire armes, to be ready if the enemy should make any assault, (which was willingly done.)

2. This morning one of our souldyers was talking above the Upper castle gate with one of the enemyes in theire trenches, which another of the enemye espying and shott him through the head whereof he dyed instantly. Presently after the enemy playd theire canon to the Lower castle gate, but miste his marke and hitt the wall end, and so did no harme at all, but the bullitt fell under the Draw bridge. In the afternoone our Dutchman playd his cannon from the platforme by Treasurers tower into the Markitt place, where we saw 2 or 3 kild dead before the bullitt grased, but the enemy runne in so after the shott that we could not see how many was killd, but supposed there was many. After that we shott 1 cannon from the Kinges tower to Baghill lane, amongst a troope of horse, where we saw one horse runne away without his rider: what more hurt was done we know not. He allso shott another cannon from the Kinges tower to into the Frealles to a troope of horse, but what execution was done we know not. Towardes night we could see 15 troopes of horse at the left about the towne, wherof 5 went downe to Ferrybridge, and about 200 horse went out of Ropergate end, and so through the Chequor feeld, facing the castle, in a single file over Baghill lane, towardes Darrington, and the

rest went downe by Newhall, and so up over the Parke to Tansill, and to the Kinges close, and the West feild, where they stayd all night till about 4 a clock of the next morning; then they went to theire quarters. This night allso we sett a doble watch of the vollontears as well as of the souldyers, to be ready against any occation, because the[y] bring so many horse about us; but we thinke it is rather to keepe the foot souldyers from running away.

(July the 2th day, they playd 01.)

3. This morning many troopes of horse went out of towne very yearely, and, about noone, there came in above 20 troopes of horse, and stayd there till towardes night, about which time they was all disparsed, we know not which way, to theire severall quarters, so that there was but very few left about the towne at night.

This day came in the enemyes generalls trumpitt desiring that Captin Clarke's mother might come to see hur sonne, and allso that they might bring in Doctor Oyston to see him, and that they might bring victualls to the prisoners themsellves, and deliver it to them, which was all graunted, and they came into the castle. There was great shooting this day with muskitts on both sides, but we had not one man hurt, praised be God. Our men from about the Kinges tower shott some of the enemyes about theire workes nere to the Church and see them fall, but whether wounded or killd we know not.

This night we sent 2 men out to Sandoll and so to Newarke, and one of Captin Cartwrightes souldyers runne away this night to the enemy.

4. This morninge the enemy had an allarum, but we knew not where, but all the horse that went out last night came in againe very yearely to the towne and the[y] drew up about 400 foot into the Upper markitt place and stood to theire arms with theire knapsacks on theire backes: and about 12 a clock all the horse which was about towne drew towardes Wentbridge and appeared in 2 bodyes upon the hill toppe on this side Wentbridge, and stood there for the space of haulph an hower or better, and so came back againe into the West feeild neare to Pomphret stone wine millne where we suppose the most of the Yorkshire horse belonging to the parlament met with them, and there drew into severall bodyes where we could not see them under the hill, but we supposed there could not bee so few as 2000 horse. They stood there for the most parte from 12 till 6 a clock, about which time they begunne to draw offe by troopes till a great parte of them was gone, and the rest stayd there all night keepeing great fires amongest them. About 8 a clock

there went about 100 men downe from the towne to Ferry-brigges, and allso about 50 more from Newhall, we supposed they went to gaurd the bridge, and stop their souldyers from running away. This night we sent 2 men out towardes Sandoll.

5. This morning the enemy playd 1 cannon to the Lower castle gate but shott short of the gate above 20 yeardes and did no harme at all. The enemy allso brought into the towne this morning a small dimiculvarin or some other smaule feeild peese which was said they caryed up into the West feild, and about 3 a clock the enemy shott of theire cannon againe to the Lower castle gate and shott thorough the Draw bridge, and so fell betwixt the bridge and the gate. The enemy drew all theire horse into the West feild from all theire quarters about the towne, and drew up into sevrall bodyes, and there staid a great parte of the day; and towardes night there came 3 or 4 troope into the Parke, and so went downe the forther side of the Parke, and so came downe to Newhall, and from thence went up to the West feild againe, where we supposed the most parte of them stayd all night. This afternoone we killd 2 of the enemyes, the one from the Round tower within Mr. Rusbyes baricado, the other from the Kinges tower neare to William Farrowes under Munkhill. This night we cept doble watch as we had done all the weeke before, and this night there was 2 boane fires made upon the toppe of Sandall Castle and we answered it againe with 2 more upon the toppe of the Round tower. We did suppose that by those 2 boanefires at Sandall we was to have ayd within 2 daies.

(The 5th day 02.)

6. This day, beeing Sunday, we had 2 exceeding good sarmondes by Mr. Key in the forenoone and Mr. Hirst in the afternoone. There was little shooting on either side of all this day, and the enemy drew up the most of all theire horse into the West feild, where they continued for the most parte of all the day, and towardes night they drew of some troopes into severall places about the towne, but about 9 a clock at night there was 6 trumpitts of the enemyes sounding, which calld them all up to the West feild againe and the had an allarum given and the souldyers within the towne stood all with theire lighted match: and a Welshman (one of their owne souldyers) tould one of our owne souldyers (a Wellshman allso) that all theire horse was gone towardes Dauncaster to meete the Prince, but they was returned againe before morning. This night we saw 2 boanefires betwixt Wentbridge and Dauncaster, we supposed they was for horse gaurdes. This night allso we had a

letter came into the castle from the 2 men went out 4 daies since to the Kinges army with very good newes.

7. This morning about 8 a clock there came in 200 horse thorough the Parke and they drew up into the West feild. We supposed they came from Sandoll, for the seege is razed from thence. This day allso came in the Scottes both horse and foot, for so the enemyes souldyers out of theire quarters tould us. We supposed that all the horse they now had in all places and from all garrisonnes was drawne all hither to sett down heare for a pitcht feild. They stood to theire armes the greatest parte of this day in the West feild, and towardes night they drew of about 7 or 8 troopes towardes Carleton (we killd 3 men this day in theire workes) and Wentbridg and thereabouts, and other troopes they drew of to severall medow closes round about the towne. Theire went 140 Scottes downe to Newhall. This night about 10 a clock the enemy sounded theire trumpittes for theire horse to come into the West feild, and then the foot lighted theire matche and stood to theire armes, haveing taken an allarum from some place.

8. This morning, about 4 a clock, the enemy drew out of that worke against Swillinton tower about 70 men who we supposed marched into the West feild. About 6 a clock there came above 1000 foot out of the West feild marching into the towne to theire quarters for a little time (as we supposed,) and we heard the[y] went back againe, but they drew them out of all theire workes round about the towne as we supposed. The horse cept the most parte of the day out sight behind the hill towardes the bottom of the West feild, and towardes night there came some troopes which quartred about the towne. Some stayd in the West feild where they cept 2 great fires, and the rest went away we know not whither, but we supposed towardes Wentbridg, for there they keepe a strong gaurd and had a strong allarum the last night. This evning, being the 10 for releefe of Newhall, about 9 a clock or after, there was sent downe from the towne very many to Newhall, and they likewise sent the other back to the towne. The enemy releeved all theire gaurdes very late this evning. This night came downe Genrall Poyntes to the worke against Barbican gate and asked to speake with our Governor, but the Governors sonne being there made him answer that his father was not there, which if he had beene he would not refuse to speake to him. Then the Genrall begunne to demaund the castle to him, which if we did within 3 daies or there abouts we should have honorable tearmes, but if we stayd 10 daies or 14 daies we should then looke for nothing but to walke with a white rod in our handes, as souldyers doe in the

Low contreyes when they march away upon a forced composition. But Captin Lowder made answer, that the castle was cept for the King, and if they stayd 14 daies, and 14 daies more after that, there was as many gentlemen within the castle as would make many a bloody heade before they parted from it (or wordes to the like effeckte). Then the Genrall begunne to give some harsh language, and say that our souldyers did abuse him in base wordes. But Capt. Lowder answered him, that neither he nor his father could rule the souldyers tounges, but they would speake what they pleased. And then the Genrall bid good night and went away. There was of the enemyes souldyers this night that tould to some of our souldyers (theire frends) that we had helpe coming near to us, and that they intended to be with us as soone as with convenience they could, before our army came to releeve us.

9. This day the enemy hath made very little show, but we suppose they are behind the hill in the West feild or there abouts where we cannot see them. There hath beene very hard shooting this day both to the castle and from the castle, and the enemy makes great riding both from the towne to Newhall, and likewise back againe on both sides of the castle, but we heare not of any was killed of the enemyes, but all this shooting could not be but that there is some killed of the enemy, but there is not one hurt which belonges to the castle and yett we fetch in gras and parsneppes all day long as we have done for the most parte this 3 weekes. The enemy begunne a fence all along the hedge side from theire worke against Swillinton tower into Denwell lane out of which they shoote at our men which come to gett gras continually, but of late there is but few hurt (praised be God). This night we sent out 5 men, somme to Sandoll, and others to the Kinges armye which should come to releeve us, or ellse to goe to Newarke to bringe us some intelligence.

10. This day there hath beene hard shooting, the enemy having runne so many trenches so neare the castle, where they lye lurking to shoote at our men to prevent them from getting of gras, which they cannot doe, for they get grass still as much as will suffice, thoug it be at deare rates. We had a man shott by the enemy in an apple-tre, as he was getting of apples; he was shott thorow the arme, but no mortall wound. We allso kild one of the enemyes from of the Lower castle gatehowse toppe along theire trenches below. And about 6 a clock, at the releeving of our gaurdes, one of our first sentry men which went up to the toppe of the Round tower and stood upon a stone and

looked over a poart hoale, which being soone espied by the enemy, was shott thorow the head wherof he dyed instantly. This day we had letters brought in of certeyne intelligence that Genrall Goring had given Sir Thomas Fairfax a great overthrow neare unto Tanton *, and allso more perfeckt newes of the taking of Tanton. There allso came in a drumme last night from Newarke to us to know whether we had yeilded up the castle or not, for that the enemy had bruited it all abroad that we had yeilded up the castle unto them: but the enemy stayd the drumme in the towne all night and would not suffer him to come to us, but cept him still. But at Mr. Washington's, where he stayd all night, he tould Mrs. Washington to come downe and speake with hur husband, and to bid us be of good cheare, for that we had forces coming to releeve us within 4 or 5 daies, whereupon she gott a drumme to come downe with hur to speake with hur husband at Barbican sally poarte and there he mett hur, and she tould him this newes whilst another taulked with the drumme, and she shaked handes with another man was one of hur accquaintance, and then thrust him in 2 letters into his hand. This eevning we sent out 2 men and a boy to go either to Sandoll or to the Kinges armey which they could most conveniently, and they gott cleare away for any thing we heare. This night there was made 4 boanefires upon Sandoll Castle whereby we know that all our men gott cleare away the last night, and allso by them we had notise how neare our helpe was coming to us. We allso answered them againe with 1 from the Round tower.

11. This morning, about 8 a clock, the enemy appeared in the West feild againe in 4 great bodyes, with a smaule reserve a good distance from the other. They appeared to us as though they were exercisinge of theire souldyers, and they continued there for the space of 3 howers, and then went out of our sight, some parte behind the hill, and others went as we suppose to Sandoll, for some of our men which we sent out to Sandoll 2 daies since are come in againe this night, and they tell us that about 2 regiments of horse goe every day to Sandoll †. About 9 a clock there came 4 cariages loaden with 8 oxen in a draught thorow the Parke, and so went by the West end of the towne into the West feeild to the company which was there, but where they was loaded with amunition or provitions we know not, but

* On this very day Fairfax defeated Goring at Langport.

† "Major General Pointz met with a party of the King's from Sandall Castle, killed three of them, and took 16 of them prisoners." (Whitelocke, under July 14.)

we conceive they was the one of those two. This day the enemy held a counsell of warre to what effeckt we know not, but we suppose it was whether to give the King battell heare or not.

There was little shooting by us this day, (it beeing fast day,) nor by the enemy, neither doe we heare of any man hurt of either side. This evninge there was 2 boanefires made upon Sandoll Castle, which we answered with one from the Round tower. This day the 2 men which we sent out 10 daies since to Newarke came againe to towne, and though they could not gett into the castle to us yett they showed forth such signes as we knew we had good newes towardes us. This night 2 of those men we sent out 2 nightes before to Sandoll came in againe.

12. This morning the enemy made little appearance in sight with theire horse but such as was within the closes round about the towne: the rest was at theire quarters except such as was sent out to Sandoll. This day the letters which came in from Sandoll the last night were perused and in them was noticd that we are to expeckt helpe very shortly. The other letters allso which came into towne yesterday was sent in this day, but the key to open those Newarke letters was not att first found, but is now found with good newes, and both the day and time of the day sett down when Sir Marmaduke Langdall intendes to be with us, (if God permitt) and succors appoynted to meet him heare. The Lord come along with him and give him victory over his, and all our enemies. There was allso newes in them of the great victory which Gen. Goring had against Sir Tho. Fairfax, that he had quite routed his forces, and that Sr. Thomas was not to be found. There was little shooting this day betwixt the enemy and us neither doe we heare of any one that was hurt. This day likewise the enemy begunne to fortyfie Ferry bridge, and made a mount. We suppose they intend to plant theire cannon there against the day of battell. This night the enemy had an allarum in the towne, sounded theire trumpitts, lighted theire matches and calld *To horse, horse*, where they stood upon theire guardes all night. This night allso there was a boane fire made upon Sandoll Castle, which we answered with another from the Round tower.

13. This morning, being Sunday, about 4 a clock, the enemy stood in great bodyes on horseback in the West feild as many as ever formerly they had done. The enemy hath now sett up theire tentes and intrenched themsellves in the West feild, and there the Generall lyeth every night, and they draw of many of theire foote out of all theire workes every night into the West feild. There came this day about 60 foot from Ferry bridge. Some said they was new arayd men brought to the garison.

They have planted a drake in the Markit place out of sight of the castle. It is reported to us that Skipton horse went by Sandoll last night, and gave the enemy an allarum; if they bee, they are gone to Sir Marmaduke. This night the enemy had an allarum, and sounded theire trumpitts for horse. This evning our souldyers, being very joyfull and merry, gave a great showte within the Castle yeard, and after that was done they went up to the Round tower and gave 3 more showtes.

14. This day the enemy cept still making trenches in the West feild, and setting up tentes, and allso sending out stronge parties of horse both towardes Dauncaster and to Sandoll. They allso made up theire workes betwixt the triangle workes they had on the north side of Swillington tower, and made many poarthoales to shoot out at. The enemy allso made greate shootinge at the castle this day, but we heare not of any one hurt of either side. It was tould us allso this evning by the enemyes owne souldyers that there was 5 souldyers buryed this day of the plague: they dyed in the howses in the Barley markit place, and that they intend tomorow to remove theire souldyers all out of the towne into the West feild and make that theire Leagure. This night theare was either one great lowe boanefire made upon the toppe of Sandoll Castle or ellse 2 little ones, and we made one upon the toppe of the Round tower. There was allso a boanefire seene towardes [Dauncа]ster. We had sent out 2 men this night to goe to the Kinges armey, but one of them was taken, being miscryed by the boy which went out the night before, and was taken at Knottinglay, and so tould the enemy which way he went out. The other gott backe againe into the castle but he was pursued by 5 men.

15. This morninge about 5 a clocke went 12 souldyers out of the castle to gett apples in the Northgate where they weare all espied upon the toppes of the trees (close by theire workes) and on that the enemy's souldyers called and said *Come alonge, they are all ours*, when our souldyers leapt all downe amongst them, but the enemy either killed or tooke 2 of them, the rest gott all away without any hurt, excepting one man which gott 3 or 4 blowes; and since that time they call to us and bid us fetch of our dead men, but we heare since they are not killd, after which time we had another man went out to get peares and was shott in the tree into the side of the cheeke boane. So greedy are our souldyers of getting of apples and peares which they sell amongst women for 4, 5, or 6 a penny or sometimes more if they be little ones. There was another man of ours allso shott yesterday upon the Dutchman's platforme of his gunne; the bullitt went through his britches and rippled of the

skin, but did no more hurt. The Dutchman was allso shott through the stockinge of his legge in the Barbican, but toucht not the flesh, and after that he came up to his gunne and there standing by his gunne was hitt againe by a splinter of wodd which a bullitt rive out; it hitt his legge, but did scarce strike of the skinne, only brused it a little, but in requitall there was about 4 troopes of horse went downe from the towne through the Parke to Newhall and soe faced about and came back againe and he seeing them made ready his gunne against they came backe, and gave them a shott into the Parke where we saw both one man and a horse to fall. Some say there was 4 horse and men fell but that we know not certeyn but these lay there. They rid 3 or 4 a brest. This afternoone the enemy sent in a drumme with a noate in his hand which he red by the way to their owne souldyers at theire workes neare to Barbican gates, and he bid the souldyers be of good cheare for that they had ayd coming to them both Fairfax, Cromwell, and Rosseter, and that they had rooted both Genrall Goring and Sr. Marmaduke Langdall; and this noate he after brought into the castle. And presently after that, Genrall Poyntes sent a trumpiter into the castle with a letter from himsellfe and the Committy at Yorke. The letter was wordes to this effeckt:—That whereas they had heretofore sent to sommone the castle which was still rejected, but now taking into considration the great care and love to so many gentlemen and souldyers which weare within the castle, and the miserye we lived in, and the effusion of so much innocent blood, which was likely to be made, and many a sackles * man in it, they thought good once more to sommone us and to give us to understand that if we pleased to come to a treatye abou[t] the surrendringe of the same, they would treate with us upon honorable tearmes, and with conditions fitting for such a garison, and give hostages for the same. Whereupon answer was given by the Governor, that it was a matter of too great a consequence to treate or give answer at the first, but he would conferre with the knights and gentlemen of the castle and returne answer as speedely as he could (or wordes to that effeckt), whereupon the trumpitt was sent away.

16. This morninge we had a man was getting of apples and was shott through the skull of his brow all along the brow, and he fell downe, and in the afternoone did both speake and eate meate, so that it is thought it is not impossible but that he may live. After that we killd one of the enemyes souldyers from the Round tower on Mr. Rusbyes backside. This afternoone was

* Sackless, a Northern synonym of innocent, foolish.

appoynted Sir Richard Hutton, Sr. Tho. Bland, Major Copplay, and Mr. William Tindoll to goe forth and meete with 4 of theire officers about the Castle walls (but had no authoritie to treate of any thing) onely to drinke and be merry, wheare they stayd within the Burnt Haulpny howse (it beeing to hott wether to stay out of doores,) where they stayd for the space of 2 howers, and drunke both sack and ale together, which was sent out of the towne. During this time the Governor sent for all the gentlemen and captins, and volunteires into the Hall, to consult what was best to be done; out of which was chosen forth to treate of the busines for the gentry, Sr. Rich. Hutton, Sr. John Romsden, and Sr. George Wintworth; for the clargie Mr. Hirst and Mr. Key; for the volunteers and reformadoes, Mr. Hodgshon, and Mr. Harebread; for the townesmen, Mr. Austicke and Mr. Lunne; and for the souldyers, Leiutenant Collonell Wheatelay, Captin Himseworth and Capt. Munroe. During this time there was a parley round about the castle of men and women of all soartes, and, during this time allso, the souldyers on both sides agreed to robbe an orchard and agreed well to bee in the trees together at least 20 of a side or more.

17. This forenoone the Governor sent out a drumme with a letter to Genrall Poyntes that they was ready to treate when the time and place was appoynted, and the drumme came back without any answer, so that, till about 4 a clock, there was little shooting of either side (and the enemyes walked openly, and we taulked with them and they with us without any shootinge). About which time, Ouerton the governor of the towne sent in a drumme with a letter about 3 or 4 lines to this effeckt, that they would take time to treate, and not bee so hasty as they was. It seemes a captin of the castle which went out the day before after the gentlemen, (unknowne to the Governor and without order,) tould one of theire officers that we had but victualls for 5 daies, which caused them then to refuse to treate, and moreover the enemies souldiers reported that they intended to sterve us, and to strippe the souldiers at theire going out, and likewise that they would have all the pillage of the castle. But in the intrim we had a letter came from Newarke that the 12th of this month Sir Marmaduke Langdall with all his owne forces and 4000 Irish begunne their march towardes our relecfe, and likewise that Mr. Garvis Nevell was sent from Newarke to him to hasten his cominge to us. There was allso other good newes in the letter, that Genrall Goringe had given Tho. Fairfax an overthrow, and likewise that the Lord Muntrosse had beaten the Scotch forces, routed them, and killd Genrall Bely (the Scottes great Genrall). All this was not a little incoragement unto us amongst all the

miseryes which at that time we was affrighted withall, and to adde a remedy to this the Governor sent into all the gentlemen's chambers within the castle to see what provition they could find, allowing to themselves no more than a common souldyer, that wee might all live or want together, which beeing done, there was provition found to keepe us all at a reasonable rate of dyate about [*never filled up*] daies. After which time, about 6 a clock, when praiers was ended, the Governor (himsellfe being not able to come forth of his chamber) desired Sir Richard Hutton and Sr. George Wintworth in the Castle yeard to reede (before the gentlemen and the souldyers) both the letter sent from theire Governor out of towne, and allso the letter from Newarke, and withall tould the souldyers that the gentlemen were all content with that dyate, and was willing to sacrifise their lives rather than yeild to such conditions, and if the worst came to it (if releefe came not in the meanewhile) to burne all the goodes with the castle and to make out our waies through the enemy by the sword. At which wordes the souldyers all with one consent said they was ready to runne the same hazard that the gentlemen did, and was content with the like dyate, and withal threw up theire hattes and made 3 great and lowd shoutes within the Castle yeard and then the Governor sent out 2 flagges of defiance, the one to be sett upon the Kinges tower and the other upon the Round tower which was instantly done and displayed, and the flagge left standing upon the Round tower: a[nd] presently gave commaund for our cannon to play. The Dutchman begunne first, and playd his cannon into the Markit place, where there was many standing together, and the bullitt grased full amongst them, but what execution it did is not knowne to us. After that the cannon was plaid from the Kinges tower into the Newhall, but what execution was done is not knowne. During this time the iron gunne was carryed out from within the castle to the platforme without the Upper castle gate, and Will: Ingram played one cannon into theire first sentry howse nearest to the Upper castle gate where it beate downe the wall, shot one man of by the midle, which we saw; one or 2 more we saw them carye away, and we conceive there was many more killd with the stones was burst out of the wall (beinge many in the howse). And then he playd againe another shott into the enemyes workes (just against Barbican gates) where we saw lighted matches struck downe, but what hurt was done was not knowne to us. After this our muskittes shott from the walles wheresoever they could see any opportunitie. The enemy seeing and hearing all this, sent downe a drumme with victuales for the prisoners to the castle which we refused

at five to take it and about a quarter before [illegible]
[illegible] to take it and [illegible] and also [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] about the [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

before they had done with musketears, and betwixt 9 and 10 a clock they mett, and fell upon treating, and so continued all the day, (excepting dinner time,) till about 6 a clock, and concluded upon Nothing, and soe our Committies came away, declaring to them our full intents that they did not vallue theire lives but theire honnors, and that they would fight it out to the last man, and soe, with that resolution, came away, and Sir John Romsden, (being in the gout,) ridd cleare into the castle attended with Captin Samond on horseback to the Castle gate, and 5 or 6 more officers came along with him. But the other Committies followed after our Committies, and desired them to meete them again the next day at the same place, and they would then make an end of theire treaty if possible they could, which our Committies did condescend unto. [MS. ends.]

The beseegeds cannon playd the first seege. There was play from the castle to the enemy in the town and about the towne from the 24th of December 1644 till the 1th March following, in all 224.

The beseeged playd againe the second seege from the 21th March 1644 to the July 1645, in all [blank]

[BESEEGERS' LOSS.]

Second seege.		Killd and wounded	
3	1	1	
3	2	1	
4	7	1	
2	4	40	
2	4	4	
1	4	6	
4			
1	1	3	
26	2	2	
100			
20	2	5	
00	1	1	
11	3	4	
3	1	2	
11	2	3	July 8th.
1	3		
2	1		
4	1		
8	62		
17	5		
10	8		
3	1		
4	2		
2	1		
7	4		
5	4		
3	1		
2	4		
3	2		
252	133		

252
133
74
459

[BESEEGED'S LOSS.]

There is dead of men women and children of all deseases with those wh' was killd within the castle from the 24th December 1644 till the 19 July 1645 in all 99 parsons *.

* From another part of the MS.

The following report of the treaty was made by the Committee at York to the Speaker of the Commons.

"The enemy in Pontefract Castle were last week summoned to surrender, which caused them to desire a treaty. Accordingly the Colonels Wastell, Copley, Overton and Bright, were authorised to treat.

"The castle is to be delivered up to the Parliament to-morrow at eight o'clock, with every thing therein, save that the officers are allowed to carry away what is properly their own, so that it exceeds not what a cloak bag will contain, and the garrison are to march to Newark." . . . York, July 20, 1645. *Francis Pierrepoint, Wilfred Lawson, Henry Cholmley.* (Boothroyd.)

"Letters informed the surrender of Pomfret Castle upon articles, which were the more favorable, by reason the plague was hot in Pomfret Town. There were left in the castle for the Parliament, 8 pieces of ordnance, store of arms, and ammunition.

"The House appointed Sir Thomas Fairfax to be Governor of that castle. The Lords sent to the Commons that Colonel Pointz might be Governor of that castle which he took in, but being informed that, before their message, the Commons had voted that command for Sir Thomas Fairfax, the Lords agreed thereunto.

"News was brought the House, of the taking of Bridgewater. The House ordered, that the ministers in the several parishes in London, should the next Lord's day, render thanks to God for the surrender of Pomfret, and taking of Bridgewater.

"Sir Rowland Egerton, who brought the news of the surrender of Pomfret, was called into the House, and had their thanks given him, and 20*l.* was ordered to the messenger, who brought the letters of the taking of Bridgewater." (Whitelocke, under July 24.)

July 28. "Letters informed the surrender of Scarborough Castle to Colonel Sir Matthew Boynton, with the articles of surrender, and that there was taken 37 pieces of ordnance, 1000 arms, and great store of ammunition and plunder.

Aug. 1. "A letter from the committee at York informed that they had chosen Colonel Boynton to be Governor of Scarborough Castle. Colonel Poyntz desired the same government, and it was referred to a committee to consider of it, and of the vote of the House to bestow the next command upon Col. Pointz which should be worthy of him." (Whitelocke.)

"I received yours of the 24th July. I perceive the Parliament hath been pleased to name me Governor of Pontefract. I am so little serviceable to those parts, as I cannot desire more commands there. Either of those your lordship names are fit to command the castle; but if your lordship think it convenient to have that government, I am content; and desire that either Colonel Overton or Major Crooke may command under me there." (Sir Tho. Fairfax at Sherborne, to his father Lord Fairfax, 4 Aug. 1645. 1 Fairfax Corr. 247.)

Aug. 19. "The House resolved, That the Committees in the North had no power to appoint governors of forts there, and the House nominated M. G. Pointz to be Governor of York, and Colonel Sir Matthew Boynton of Scarborough." (Whitelocke.)

Oct. 2. "The castle of Sandall taken, with all the ammunition." (Leycester's Civil Wars, 1649.)

Oct. 4. "Letters from Colonel Overton certified the surrender of Sandall Castle upon conditions to the Parliament, with their ordnance, arms, and ammunition." (Whitelocke.)

1647. Nov. 30. Letters from Major Gen. Poyntz informed of a design to surprise Pontefract for the King. (Whitelocke.)

1648. "The Lord Fairfax, father to the General having a bruise on his foot, where a corn was growing, it festered and turned to a gangrene, which brought a fever upon him, whereof he died at York, March 13, and was much lamented. Order that Sir Thomas Fairfax his son should be Keeper of Pontefract Castle, Custos Rotulorum of Yorkshire, and Chief Ranger &c. in the place of his father." (Whitelocke.)

APPENDIX.

The Third Siege against Pontefract Castle, 1648–1649.

"When the first war had been brought to an end by the reduction of all places, and persons, which had held for the King, and all men's hopes had been rendered desperate, by the imprisonment of his Majesty in the Isle of Wight, those officers and gentlemen who had served, whilst there was any service, betook themselves generally to the habitations they had in the several counties; where they lived quietly and privately, under the insolence of those neighbours who had formerly, by the inferiority of their conditions, submitted to them. When the Parliament had finished the war, they reduced and slighted most of the inland garrisons, the maintenance whereof was very chargeable: yet by the interest of some person who commanded it, or out of the consideration of the strength and importance of the place, they kept still a garrison in Pontfret Castle, a noble royalty and palace belonging to the Crown, and then part of the Queen's jointure. The situation in it self was very strong; no part whereof was commanded by any other ground: the house very large, with all offices suitable to a princely seat, and though built very near the top of a hill, so that it had the prospect of a great part of the West Riding of Yorkshire, and of Lincolnshire, and of Nottinghamshire, yet it was plentifully supplied with water." (Clarendon.)

"In the year 1648, the first war being over, we, that had served the King in it, submitting to our common fate, lived quietly in the country, till we heard of an intended invasion by Duke Hamilton. Then we met frequently *, and resolved to attempt the surprising this castle, of which Colonel Cotterel was Governor for the Parliament, having under him a garrison of 100 men, most of them quartered in the town of Pomfret, and in no apprehension of an enemy." (Capt. Tho. Paulden, in his account of the taking and surrendering of Pontefract Castle, 1702.)

"Colonel Cotterell, the Governor of this castle, exercised a very severe jurisdiction over his neighbours of those parts; which were inhabited by many gentlemen, and soldiers, who had served the King throughout the war, and who were known to retain their old affections, though they lived quietly under the present government.

* George Beaumont, vicar of South Kirkby, was active in these conferences. (2 Hunter's South Yorks., 449.)

Upon the least jealousy or humour, these men were frequently sent for, reproached, and sometimes imprisoned by the Governor in this garrison; which did not render them the more devoted to him. When there appeared some hopes that the Scots would raise an army for the relief and release of the King, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, in his way for Scotland, had visited and conferred with some of his old friends and countrymen, who now lived quietly within some distance of Pontfret, who informed him of that garrison, the place whereof was well known to him. And he acquainting them with the assurance he had of the resolution of the principal persons of the kingdom of Scotland, and that they had invited him to join with them, in order to which he was then going thither, they agreed, 'that, when it should appear that an army was raised in Scotland upon that account, which must draw down the Parliament's army into the other northern counties, and that there should be risings in other parts of the kingdom' (which the general indisposition and discontent, besides some particular designs, made like to fall out), 'that then those gentlemen should endeavour the surprise of that castle, and after they had made themselves strong in it, and furnished it with provisions to endure some restraint, they should draw as good a body to them as those countries would yield:' and having thus adjusted that design, they settled such a way of correspondence with Sir Marmaduke, that they frequently gave him an account, and received his directions for their proceeding. In this disposition they continued quiet, as they had always been; and the Governour of the castle lived towards them with less jealousy, and more humanity, than he had been accustomed to." (Clarendon.)

"Langdale pretends to be General (by commission from Prince Charles) of the five Northern Counties, where he is now arming, and giving commissions." (Rushworth, under May 8.)

"The design was laid by Col. Morice, (who in his youth had been page to the Earl of Strafford,) my two brothers, who were captains of horse, and myself, captain of foot, and some others. We had then about 300 foot, and 50 horse, of our old comrades, privately listed." (Paulden.)

"This John Morris, being bred up under the Right. Hon. Thomas late Earl of Strafford *, was first an ensign to his guards after the

* "I add from the notices of a contemporary that he was born at South Elmsal, where the family had a small estate; that at 16 years of age he was made ensign to his own company of foot by the Earl of Strafford, and soon after lieutenant of his guard. The Earl observing his genius for military affairs, said of him, 'that youth will outdo many of our old commanders.' After the Earl's death, Morris was made captain in Sir Henry Tichburn's regiment. He served in Ireland, and there performed some important services. At Dublin he was made senior captain in the regiment commanded by Sir Francis Willoughby, and major by commission from the Earl of Ormond dated June 2, 1642. In England he served in that department of the royal army which was under the command of Lord Byron; and when the war was over he retired to his own estate at Elmsal, carefully watching for opportunities of serving the royal cause." (2 Hunter's South Yorkshire, 98.)

said Earl became Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and, when the rebellion brake forth in that kingdom, was made Serjeant Major to Sir Francis Willoughby, Knt., Major General of his late Majesty's army there, where, amongst many other his valiant exploits, this one is not a little remarkable, viz., that after he had received some dangerous wounds in the storming of Rosse Castle, where he was brought off in a litter, the English forces in another encounter against General Preston being routed and flying by him, when by persuasions he could not prevail with them to stand, he got upon his led horse (though with much difficulty) and by his courageous example rallyed the disordered troops, and, charging the enemy in the very head of them, obtained an absolute and honorable victory." (Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire, under Morris of North Emsall. The arms entered are Blue, 3 golden eagles displayed, on a silver canton a red *castle*.)

"Colonel Morrice, being a very young man, had, in the beginning of the war, been an officer in some regiments of the King's; and out of the folly and impatience of his youth, had quitted that service, and engaged himself in the Parliament army with some circumstances not very commendable; and by the clearness of his courage, and pleasantness of his humour, made himself not only very acceptable, but was preferred to the command of a Colonel, and performed many notable services for them, being a stout and bold undertaker in attempts of the greatest danger; wherein he had usually success. After the new modelling of the army, and the introducing of a stricter discipline, his life of great licence kept not his reputation with the new officers; and being a free speaker and censurer of their affected behaviour, they left him out in their compounding their new army, but with many professions of kindness, and respect to his eminent courage, which they would find some occasion to employ, and reward. He was a gentleman of a competent estate in those parts in Yorkshire; and as he had grown elder, he had heartily detested himself for having quitted the King's service, and had resolved to take some seasonable opportunity to wipe off that blemish by a service that would redeem him; and so was not troubled to be set aside by the new General, but betook himself to his estate; enjoyed his old humour, which was chearful and pleasant; and made himself most acceptable to those who were most trusted by the Parliament; who thought that they had dismissed one of the best officers they had, and were sorry for it.

"He now, as a country gentleman, frequented the fairs and markets, and conversed with equal freedom with all his neighbours, of what party soever they had been, and renewed the friendship he had formerly held with some of those gentlemen who had served the King. But no friendship was so dear to him, as that of the Governor of Pontfret Castle, who loved him above all men, and delighted so much in his company, that he got him to be with him some times a week and more at a time in the castle, when they always lay together

in one bed. He declared to one of those gentlemen, who were united together to make that attempt, 'that he would surprise that castle, whenever they should think the season ripe for it;' and that gentleman, who knew him very well, believed him so entirely, that he told his companions, 'that they should not trouble themselves with contriving the means to surprise the place; which, by trusting too many, would be liable to discovery; but that he would take that charge upon himself, by a way they need not enquire into; which he assured them should not fail:' and they all very willingly acquiesced in his undertaking; to which they knew well he was not inclined without good grounds. Morrice was more frequently with the governor, who never thought himself well without him; and always told him 'he must have a great care of his garrison, that he had none but faithful men in the castle; for that he was confident there were some men who lived not far off, and who many times came to visit him, had some design upon the place;' and would then in confidence name many persons to him, some whereof were those very men with whom he communicated, and others were men of another temper, and were most devoted to the Parliament, all his particular friends and companions; 'but that he should not be troubled; for he had a false brother amongst them, from whom he was sure to have seasonable advertisement;' and promised him, 'that he would, within few hours' notice, bring him at any time forty or fifty good men into the castle to reinforce his garrison, when there should be occasion;' and he would shew him the list of such men, as would be always ready, and would sometimes bring some of those men with him, and tell the Governor before them, 'that those were in the list he had given him of the honest fellows, who would stick to him when there should be need;' and others would accidentally tell the Governor, 'that they had listed themselves with Colonel Morrice to come to the castle, whenever he should call or send to them.' And all these men thus listed, were fellows very notorious for the bitterness and malice which they had always against the King, not one of which he ever intended to make use of.

"He made himself very familiar with all the soldiers in the castle, and used to play and drink with them; and when he lay there, would often rise in the night, and visit the guards; and by that means would sometimes make the Governor dismiss, and discharge a soldier whom he did not like, under pretence 'that he found him always asleep,' or some other fault which was not to be examined; and then he would commend some other to him as very fit to be trusted and relied upon; and by this means he had very much power in the garrison. The Governor received several letters from his friends in the Parliament, and in the country, 'that he should take care of Colonel Morrice, who resolved to betray him;' and informed him, 'that he had been in such and such company of men, who were generally esteemed most malignant, and had great intrigues with them;' all which was well known to the Governor; for the other

was never in any of that company, though with all the shew of secrecy, in the night, or in places remote from any house, but he always told the Governor of it, and of many particular passages in those meetings; so that when these letters came to him, he shewed them still to the other; and then both of them laughed at the intelligence; after which Morrice frequently called for his horse, and went home to his house, telling his friend 'that though he had, he knew, no mistrust of his friendship, and knew him too well to think him capable of such baseness, yet he ought not for his own sake be thought to slight the information; which would make his friends the less careful of him: that they had reason to give him warning of those meetings, which, if he had not known himself, had been very worthy of his suspicion; therefore he would forbear coming to the castle again, till this jealousy of his friends should be over; who would know of this, and be satisfied with it;' and no power of the Governor could prevail with him, at such times, to stay; but he would be gone, and stay away till he was, after some time, sent for again with great importunity, the Governor desiring his counsel and assistance as much as his company.

"It fell out, as it usually doth in affairs of that nature, when many men are engaged, that there is an impatience to execute what is projected before the time be throughly ripe. The business of the fleet, and in Kent, and other places, and the daily alarms from Scotland, as if that army had been entering the kingdom, made the gentlemen who were engaged for this enterprise imagine that they deferred it too long, and that though they had received no orders from Sir Marmaduke Langdale, which they were to expect, yet they had been sent, and miscarried. Hereupon they called upon the gentleman who had undertaken, and he upon Morrice, for the execution of the design." (Clarendon.)

May 19. Lancaster. "A late attempt was made for the taking of Pontefract Castle. They came in the night with about 80 horse; each horseman brought his footman behind him and ladders, and had placed their ladders, and were ready to mount them, before they were discovered; and as soon as the alarm came to the two companies of foot that were in it, they were in readiness and appeared to oppose. The sentinels fired, and then they withdrew; and there being no horse in the castle, they could not pursue, so that the enemy got clear away." (Rushworth.)

"We had secret correspondence with some * in the castle; amongst the rest, with a corporal, who promised, on a certain night, to be upon the guard, and to set a sentinel, that would assist us, in scaling the walls by a ladder, which we had provided, and brought with us. But the corporal happened to be drunk at the hour appointed, and

* Major Ashby, Ensign Smyth, and Serjeant Floyd, were afterwards excepted from mercy on this account.

another sentinel was placed, where we intended to set our ladder, who fired upon us, and gave the alarm to the garrison *. They appearing upon the walls, our men retired in haste, leaving the ladder in the ditch, whereby the next day they within knew, that it was no false alarm, but that there had been a real attempt to surprise the castle. They took not a man of us; our foot dispersed themselves in the country; and half of our horse marched to Sir Marmaduke Langdale, who had then taken Berwick and Carlisle. The rest, being 20 or 30 horse, kept in the woods, while we sent spies into the castle, and found that our confederates within were not discovered, nor our designs betrayed, but only failed by the corporal's being drunk.

"The ladder being found the next morning made the Governor call the soldiers out of the town, to lodge in the castle: in order to which he sent his warrants into the country, for beds to be brought in by a day appointed.

June 3. "We had notice of it, and made use of the occasion. With the beds came Colonel Morice, and Captain William Paulden, like country gentlemen, with swords by their sides; and about 9 persons more, dressed like plain countrymen and constables, to guard the beds, but armed privately with pocket pistols and daggers †.

"Upon their approach, the Drawbridge was let down, and the Gates opened by our confederates within. Colonel Morice and those who were with him entered into the castle. The main-guard was just within the Gate, where our company threw down the beds and gave a crown to some soldiers, bidding them fetch ale, to make the rest of the guard drink; and as soon as they were gone out of the Gate, they threw up the Drawbridge, and secured the rest of the guards, forcing them into a Dungeon hard by to which they went down by about thirty stairs; and it was a place that would hold two or three hundred men.

* "The time agreed upon was such a night, when the surprisers were to be ready upon such a part of the wall, and to have ladders to mount in two places, where two soldiers were to be appointed for sentinels who were privy to the attempt. Morrice was in the castle, and in bed with the Governor, and, according to his custom, rose about the hour he thought all would be ready. They without made the sign agreed upon, and were answered by one of the sentinels from the wall; upon which they run to both places where they were to mount their ladders. By some accident, the other sentinel who was designed, was not upon the other part of the wall; but when the ladder was mounted there, the sentinel called out; and, finding that there were men under the wall, run towards the court of guard to call for help; which gave an alarm to the garrison." (Clarendon.)

† "After that, he [Morris] surprised the strong castle of Pontfract, for King Charles I., with the help of 8 men besides himself, upon the 3d of June, a°. 1648." (Dugdale's Visitation.)

"Morris and some of the same gentlemen surprised the castle under the disguise of countrymen coming in with carts of provision." (Clarendon.)

"About 20 of the King's party came with corn, and frocks over their clothes, pretending to supply Pontefract Castle, &c." (Whitelock ‹ Rushworth.)

"Then Capt. William Paulden* made one of the prisoners shew him the way to the Governor's lodging, where he found him newly laid down upon his bed, with his clothes on, and his sword, being a long tuck, lying by him. The Captain told him the castle was the King's, and he was his prisoner; but he, without answering anything, started up, and made a thrust at the Captain, and defended himself very bravely, till, being sore wounded, his head and arm cut in several places, he made another full and desperate push at the Captain, and broke his tuck against the bedpost, and then asked quarter, which my brother granted; and he, for the present, was put down among his own soldiers into the dungeon.

"Notice was immediately sent to me, lying hard by, of the taking of the castle; upon which I marched thither with about 30 horse, and, it being market-day †, we furnished ourselves with all manner of provisions from the town." (Paulden.)

6. The news reached London. "Upon this, the House referred it to the committee of Derby house to consider of the speedy sending some of the forces in Wales to the Northern parts." (Whitelocke, Rushworth.)

"There came speedily to us, in small parties, so many of our old fellow soldiers that our garrison at last was increased to 500 men, which at the rendering of the castle afterwards were reduced to 140." (Paulden.)

"So many came from Yorkshire, Nottingham, and Lincoln, that they could not in a short time be restrained, and had leisure to fetch in all sorts of provisions for their support, and to make and renew such fortifications as might be necessary for their defence. From Nottingham there came Sir John Digby, Sir Hugh Cartwright, and a son and nephew of his who had been under their command; many other gentlemen of the three counties were present." (Clarendon.)

"As soon as the castle had been reduced, they who were possessed of it were very willing to be under the command of Morrice; who declared he would not accept the charge, nor be Governor of the place, knowing well what jealousies he might be liable to, at least upon any change of fortune, but under the direction of Sir John Digby; who was Colonel General of those parts, and was a man rather cordial in the service, than equal to the command; which

* "Then two or three of them went to the Governor's chamber, whom they found in his bed, and told him 'the castle was surprised, and himself a prisoner.' He betook himself to his arms for his defence, but quickly found that his friend had betrayed it, and the other gentlemen appearing, of whom he had been before warned, his defence was to no purpose, yet he received some wounds. Morrice afterwards comforted him with assurance 'of good usage, and that he would procure his pardon from the King for his rebellion.'" (Clarendon.)

† The same day as the taking of the castle, Saturday. "They seized upon the main-guard, part of whom they had corrupted; and another party of the King's, lying in ambuscade near hand, entered and surprised the castle." (Whitelocke, Rushworth.)

made him refer all things still to the counsel, and conduct of those officers who were under him; by whose activity, as much was done as could be expected from such a knot of resolute persons." (Ibid.)

"We found in the castle a good quantity of salt and malt, with 4000 arms, and good store of ammunition, some cannon, and two mortar-pieces. We expected a siege very suddenly, and got what provisions of corn and cattle we could out of the country.

"Particularly in one sally, having notice that there were at Knottingley, three miles from the castle, 300 head of cattle, bought up in the north, going into the south, under a guard of two troops of horse, we marched out at night with 30 horse, and half a dozen foot, with half-pikes to drive the cattle. We faced the troops that guarded them, while our foot drove the herd towards the castle; then we followed, and kept between them and danger, the enemy not daring to charge us, and so we came all safe with our purchase into the castle. This, and other provisions we got in by several parties almost every night, enabled us to keep the castle above nine months, though we had not one month's provision when we were first beleaguered." (Paulden.)

Letters from the north. "The enemy have had their agents working with some or other of every castle in the north.—Langdale is in Westmorland—'tis thought he will wheel about for Pontefract if he can, and miss fighting. Pontefract is blocked up with about 800 horse and foot, which is all can possibly be made for the present; the enemy there increases, and are, as we hear, 250 horse, and 400 foot, so that that party cannot lay close siege." (Rushworth, under June 12.)

28. "A party of the enemy from Pontefract had possessed themselves of Axholme island near Trent." (Rushworth.)

30. "The enemy at Pontefract Castle still go on at pleasure, taking and plundering whom they please, and yet please to deal so with none but those who have been most active for the Parliament. Having quitted the Isle of Axholme, they came towards Lincoln, and yesterday entered the city, plundered the house of Capt. Pert, who is now in arms in Northumberland for the Parliament, and may do as much for them and many others, to the great damage if not ruin of them. They have prisoners Capt. Bees *, Capt. Fines, and others; Col. Rossiter was at a distance. They went further on, and took prisoner Mr. Ellis; they brag they have 3000 listed in Lincolnshire; but there are divers thousands in Leicester, Derby, Rutland, and Lincolnshire, who are ready to join against these. They killed one Mr. Smith in Lincoln, belonging to the Sequestration." (Rushworth.)

July 5. "Colonel Rossiter met with the Pontefract forces upon their return after their plundering voyage, and engaged them at a

* Bret. (Whitelocke.)

place called Willoughby Field, routed their whole party, consisting of about 1000, took the commander-in-chief and all his officers—the rest routed, but not many slain. Col. Rossiter unhappily wounded in the thigh.—List of the prisoners:—Sir Philip Mouncton, General; Sir Gilbert Byron, Major General; Robert Portington, Ralph Ashton, Lieutenant Colonels; Majors, Walter Saltingstall, Thomas Scot, John Scot, George Roberts, Edward Fitz-Randall; Captains, John Elvidge, William Bates, John Risby, John Munson, Thomas Byard, Anthony Wright (Pitket), John Rich, Arthur Lee (Downes), John Cooper, one of the sons of Sir Roger Cooper, William Saltmarsh, Edmond Monkton; Lieutenants, John Grinditch, Robert White, Edward Blundevell, Henry Lassell (Bradwell), Marmaduke Dilman; 4 cornets, 2 ensigns, 24 gentlemen of quality, who have many of them been officers formerly, about 500 prisoners taken, who were all horse, except 100 dragoons, amongst which, many gentlemen who will not yet discover themselves.—8 carriages taken with arms and ammunition: Colonel Pocklington and Colonel Cholmeley slain, with many others not yet found, because the fight was in the corn-fields; all their colours, bag and baggage taken." (Rushworth. Capt. Harwood, who brought the first letters on July 8, had 100*l.* given him by order of the House.)

"In a very short time afterwards, [after the sally to Knottingley,] we were besieged by Sir Edward Rhodes, and Sir Henry Cholmondly and 5000 men of regular troops *. But we kept a Gate open on the south side of the castle, which was covered by a small garrison we placed in an house called New-hall, belonging to the family of Pierrepoint, being about a musket-shot or two from the castle." (Paulden.)

Aug. 4. York. "A hot report was there of the Scots marching in a full body, within 10 miles of Skipton, towards Pontefract." (Rushworth.)

7. Nottingham. "Lieut.-General Cromwell took up his quarters there Thursday night last. The forces of Leicestershire, Nottingham, and Derbyshire, were conjoined and marched up to Pontefract, to release the forces that had surrounded that place, which by order were to march to Major-General Lambert. Sunday they advanced to Mansfield, and so to Rotheram: the train is expected there on Tuesday next." (Rushworth.)

11. Newcastle. "The Lieutenant-General remained at Doncaster from Monday to Wednesday, where most of his train being come up, he marched toward Lambert, but took Pontefract in his way, fell in and took 4 of the enemy. He hath left 11 troops there, and marched with his body to Lambert." (Rushworth.)

17. Hamilton defeated at Preston.

* Paulden says that Duke Hamilton's defeat was "some time after." We shall before that defeat meet with Rhodes and Cholmondley again.

20. The Scots "are so tired and in such confusion, that if my horse could but trot after them I could take them all. But we are so weary, we can scarce be able to do more than walk after them. I beseech you therefore, let Sir Henry Cholmely, Sir Edward Rhodes, Colonel Hatcher, and Colonel White, and all the countries about you, be sent to, to rise with you and follow them." (Cromwell to the Committee at York. Carlyle.)

23. "I have intelligence even now come to my hands, that Duke Hamilton with a wearied body of horse is drawing towards Pontefract, where probably he may lodge himself and rest his horse; as not daring to continue in those countries whence we have driven him, the country-people rising in such numbers, and stopping his passage at every bridge. Major-General Lambert, with a very considerable force, pursues him at the heels.—I am marching northward." (Same to same. Ibid.)

"Cromwell's marching towards the Scots with the neglect of these men [in Pontefract] after their appearance, and only appointing some county troops to enclose them from increasing their strength, gave them great opportunity to grow; so that, driving those troops to a greater distance, they drew contribution from all the parts about them, and made incursions much farther, (and took divers substantial men prisoners, and carried them to the castle, where they remained till they redeemed themselves by great ransoms,) and rendered themselves so terrible, that, after the Scottish defeat, those of Yorkshire sent very earnestly to Cromwell 'that he would make it the business of his army to reduce Pontfret.' But he, resolving upon his Scottish expedition (but believing that he should be in a short time capable to take vengeance upon those affronts), thought it enough to send Rainsborough to perform that service, with a regiment of horse, and one or two of foot, belonging to the army, (to restrain their adventures, and to keep them blocked up;) which with a conjunction of the county forces under the same command, he doubted not would be sufficient to perform a greater work." (Clarendon.)

Sept. 4. "Post letters this day certify that Sir Hugh Carteret and Sir John Digby are gone to Nottingham, upon their parol, to advise with Sir Marmaduke Langdale, prisoner there, upon the surrender of Pontefract Castle." (Rushworth.)

9. York. "At Pontefract the men run very fast away from the castle." (Ibid.)

13. "Letters were read from the Committee of York, that the treaty about Pontefract not taking effect, they must storm. 20,000*l.* was desired for supply of the soldiers. The Commons ordered that 12,000*l.* should be advanced for them." (Ibid.)

14. Brandspeth. "The Lieut.-General, with all the horse and foot, are marching up to the Borders, he having sent for Colonel White's and Col. Hacker's, [regiments,] lying about Pontefract, to march up to him with all speed." (Ibid.)

Oct. 2. Letters received from Cockermouth. "It hath been a

long time besieged by 500 countrymen. The Lieutenant-General ordered the Lancashire forces under Col. Ashton, with Col. Brig. Col. Hacker, and Col. White's regiments of horse, from Pontefract, to march up to their relief. They might, it is believed, have been there three weeks ago, but are not yet come up." (Rushworth.)

16. Letters came this day to the House from Pontefract, "that notwithstanding the besieging the castle, the enemy sallies out, went a good way into the country, fetched away Sir Arthur Ingram from his house, and carried him into the castle: but when Col. Rainsborow's regiment is come up, they shall keep them up closer." (Ibid.)

Newcastle. "The van of our army will be to-morrow as far as Pomfret, to wit, Col. Sanders regiment." (Rushworth.)

20. "A letter was this day read in the House which came from Sir Henry Cholmley, complaining that his Excellency the Lord Fairfax had given commission to Col. Rainsborow to command in chief before Pontefract Castle, and that the disparagement was great to him, he having an order to that purpose from the Committee of the Militia of Yorkshire, desiring the House to give some speedy order therein. The House hereupon ordered that a letter should be written to the Lord General, and this letter of Sir Henry Cholmley's enclosed therein, to acquaint him with this whole business, and to desire that his Excellency would be pleased to settle the same, so as it may be for preservation of the honour and clearing the fidelity of Sir Henry Cholmley, and likewise that the whole business may be carried on against the enemy with all the advantage that may be." (Ibid.)

21. "That night there came a letter from the Committee of York [to Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell, at Durham] desiring the Lieut.-General to march to Pomfret to take the care of reducing that place. He sent them word, that there were already upon their march two regiments of horse and two of foot, which would be there in four or five days, and he would come himself with what speed he could. He sent for three troops of dragoons from Derbyshire to meet him there, which he intends for the strengthening of the guards of horse; and to the Committee for 1000 working tools to be ready at his coming, as likewise what carts they could send." (Ibid.)

24. "A letter this day came from his Excellency in answer to that from the House concerning Sir Henry Cholmley—that he would be very tender of his honour, and would answer the House's expectation therein." (Ibid.)

28. York. "On Sherwood Forest I was set on by some troopers who disarmed me. By all circumstances they were Pontefract men. I then left Pontefract road, and went by Wenbridge, thinking to avoid them. I baited at Hatfield in the room where the Pomfret Castle soldiers were that took Sir Arthur Ingram, who is now at liberty, paying 1500*l.* for his ransom. They are very strong in Pontefract Castle, and go where they list; they are some 500 foot, and 140 horse; some 80 of them ride, armed *cap-a-pe*. They are desperate

men, and fall often upon our guards; they have wounded Capt. Clayton, and taken him and most of his troop the last week: they have fallen on Major Ivers, wounded his lieutenant dangerously, killed ten on the place, took both horse and men, fell upon Capt. Greatheads, wounded his lieutenant dangerously. They have since I came from London taken at least 200 head of cattle, above 100 oxen from grasiers. They sound a parley for a cessation, and make a fair of their horses near the castle, sell them to Sir Henry Cholmley's troopers, and in the cessation they drink to one another, '*Here is to thee, Brother Roundhead*,' and, '*I thank thee, Brother Cavalier*.' They have and do take much salt, corn, beasts, and horses from the country: they prepare for a better siege; for this day Lieut.-General Cromwel is expected to come with forces to block them up. The reason they go thus where they list is, first, all the forces that are against Pontefract, are under the command of Sir Henry Cholmley; and Col. Rainsborough being come to Doncaster, having a commission to command in chief from the Lord Fairfax, Sir Henry Cholmley, having commission from the Northern Committee, takes it a disparagement, and refuseth to let him have the command; so that Col. Rainsborough is come no nearer than Doncaster, and the poor country suffereth. Here is news, that when Lieut.-Gen. Cromwel cometh up with his forces, all the northern new militia shall be disbanded. Pontefract men have lately fetched off Mr. Clayton, steward to his Excellency the Lord Fairfax, ten miles of Leeds, at his manor at Denton, near Otley. There is no difference amongst the Pontefract blades as is printed, they agree too well." (Rushworth.)

"Some time after, we heard Duke Hamilton was beaten at Preston in Lancashire, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale taken prisoner, and brought to Nottingham Castle *. He was General of the English at Preston, who behaved themselves bravely, and, in truth, did all that was done there. He had also, as I said, been our General; we had his commission for taking the castle, as he had the Prince of Wales's, and we were resolved to run any hazard to release him. For it was commonly given out, that they intended to bring him before Pomfret Castle and to execute him in our sight, if we would not immediately surrender †.

"It being like to prove a tedious siege, General Rainsborough was sent from London by the Parliament, to put a speedy end to it. He was esteemed a person of great courage and conduct, exceeding zealous and fierce in their cause, and had done them great service by land, and also at sea, where he was for a time one of their admirals ‡.

* Where he remained, "under a most strict custody, as a man the Parliament declared they would make an example of their justice." (Clarendon.)

† "The Commons voted, on Nov. 6 following, that he should be exempted from mercy." (Rushworth.)

‡ "There was not an officer in the army whom Cromwell would not as willingly

His head quarters were for the present at Doncaster, being 12 miles from Pomfret, with 1200 foot; a regiment of his horse lay 3 or 4 miles on the east of Doncaster, and another at the like distance on the west.

"Capt. William Paulden, who commanded all the few horse in the castle, laid a design to surprise him in his quarters at Doncaster; not to kill him, but to take him prisoner, and exchange him for our own General, Sir Marmaduke Langdale; and it was only his own fault that he was not brought prisoner to the castle. The design seemed the more feasible, because the General and his men were in no apprehension of any surprise, the castle being 12 miles off, closely besieged, and the only garrison for the King in England."

27. "In order to execute this our purpose, Capt. William Paulden made choice of 22 men such as he most confided in. At midnight, being well horsed, we marched through the Gate that was kept open, over the Meadows, between two of the enemy's horse guards, whom, by the favour of the night, we passed undiscovered."

28. "Early the next morning, we came to Mexborough, a village 4 miles west above Doncaster, upon the River Don, where there was a ferry-boat. There we rested, to refresh ourselves and our horses, till about noon.

"In the meantime we sent a spy into Doncaster, to know if there was any discovery of a party being out, and to meet us, as soon as it was dark, at Cunsborough, a mile from Doncaster, which we did, and assured us, there was no alarm taken by the town, and that a man would meet us at sunrise*, who would give us notice if all was quiet."

29. "Thither the man came accordingly; the sign he was to bring with him, to be known by, was a Bible in his hand.

"Captain William Paulden then divided his 22 men into four par-

lost as this man, who was bold and barbarous to his wish, and fit to be entrusted in the most desperate interest, and was the man whom that party always intended to commit the maritime affairs to, when it should be time to dismiss the Earl of Warwick." (Clarendon.)

* Clarendon and the parliamentary correspondents seem to confine the sally to one night, from ignorance of the previous investigations. The horse (says Clarendon) went out in the beginning of the night, "and understood the ways, private and public, very exactly, and went so far, that about the break of day or a little after, in the end of August [October], they put themselves into the common road that led from York, by which ways the guards expected no enemy, and so slightly asked them whence they came? who negligently answered, and asked again 'where their General was?' saying 'they had a letter to him from Cromwell.' They sent one to shew them where the General was; which they knew well enough; and that he lay at the best inn of the town."

"Wednesday, Nov. 1. A letter this day came from Doncaster, that 40 horse sallied out of Pontefract on Sunday morning towards Doncaster, and killed the sentinel, then rid on. Three of them came to Doncaster, and asked for Col. Rainsborough's quarters about 5 a clock, and so to his chamber." (Rushworth.)

"Oct. 29. Col. Rainsborough slain." (Sir Geo. Wharton's chronology, in Paulden.)

ties: 6 were to attack the main-guard, 6 the guard upon the Bridge; 4 were ordered to General Rainsborough's quarters; and the Captain, with the remaining 6, after he had seen the four enter the General's lodgings, were to beat the streets, and keep the enemy from assembling.

"We presently forcing the first barricades, and the guards there dispersing into the country *, all the rest succeeded as we wished. The main-guard was surprised, we entering the Guard-chamber, and getting between them and their arms, bid them shift for their lives; the same was done to the guard upon the Bridge, their arms being thrown into the river †.

"The four that went to General Rainsborough's lodgings pretended to bring letters to him from Cromwell, who had then beaten the Scots. They met at the door the General's lieutenant, who conducted them up to his chamber, and told him, being in bed, that there were some gentlemen had brought him letters from General Cromwell ‡. Upon which they delivered Rainsborough a packet, wherein was nothing but blank paper. Whilst he was opening it, they told him he was their prisoner, but that not a hair of his head should be touched, if he would go quietly with them. Then they disarmed his Lieutenant, who had innocently conducted them to his chamber, and brought them both down stairs. They had brought a horse ready for General Rainsborough, upon which they bid him mount: he seemed at first willing to do it, and put his foot in the stirrup; but looking about him, and seeing none but four of his enemies, and his lieutenant and sentinel (whom they had not disarmed) standing by him, he pulled his foot out of the stirrup, and cried *Arms, Arms.* Upon this one of our men, letting his pistol and sword fall, because he would not kill him, catcht hold of him, and they grappling together, both fell down in the street. Then General Rainsborough's lieutenant catching our man's pistol that was fallen, Capt. Paulden's lieutenant, who was on horseback, dismounts and runs him through

* "Letters from Doncaster, that 40 horse sallied out of Pomfret towards Doncaster, where they killed the sentinel. Then three of them rode on to Doncaster, and asked for Col. Rainsborough's quarters, &c." (Whitelocke, under Nov. 1.)

† Clarendon postpones any hostile action until after the encounter with Rainsborough himself. "When the gate of the inn was opened to them, three of them only entered into the inn, the other rode to the other end of the town to the Bridge, over which they were to pass towards Ponfret; where they expected and did find a guard of horse and foot, with whom they entertained themselves in discourse, saying 'that they stayed for their officer, who went only in to speak with the General;' and called for some drink. The guards making no question of their being friends, sent for drink, and talked negligently with them of news; and it being broad day, some of the horse alighted and the foot went to the court of guard, conceiving that morning's work to be over."

‡ "And there called to him and said they had a letter from Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell. The Colonel rose and opened to them, for he expected such a letter as they pretended that morning, but they presently got him down, and ran him into the neck, and to the heart, with other wounds, and left him dead, and escaped without any hindrance given." (Rushworth.)

the body, as he was cocking the pistol. Another of our men ran General Rainsborough into the neck, as he was struggling with him that had caught hold of him; yet the General got upon his legs with our man's sword in his hand; but Capt. Paulden's lieutenant ran him through the body, upon which he fell down dead.

"Then all our parties met, and made a noise in the streets, where we saw hundreds of their soldiers in their shirts, running in the fields to save themselves, not imagining how small our number was. We presently marched over the Bridge, the direct way to Pomfret Castle, and all safely arrived there; carrying with us 40 or 50 prisoners, whom we met by 8 or 10 in a company. We took no prisoners at Doncaster; nor were any killed, or so much as hurt there, but General Rainsborough and his lieutenant, and they too very much against our will, because our main intention was defeated thereby, which, I told you, was to exchange and redeem our own General Langdale; who, however, the very night before, had fortunately made his own escape, and lived to see King Charles II.'s restoration, and to be made a peer of England for his eminent services in the war." (Paulden.)

Clarendon's account is as follows:—

"They who went into the inn, where no body was awake but the fellow who opened the gate, asked in which chamber the General (for so all the soldiers called Rainsborough) lay; and the fellow shewing them from below the chamber door, two of them went up, and the other stayed below, and held the horses, and talked with the soldier who had walked with them from the Guard. The two who went up, opened the chamber door, found Rainsborough in his bed, but awaked with the little noise they had made. They told him in short 'that he was their prisoner, and that it was in his power to choose whether he would be presently killed (for which work he saw they were very well prepared) or quietly, without making resistance, or delay, to put on his clothes and be mounted upon a horse, that was ready below for him, and accompany them to Pontfret.' The present danger awakened him out of the amazement he was in, so that he told them he would wait upon them, and made the haste that was necessary to put on his clothes. One of them took his sword, and so they led him down stairs. He that held the horses, had sent the soldier away to those who were gone before, to speak to them to get some drink, and any thing else, that could be made ready in the house, against they came. When Rainsborough came into the street, which he expected to find full of horse, and saw only one man, who held the others horses, and presently mounted that he might be bound behind him, he begun to struggle, and to cry out. Whereupon, when they saw no hope of carrying him away, they immediately run him through with their swords; and, leaving him dead upon the ground, they got upon their horses, and rode towards their fellows, before any in the inn could be ready to follow them. When those at the Bridge saw their companions coming, which was their sign, being well prepared, and know-

ing what they were to do, they turned upon the Guard, and made them fly in distraction; so that the way was clear and free; and though they missed carrying home the prize for which they had made so lusty an adventure, they joined together, and marched, with the expedition that was necessary, a shorter way than they had come, to their garrison; leaving the town, and soldiers behind in such a consternation, that, not being able to receive any information from their General, whom they found dead upon the ground without any body in view, they thought the devil had been there; and could not recollect themselves, which way they were to pursue an enemy they had not seen. The gallant party came safe home without the least damage to horse or man, hoping to make some other attempt more successfully, by which they might redeem Sir Marmaduke Langdale." (Clarendon.)

"His [Rainsborough's] corpse was sending up to London." (Rushworth.) "Buried at Wapping, Nov. 14." (Sir Geo. Wharton.)

November 3. "The Commons took notice of the horrid murder of Col. Rainsborow, and ordered that it should be referred to Lieut.-General Cromwell, to take special care and make strict examination concerning the said massacre, and to certify it with all speed to the House." (Ib.)

4. "Letters by a post extraordinary, who came to London [this] Saturday night from Pontefract, signify the great discontents of the country at Sir Henry Cholmley's ill management of the siege, his horse permitting the enemy since his last letter to the House (wherein he said he had cooped them up in the last hole) to fetch in 200 head of cattle at a time, and all other sorts of provisions, and to go out by parties, doing great mischiefs, and more particularly the horrid murder of Col. Rainsborow, and to return back again at noontime of the day, and not a pistol fired at them. Some of his own officers are bringing up articles to the House concerning him. Lieut.-General Cromwel is at Biron House, near Pontefract, and there continues till he hath so settled the several posts as that the enemy may not, as they have done, break forth, plunder and undo the county; which done, he goes to the head-quarters, as expected."

8. "Head Quarters. St. Alban's. The Lieut.-General is not yet come, but shortly expected. He hath much to do in the North about settling the sieges at Pontefract and Scarborough. A committee do also meet with the Lieut.-General by way of inquisition after the death of Col. Rainsborow, whose body will be in London on Tuesday next to be honorably interred."

"So soon as I came into these parts, I met with an earnest desire from the Committee of this county to take upon me the charge here for the reducing of the garrison of Pontefract. I received also commands from my Lord [illegible] to the same effect. I have had sight of a letter to the [illegible] mmons; wherein things are so repre-

sented, as if the siege were at such a pass that the prize were already gained.

"The castle hath been victualled with 220 or 240 fat cattle, within these three weeks; and they have also gotten in, as I am credibly informed, salt enough for them and more. So that I apprehend they are victualled for a twelvemonth." (Cromwell at Knottingley, on Nov. 13? King's Pamphlets. Carlyle.)

9. "We sent them a summons as followeth:—'Sir, Being come hither for the reduction of this place, I thought fit to summon you to deliver your garrison to me, for the use of the Parliament. Those gentlemen and soldiers with you may have better terms than if you should hold it to extremity. I expect your answer this day, and rest, your servant, OLIVER CROMWELL.'"

"The Governor gave this answer:—'Sir, I am confident you do not expect that I should pass my answer before I be satisfied that the summoner has power to perform my conditions, which must be confirmed by Parliament. Besides, the dispute betwixt yourself and Sir Henry Cholmley, commander in chief by commission of the committee of the militia of Yorkshire, who, as I am informed, denies all subordination to your authority, when my understanding is cleared in this concerning scruple, I shall endeavour to be as modest in my reply, as I have read you in your summons. Sir, your servant, JOHN MORRIS. Pontefract-Castle, Nov. 9, 1648. For Lieutenant-General Cromwel.' The soldiers called over the walls, asking why they had not a summons, by which we conceive the Governor did not let them know he had received one."

11. Near Pomfret. "We were going on with the siege or blocking up of Pomfret to admiration, considering our wants, compared with the season and discouragements from your parts. Upon our approach in order to a close siege, the enemy the last night quit the New-hall which they had fortified, and set it on fire. Our men suddenly quenched it, it became a very advantageous place and quarter, in reference to a close siege. We have possessed also a strong house near the Old Church, so that there comes not out a man: the case is altered with them. We go on apace with our Line *; my Lord General and Col. Bright's foot are upon duty; also Col. Fairfax's and Col. Maleverye's in the town.—Col. Cholmley's horse will be disbanded by the Committee, we like well Col. Bethel's. Langdale is escaped out of prison at Nottingham." (Rushworth.)

13? †. Knottingley. From Cromwell. "The men within are resolved to endure to the utmost extremity, expecting no mercy, as indeed they deserve none. The place is very well known to be one of the strongest inland garrisons in the kingdom; well watered; situated upon a rock in every part of it, and therefore difficult to

* The line of circumvallation shewn in the old view of the castle.

† Printed 15 by Carlyle, but the letter seems to have reached London on that day.

mine; the walls very thick and high, with strong towers; and, if battered, very difficult of access, by reason of the depth and steepness of the graft. The county is exceedingly impoverished; not able to bear free-quarter; nor well able to furnish provisions, if we had moneys. The work is like to be long, if materials be not furnished answerable. I therefore think it my duty to represent unto you as followeth: viz.—

"That moneys be provided for 3 complete regiments of foot, and 2 of horse;—that money be provided for all contingencies which are in view, too many to enumerate. That 500 barrels of powder, 6 good battering guns, with 300 shot to each gun, be speedily sent down to Hull:—we desire none may be sent less than demi-cannons. We desire also some match and bullet. And if it may be, we should be glad that 2 or 3 of the biggest mortar-pieces with shells may likewise be sent.

"And although the desires of such proportions may seem costly, yet I hope you will judge it good thrift; especially if you consider that this place hath cost the kingdom some hundred-thousands of pounds already. And for aught I know, it may cost you one more, if it be trifled withal; besides the dishonour of it, and what other danger may be emergent, by its being in such hands. It's true, here are some 2 or 3 great guns in Hull, and hereabouts; but they are unserviceable: and your garrisons in Yorkshire are very much unsupplied at this time.

"I have not as yet drawn any of our foot to this place; only I make use of Colonel Fairfax's and Colonel Malevrier's foot regiments; and keep the rest of the guards with the horse; purposing to bring on some of our foot tomorrow. The rest,—these parts being not well able to bear them,—are a little dispersed in Lincoln and Nottingham shires, for some refreshment; which after so much duty they need, and a little expect.

"And indeed I would not satisfy myself nor my duty to you and them, to put the poor men, at this season of the year, to lie in the field: before we be furnished with shoes, stockings and clothes, for them to cover their nakedness,—which we hear are in preparation, and would be speeded:—and until we have deal-boards to make them courts-of-guard, and tools to cast up works to secure them." (Carlyle.)

15. "Referred to the Committee of the Army, to consider of the several particulars mentioned in the Lieut.-General's letter, and to supply them with all convenient speed."

Order for "250 barrels of powder, with match and bullet proportionable, for the better carrying on of the work before Pontefract and Scarborough *."

18. "Ordered that the officers of the stores of the Tower should

* Col. Boynton had declared for the [illegible] rendered the castle of Scarborough to Col. Bethel, on Dec. 19.

believe but the [illegible] with their [illegible] to be [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]."

[illegible] "The governor of the castle of Pontefract is very [illegible] to have his prisoners now in our custody at Hull [illegible] to keep us in fear of him; whereupon we gather that he wants a competent number of men, and is in penurie, for we [illegible] that he hires a company, and many of quality [illegible] to have the passes for their coming forth. They are [illegible] but one sally with some 60 musketeers, and were beaten in [illegible] [illegible]. Col. Worsley's regiment is expected every hour to take the duty of my Lord General's regiment at foot. Major-General Lambert came to us on Monday last. His three regiments of horse and two troops of dragoons are upon the edge of Yorkshire [illegible]. The Lord-General will go northwards after 14 days, and will take along with him the residue of the army forces that are here, many of the regiments being already upon their march to [illegible]. All the regiments here have protestations for my Lord General against the treaty, for justice &c. [illegible] for the King's trial, and a settlement of the kingdom. They desired the Lieut.-General to recommend their petitions to my Lord General, which he hath done." (Rushworth, who also prints Cromwell's letter.)

December 4. From Pontefract leaguer by letters this day, to this purpose:—"The Lieut.-Gen. Cromwel being gone to London*, Major-Gen. Lambert is appointed to come in chief to the leaguer. The Lord is drawn three parts about the castle, and we are now raising works for [illegible]: and though the enemy are penned up that they dare not stir forth, yet they are very active both with great and small shot, and sometimes do us hurt. They have very few or no horse in the castle: they are about 500 in the castle, gentlemen and others. The soldiers are very poorly clad, and cannot be induced to make a sally: at least 60 of them are fallen sick at this time. They have plenty of all sorts of provision for a siege, and if nothing else hinder, they will not be starved in 12 months. Capt. Jackson is now by order from Lieut.-Gen. Cromwel removed from the Scarborough leaguer to Pontefract, and they are upon their march by the way of Helmsley Castle." (Rushworth.)

12. *Pontefract.* "This day according to former appointment there was a general meeting of officers here who resolved upon a declaration to be presented to your Lordship and your General Council, and appointed Capt. Bayns with Capt. Bradford to wait upon your Excellency therewith.—They have appointed a standing council of officers to meet on Friday every week to receive, consult, and advise upon such public affairs as your Excellency or your General Council shall think fit from time to time to communicate to

* There are letters from him at Knottingley up to 25 Nov., printed by Carlyle. They are remarkable enough, but not connected with siege operations. He arrived in London on the night of Dec. 6, the day of "Pride's Purge," which converted the minority of the House into a majority for bringing the King to trial.

them." (Lambert to Fairfax. Rushworth, who prints part of the Remonstrance which accords with the proceedings of the army in general.)

20. "The House approved of what the Committees of Nottingham and Derby had done for relief of the forces before Scarborough and Pontefract." (Whitelocke.)

30. Pontefract. "Our approaches go on very forward, though our want of pay be great. The enemy seem much divided, and more discontented, some coming out daily to escape. Our guns are come to us, and we shall begin to make batteries within these few days. It's great pity the militia of this county should be disbanded, many of them being very honest." (Rushworth.)

1648-9. January 6. Pontefract. "The guns will be here next week. Our men are raising new batteries. I hope all will be ready for the guns when they come." (Cornet John Baynes *.)

Same date. "The Major-General is not returned from the disbanding Col. Rodes and Col. Cholmley's regiments of horse, the work having proved very difficult and troublesome; yet by this time the business is well nigh over. There is no visible disquiet in these parts nor any thing tending thereto; if this unlucky hole were but reduced, which, I fear, may be too long yet, and will be the utter undoing of this poor country, besides the continuance of our miserable hard duty in this extreme unseasonable weather, more than all the forces of the kingdom besides. We have lately had several councils of war here for the trial of offenders, wherein we have proceeded to the execution of exemplary justice upon some, to the great satisfaction of the country and reformation of the army here.—The well-affected in these parts do greatly rejoice, the malignants are as much troubled, against [at] your gallant proceedings against Charles Stuart.—The poor people in these parts are afraid of Jocky [the Scots] again, hearing rumours as if they were preparing for a second invasion; and I perceive that is the great hope of this besieged enemy.—We find in the list of the King's jury there is no officer of our brigade mentioned for those of the army. Is it not a little disobligement?" (Thomas Margetts.)

13. "The Major-General lately returned thither from the disbanding of two militia regiments of horse, and is now again gone to the disbanding of Col. Bethel and the foot regiments lately before Scarborough.—The enemy is yet resolute and keeps us upon hard duty, but I hope in a short time he will appear but fool-hardy. Our guns and mortar-pieces, together with the ammunition is now come into this town, and they will play very shortly. They now and then drop

* The ensuing letters from the Baynes's, Margetts and Bright at Pomfret to Captn. Adam Baynes in London are from "The Roundheads before Pontefract," in 17 and 18 Tait's Ed. Mag. The anxiety of Margetts for the murder of the King, mixed with much religious profession, may be seen by reference to the letters in extenso in that work.

away out of the castle, but are still very active with their great and small shot to prevent our work.—The post was late before it came. The Major-General gone before about disbanding the Lord Fairfax, Lilburne gone to London and most of the other officers out of town except Col. Bright (who you know dissents), so that your letter to the Council is not yet delivered, but I shall get it delivered as soon as considered as [soon as] I possibly can; indeed we never had Council of public affairs since you went, we have so few attending." (Margetts.)

19 Pontefract Leaguer. "By this post is sent to his Excellency and General Council, a letter congratulating their happy proceedings. The Major-General is still upon disbanding the forces late in the Scarborough, and not returned hither. We are with our approaches come very near the walls of the castle, so that the enemy do present us with stones, and now and then kill a man: few recover that are wounded." (Rushworth.)

"... Wednesday, the enemy made a sally upon our nearest guard to them, beat them up, took 14 prisoners and killed 3 or 4, and then were forced in again. Mr. Beamond, parson of Kirby, is apprehended for holding secret cypher intelligence with the enemy in the castle, the matter is clear, and I think the gallows will shortly have him.* The Major-General is yet upon his troublesome disbanding work at Col. Bethell." (Margetts.)

30 The King beheaded.

"We solemnly proclaimed King Charles II. in [the castle]." (Paulden.)

31 "... I have received two letters from you, the later by Lieut. Lawens, wherein you give me answer concerning your horse. There is 7 or 8 horses to run, but we shall, I think, come in a good place at the worst. Your man Henry hath no mind to ride, for he is above weight, so I think I shall get Corp. Rooke.—I heard something of your letter to me and Mr. Allott, but I shall speak to him the first opportunity I have.—The King's death is very harshly digested by most, and almost all the country." (Rob. Baynes.)

Some date. "That the King is executed is good news to us; only some few honest men, and all the cavaleirs bemoan him.—They of this castle do us daily some harm: one of our morter-pieces has begun to play, and I hope it ... done some execution. All our guns are not yet in a capacity of battering; only one or two play now and then at the battlements. The rogues within have no shells for their morter piece, but yesterday they shot out of the same piece a very great stone, which fell into the next chamber to the Major-General's but hurt none. I pray you excuse me to Dr. Slane. I should have

* "They discovered many of the country who held correspondence with and gave intelligence to the castle, whom they apprehended, whereof there were two divines, and some women of note, friends and allies to the besieged." (Clarendon.)

It was at the house of Mr. George Beaumont that the plan of the surprise of the castle was discussed.

written to him this post, but am just now going to muster one of the militia regiments." (Cornet John Baynes.)

Same date. "On Thursday last Capt. Bradford came to this town, by whom I received your letter.—Malignants talk much of the King's death: well affected are well satisfied. Malignants plot privately to relieve this castle, and gather together in woods as we are informed, but we have sent parties to apprehend and prevent them. The enemy hold out resolutely in hopes of relief, but I believe would come to fair terms, for they would have another summons. The Major-General hath now done disbanding, and returned hither, but at present is saluting his lady at Corbrook. Yesterday the enemy sallied forth to beat us out of our trenches near Swillington tower, killed us one man and were beaten in again. Our mortar-pieces have made some work among them, and I believe will make more. They have heard of the King's death, and seem to be more resolute upon it, but I believe it will make some of them slink." (Margetts.)

"Munday, Feb. 5. The intelligence from Pontefract is this: the beseiged have lately made two sallies forth, but repulsed without any great losse to us. In the last they killed but one man of ours, and we took two of theirs prisoners, one of which had a small parcell of silver in his pocket, somewhat square; on one side thereof was stampt a castle with P. O. for Pontefract, on the other side was the crown with C. R. on each side of it. These pieces they make of plate which they get out of the country, and pass among them for coyn *. They cry they will have a king whatever it cost them." (The Kingdome's Faithfull and Impartial Scout, Feb. 2 to 9, 1648.)

"Letters from Pontefract, that one Beaumont a priest was executed, for corresponding with the garrison in characters, and he chose to die, rather than to discover the characters †." (Whitelocke, under Feb. 19.)

24. "These parts are yet quiet, and we hope will be kept so till this castle be taken, which, though it be not certain, yet now we hope will not be long. If Jocky will not be quiet, we fear the late disbanding of forces, particularly in these northern parts, and the design of sending so many out of England into Ireland, may give advantage to the enemies' designs in these two nations." (Margetts.)

"Then we were close shut up, without hope of relief, and our provisions well nigh spent, which put us upon capitulating." (Paulden.)

March 3. "This day we enter into a treaty for the surrender of

* Some notice of the siege pieces will be found in the introductory matter.

† He was tortured to force him to a discovery of the cyphers and the names of his friends. On his refusal they hung him before the walls of the castle. It is said that one of his relatives was compelled to assist at his execution. (17 Tait, 744.)

"Mr. Beaumont, vicar of South Kirkby," buried there, 18 Feb. 1648. (Hunter.)

this castle. They were not summoned: the overture was made by them, so that it will come the easier, though I believe there will be some tugging before any be agreed to be delivered to mercy. We cannot give a certain judgment what the issue will be, but we believe if the treaty break, they will be broken within too. Morris, in his letter of overture, saith they are not ashamed to live, nor afraid to die, and they give out they will die with their swords in their hands like men, but certainly they are brought into a low condition *." (Margetts.)

9. "For Joseph there is moneys and clothes sent him already. The horse course at Clifford was put off for a month by the Major-General's order, therefore is not altogether resolved to run, because we shall run upon great disadvantages. Col. Bright was about me 6 weeks ago to be his ensign; but in regard I must have neglected all other occasions to have attended the place, and the pay being so small, I desired to be excused, but he is yet very importunate with Cornet Baynes to have me, of which I thought to inform you. They are this day to parley for the surrender of the castle. I hope they will agree about it, for the soldiers and gentlemen will have good terms, they surrendering 6 to mercy †." (Rob. Baynes.)

"The garrison of Pontefract brake off their treaty of rendition, because Major-General Lambert insisted to have some excepted from mercy, whereupon some papers with stones were thrown over the walls to inform the soldiers of it," (Whitelocke,) "offering honourable conditions, saving that six persons were to be excepted from any benefit of the articles, who were not to be named till after the articles were signed by the Governor. The Governor, Col. Morice, hereupon called the officers of the castle together, and we unanimously promised, we would never agree to deliver any person up, without his consent." (Paulden.)

10. "I acquainted you by the last that we were upon treaty with the Castillians ‡ then, but 6 being excepted to be delivered to mercy they refused to treat any further, since which time we threw some papers tied to stones over their walls, to put all the unexcepted persons upon a way to redeem themselves by delivering up the castle and the 6 prisoners within 14 days. This paper coming to the

* "Full of sickness in the garrison." (Whitelocke.)

"We have sent 10 troops of horse into Leicestershire, there to remain upon free quarter till the warrants be satisfied. This day one of the Castilians brought a letter from the General to the Major-General, the substance whereof for ..... which were granted the commissioners named on our part; but it being so near night we cannot expect their return till tomorrow." (Bright.)

† "Lambert answered that 'he knew they were gallant men, and that he desired to preserve as many of them, as was in his power to do, but he must require six of them to be given up to him, whose lives he could not save; which he was sorry for, since they were brave men; but his hands were bound.'" (Clarendon.)

‡ Morris had a son "*Castilian* Morris, borne in the time of the siege of Pomfret Castle." (Dugd. Visit.)

Governor's ear, he sent out two gentlemen, viz.: Col. Roger Portington, and Capt. Thomas Paulden, to the General about it, and after the delivery of their message, and some discourse, they agreed to treat again this day. They pretend honour and conscience will not let them deliver up any: it will be murder, they say, in them, and the first precedent of that kind in England; but I believe the thought of self-preservation will make them deny their honour, forget their conscience, and put them upon some way of satisfying us and accepting of reasonable terms.—I think the business will be done, though indeed they are able, if resolute, to hold out a great while still." (Margetts.)

"I only wish that some of these Cavaliers may go the same way (living and dying) with Goring, &c.; for that they have loved a life to be with their comrades rather in hell (as some have said) than in heaven with the Roundheads." (John Baynes.)

"It's hoped this castle will not hold out: some papers were thrown in which have begot some divisions amongst them. This day we are to meet and resolve to insist upon six persons to be delivered up to justice. Both our mortar-pieces have played this week; little execution to any within the castle, saving the ruining of some rooms, by which means firing is more plentiful among them than usual; in truth, so extreme strong is the castle timber, that if our grenadoes break through one story it goes no further." (Col. John Bright.)

"Upon this promise [that we would not agree to deliver any person up, without his consent,] our Governor sent six officers out of the castle, to treat with the same number named by Major-General Lambert. Of our number I was one. When we met, we told them, that we came to capitulate about the surrender of the castle, but they could not expect that we would deliver ourselves up to execution. Upon which, Col. Bright, the first of their commissioners, told us, that he had authority from Major-General Lambert, to engage, that none of us that treated, should be any of the excepted persons. We told him, that perhaps the Governor might be one of them. He answered, that he did believe the Major-General did not so much look upon the Governor, as some that had betrayed the castle to us, when it was taken. So we parted for that time, without concluding any thing." (Paulden.)

"At our return to the castle, we acquainted the Governor with all had passed; some of our Commissioners telling him that Col. Bright had engaged he should not be excepted: The Governor asked me what I thought of it. I plainly told him I thought he was intended to be one, and repeated to him the very words that Col. Bright had spoke, which made me suspect he would be excepted, because he had not engaged that the Governor should not be, as he had that we that treated should not, but left it ambiguous. Then one of our Commissioners told him, that Lieut.-Col. Crooke had assured him that our Governor was none of the excepted; upon which, he resolved

we should go out, and conclude; saying generously, that if he was excepted, he would take his fortune, and would not have so many worthy gentlemen perish for his sake.

"Upon this, I desired the Governor to send somebody else in my place, for I had promised solemnly I would never consent to deliver him up: (which he would have had me sworn to before, but I told him my word should be as good as my oath.)" (Paulden.)

17. "This is the last day of treaty with this enemy. Yesterday they concluded upon a surrender upon Monday next, but could not well agree about delivering the six excepted persons to mercy. The Castillians propound to leave the said six in the castle, and our Commissioners plead to have them delivered into our hands; for, if they be left in the castle, they may, before we can be possessed of them, do us more harm than we can imagine. They are not yet nominated to their Commissioners, but it is concluded that, after the sealing of the articles, they shall know them by names. How they will this day agree I know not; but our Commissioners are resolved to keep close to what we have propounded, and not to yield to their terms. Morris is one of the excepted." (John Baynes.)

"So they went out, and concluded, and signed the articles. And after signing of them, they brought to us, in the castle, the names of the excepted persons, whereof the Governor was the first.

"Their names were:—Colonel Morice, our Governor; Allen Austwick, Captain W. Paulden's * lieutenant, as one of those that killed Rainsborough; Blackborne, Captain Paulden's cornet, for the same reason; Major Ashby, Ensign Smyth, Serjeant Floyd, these three had been our correspondents in the castle when we surprised it." (Paulden.)

"We were not obliged to deliver up any of these excepted persons, but they had liberty to make their escape if they could, which they attempted on horseback, the next evening, by charging through the enemy's army. At that very time their guard unluckily happened to be relieving, so that the number was doubled they were to break through †.

* "My brother, Capt. William Paulden, died of a fever in the castle, a month before it was surrendered. My other brother, Capt. Timothy Paulden, was killed in the fight at Wiggan, being then major of horse to Col. Matthew Boynton, under the command of the Earl of Derby." (Paulden.)

† "The six excepted by him were Colonel Morrice, and five more whose names he found to have been amongst those who were in the party that had destroyed Rainsborough; which was an enterprise no brave enemy would have revenged in that manner: nor did Lambert desire it, but Cromwell had enjoined it him: all the rest he 'was content to release, that they might return to their houses, and apply themselves to the Parliament for their compositions, towards which he would do them all the good offices he could. They from within acknowledged his civility in that particular, and would be glad to embrace it, but they would never be guilty of so base a thing, as to deliver up any of their companions;' and therefore they desired 'they might have six days allowed them, that those six might do the best they could to deliver themselves; in which it should be lawful for the rest to assist them;' to which

"The Governor and Blackborne charged through, and escaped, but were taken in Lancashire about ten days after." (Paulden.)

"Himself with two more excepted persons (whereof Michaell Blackburne his cornet was one) and two servants, with great courage and resolution, made their way through two works guarded by about 500 foot and horse, and got clear from them into Lancashire, having had a promise from General Lambert (who besieged him) that if he could escape but 5 miles from that castle, he should not be liable to any farther question." (Dugd. Visit.)

"Smyth was killed in the attempt *. Austwick, Ashby, and Floyd †, were forced back into the castle, where they hid themselves in a private sally-port, which we had covered, designing to take the castle again by it, when there should happen a fair opportunity. Thence they made their escape the next night after the castle was surrendered ‡, and all lived till after the King's return §." (Paulden.)

"Sir John Digby lived many years after the King's return, and was often with his Majesty." (Clarendon.)

Lambert generously consented, 'so that the rest would surrender at the end of that time;' which was agreed to. Upon the first day the garrison appeared twice or thrice, as if they were resolved to make a sally, but retired every time without charging; but the second day they made a very strong and brisk sally upon another place than where they had appeared the day before, and beat the enemy from their post, with the loss of men on both sides; and though the party of the castle was beaten back, two of the six (whereof Morrice was one) made their escape, the other four being forced to retire with the rest. And all was quiet for two whole days; but in the beginning of the night of the fourth day, they made another attempt so prosperously, that two of the other four likewise escaped: and the next day they made great shews of joy, and sent Lambert word, 'that their six friends were gone (though there were two still remaining) and therefore they would be ready the next day to surrender.'" (Clarendon.)

* "His body was borne off by his friends, and buried in the chapel of St. Clement." (18 Tait, 40.)

† But the parliamentary letters quoted by Whitelocke, the memoir of Morris in Dugdale's Visitation, and Clarendon, all agree that at least three escaped.

‡ "The other two thought it to no purpose to make another attempt, but devised another way to secure themselves, with a less dangerous assistance from their friends, who had lost some of their own lives in the two former sallies to save theirs. The buildings of the castle were very large and spacious, and there were great store of wast stones from some walls, which were fallen down. They found a convenient place, which was like to be least visited, where they walled up their two friends in such a manner that they had air to sustain them, and victual enough to feed them a month, in which time they hoped they might be able to escape. And this being done, at the hour appointed they opened their ports, and after Lambert had caused a strict inquisition to be made for those six, none of which he did believe had in truth escaped, and was satisfied that none of them were amongst those who were come out, he received the rest very civilly, and observed his promise made to them very punctually, and did not seem sorry that the six gallant men (as he called them) were escaped." (Clarendon.)

§ Except Austwick. "Alan Austwick, lieutenant of horse in the service of K. Charles I. and one of the persons excepted for life upon the render of Pontefract Castle 21 Martii, 1648. Died unmarried anno 1655. Buried at Standon in Wiltshire." (Dugd. Visit.: Austwick of Pontefract.)

22. "Pontefract Castle surrendered." (Sir George Wharton's short chronology, in Paulden.)

24. "Letters received that Pontefract Castle was surrendered upon articles, six persons were excepted, whereof three escaped, that the soldiers and officers were to go to their homes, first subscribing an engagement not to advise, act or take up arms against the Parliament or Commonwealth of England; that they had two months' provisions and 40 barrels of powder in the castle." (Whitelocke.)

Same date. Pontefract. "Mr. Margetts being come up with the news of surrender of this castle will (I know) acquaint you more fully with particulars than I can write, that I shall not need to trouble you with repetitions, nor would I willingly be the relater of the bad success your horse had at Clifford Moor. The chief news is now that the grand jury at York, the judge, and committee, and almost all this country, are about petitioning to get this castle pulled down. Our forces are sent several ways to quarter; viz.: Major-General's, part to Lincolnshire, part to Darbyshire, and I think your troop is one that goes to the latter; my regiment, part in Rutlandshire, and part in Leicestershire, and my major at Newark; Col. Rookeby, part in Darbyshire, 3 troops in Leicestershire, and 2 in Lancashire; Col. Bright's regiment about Chesterfield and Rotherham, Col. Fairfax in the West Riding, Col. Mauleverar in Nottinghamshire, Col. Wastall's in the North Riding, and the loose companies in the East Riding, and one troop there, and one about Doncaster, and one in Cleveland." (Rob. Lilburne to Adam Baynes.)

1649. *March* 27. "A letter and petition received from the Grand Jury of Yorkshire, acknowledging with humble thanks the justice of the Parliament in their late proceedings, and engaging to join with them, and desiring Pontefract Castle may be demolished, and some other forts thereabouts *." (Whitelocke.)

"A letter from Major-General Lambert, from Knottingley, of 22 March, 1648, was read. Articles agreed upon for the rendition of Pontfract Castle were read. This House doth approve of them. The petition of the Mayor, Aldermen, and all the well-affected inhabitants of the town Pontfract, was read. Ordered, that it be referred to the committee of the West Riding of the county of York, to take care that the said castle be forthwith totally demolished and levelled to the ground. The materials thereof to be preserved from being embezzled, and, by sale of so much of them as will be necessary, to satisfy in the first place, the charges of demolishing and levelling the same. And that so much of the remainder of the material as shall be of the value of 1000*l.* be allotted to the town of Pontfract, towards the repairing their place of public worship, and re-edifying an habitation for the minister.

* From the Journals they seem also to have referred to the displacing of ignorant, scandalous and malignant ministers, and the misdemeanors and disservice of Sir Henry Cholmley whilst employed against the castle.

"A letter from the General of 26 March, touching Major-General Lambert, was read. Ordered, that 300*l.* per annum, land of inheritance out of the demesnes of Pontfract upon a true survey thereof, at a full value, as the same were in 1641, be settled upon Major General Lambert and his heirs for ever, in respect of his many great and eminent services, performed with much care, courage, and fidelity, by the said Major-General in the northern parts, as well against the Scots' army the last summer, as against the forces of Sir Marmaduke Langdale and otherwise, and in reducing the castle of Pontfract, being the last garrison in England held out against the Parliament; and in respect of his extraordinary charge therein, he not having been allowed any pay as Major-General. Ordered, that 50*l.* be given to Mr. Margetts, who brought news of the surrender. Ordered, that a letter of thanks and respect from the House be sent to Major-General Lambert and likewise the like letter to the Yorkshire gentlemen that sent up these petitions." (Journals.)

Sans date. "I am glad to hear that Pontefract Castle is to be demolished. I beseech you make it your business to expedite that work, and, if possible, procure the votes and orders to them that are to see it done to be sent down by the next post. I pray you advise with the Judge Advocate therein and neglect no time to expedite it [as it,] as well you know, very much concerns the quiet of these parts." (Lambert to A. Baynes.)

"Colonel Morris, late Governor of Pontefract Castle, and one Cornet Blackburn, who had a hand in the death of Colonel Rainsbrough, and both excepted persons at the rendition of the castle, were taken at Lancaster [read, in Lancashire] in disguises," (Whitelocke, under Ap. 4,) "about ten days after [their escape], seeing for a ship to pass beyond sea." (Paulden.)

"Notwithstanding which assurance [of Lambert that he should not be liable to question beyond 5 miles of the castle] they most perfidiously took him at Oreton in Furnesse Fells, one Bell a presbyterian minister and Wrench a Parliament captain first discovering him, and Sawrey a Justice of Peace, with Fell a colonel, committing him to the castle of Lancaster." (Dugd. Visit.)

April 7. "I have received yours (for which I give you thanks) and also the order for demolishing of Pontefract Castle, and have great assurance of the effectual and speedy demolishing thereof; all men declaring much freeness for the effecting thereof. Upon Monday next the workmen begin, and, first, they are to take down the Great tower. I have made enquiries into the Queen's revenues about Pontefract, and find it to be a very distracted thing, there being very little demesne land; but so much as is I intend to get surveyed.—I also purpose to make enquiry of some other demesne lands belonging to the same revenue here in the north, that it may be, with convenience, the want of the other may be supplied." (Lambert to A. Baynes.)

"The value of all the materials belonging the Castle of Pontefract,

sold: and of the money received and debts owing, also the charge demolishing the same, the 5th of April 1649 *.

"Demolishing the Round tower, 80*l.* 10*s.*—Pulling down the Ba bacan wall, 20*l.* 5*s.*—Levelling the earthen mount, called Nevil mount, and the Barbacan wall from the Great stable to the L drawbridge, 10*l.*—Paid Jasper Ellis, by an order from the Committ of the 27th of April, for monies laid out about removing the amm nition from Pontefract Castle to York, and for carrying it up in Cliffo tower, 4*l.* 4*s.*—Taking down the timber from the Round tower, Quee tower and King's tower, and other buildings about the same, 35*l.*—D molishing the two Skreens from the Gatehouse to the Round tow and thence to the Treasurer tower, 34*l.*—Timber taking down fr the Chapel, Constable tower, and all the rest of the buildings to t Gatehouse, 35*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*—Taking down the timber from off the t Gatehouses, 2*l.*—Taking down the timber of the Treasurer's tow Gascoygne tower, the Great kitchen, and so to the Great ha 34*l.* 5*s.*—Paid more for the Great hall timber, and the Gatehou taking down, 12*l.* 5*s.*—Demolishing the King and Queen's tow and all the buildings betwixt the same, 104*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.*—Demolishi the two Out-gatehouses and the Skreen by the Constable tow 15*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*—Demolishing the Constable tower, and all the oth buildings from the King's tower to the Gatehouse, as also the Tre surer tower, Gascoigne tower, the Great kitchen, and all the oth buildings from the Skreen unto the Great hall, 201*l.*—Pulling dow the Skreen between the Upper gatehouse and the Round towe also for the Guard-house, 1*l.* 10*s.*—Pulling off the iron from off t three Gates, the two Drawbridges, and the timber of the Low dra bridges taking up, 2*l.* 16*s.*—Filling up the Graff at the Low dra bridge, and pulling down part of the Skreen, close by the Constab tower, 1*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.*—Removing timber out of the fall of a tower, 3*s.*- Taking down the timber from Swillington tower, 1*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*—Mel ing of lead into pigs, 4*l.* 10*s.*—Filling up the Graff at the Upp drawbridge, and the Chapel walls pulling down, 4*l.* 10*s.*—Simo Procter for felling down Swillington tower, 8*l.* 10*s.*—Simon Procte more, in regard we did conceive that he had a losing bargain upo former work [the demolishing of King's and Queen's towers &c., supra], 4*l.*—Several messengers sending abroad into several parts the country, to seek out experienced workmen, for the speedy dem lishing of the castle: expended at several contracts making: give to workmen for their encouragement at the falls of several tower with other incident charges, 20*l.*—Baring of timber from under th fall of Constable tower, 2*l.* 14*s.*—Two paper books, and to the ju tice's clerks for drawing the orders betwixt the committee and th trustees, 10*s.*—To a maimed workman that was to return to his ow home at Malton, towards his charges, 5*s.*—Lancelot Lamb, for h care and good services in the work, 10*s.*—Seven soldiers, by ord

* Probably the date of the contracts for work.

from Captain Ward, for work done by them, 7*s.*—5 st. 5 lb. of iron, for making crows for pulling off lead, 14*s.* 8*d.*—Crows making and shovels shoeing, 4*l.* 4*s.*—Several labourers, for work done, 3*l.* 11*s.* 5*d.*—John Smith, for work done, 2*l.* 10*s.*—Six carpenters for loading timber that was secured from burning by the soldiers, and surveying the rest of the timber, 1*l.*—Taking crooks out of the walls, 10*s.*—Demolishing the Great hall, and the Inner gatehouse, 37*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*—Taking the lead of the castle down, 5*l.*—Lime and workmanship, for the two Drawbridges walling up of either side, 1*l.* 10*s.*—Loan of beam and weights for weighing of lead, 5*s.* 4*d.*—Cools to several guards to secure the timber from burning, 18*s.*—Several draughts for leading timber out of the Castle garth, to secure it from the soldiers, 3*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.*—Several bulwarks pulling down, about and near the castle, 12*s.*—Two counsellors' fees for advice how to proceed in suit, and in whose names, for materials sold and not paid for, 1*l.*—Paid by Mr. Robert Moore to several workmen and labourers, [ten weeks of varying amounts,] 73*l.* 19*s.* 5*d.*

"Lead taken off Pontefract Castle, and sold [including wood for smelting, 2*l.* 10*s.*], 1640*l.* 16*s.* 11*d.*, whereof monies owing, 100*l.* 9*s.* 9*d.* [Among the items is "Sold to the Churchwardens of Barnsley, 20 cwt. at 10*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*"]—Iron belonging to the castle is 79 cwt. 3 qrs. 27 lb. sold at 10*s.* per cwt. amounts to 40*l.* whereof monies owing for iron. Col. Overton by an order from the Lord General, for the public service for the drawbridges for Hull, had iron teams delivered him to the value of 2*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.*—May the 7th, 1649, money received for timber, 201*l.* 7*s.* 10*d.* [including the following items:—"Timber for the Church, 20*l.*, timber for the windmill, 2*l.*, for the remainder of the timber in Brame garth, 5*l.*"]—Monies received for glass, 1*l.*—Debts owing for timber, 42*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.* [including;—"Col. Overton, by an order from the Lord General, for the public service of Hull for timber, 8*l.* 6*s.*"]

"Received, 1779*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.*—The charge for demolishing, 777*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.*: monies allotted unto the town, 1000*l.*—The rest due to the Commonwealth, 2*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.*—Debts owing for materials, which are due unto the Commonwealth, 145*l.* 11*s.* 7*d.*" (Compressed from Gent's copy out of Fairfax papers at Denton.)

May 5. "Order for the Speaker to give passes to those who by the articles of Pontefract were to go beyond sea." (Whitelocke.)

. . . . . Pontefract. "I pray remember the business of Lieutenant Wrench *, and get a commission for his trial either here or by the Council of War, that he may have justice, and his enemies may not be his Judges. Understanding since my coming hither that a commission was sent to Ma.-Genl. Lambert at his last going to London

* There is a later letter from him to Capt. Adam Baynes, thanking him for his attention to sundry commissions, and stating that he has left the army and become a countryman.

for the trying of Morris, I desire you will please to move the Ma. General to authorise and appoint some fit persons here to meet and consult about the preparing of a charge and examination of witnesses in order to his trial against his running down, and to give order for his sending for that purpose if he so think fit. And if so, I humbly offer that Major Cotterell may be one." (Margetts.)

Aug. 16. York assizes, before Thorpe and Pulisdon, the usurpers' judges.

Col. John Morris was indicted on the statute of 25 Edw. III. *for levying war against the late King Charles.* When arraigned, he said that that Court could not try him, a military man, who ought to be tried by a council of war, and with difficulty was persuaded to plead Not Guilty. Then the Jury was called over and Mr. Brooke coming to be sworn as foreman, Morris challenged him, but was told it was too late, for he was already sworn. Morris replied he had not kissed the book. The Court said that was a needless ceremony. Then Morris challenged him for cause, alleging he was his enemy. The Court would not set him aside. Morris challenged 16 more. Puleston enraged said he had best keep within compass or he should give him such a blow as would strike off his head. Morris answered that he might challenge 35 without shewing cause.

Then witnesses proved his governorship. Morris desired a copy of the indictment and counsel to argue matters of law, which being denied him, he observed that he had acted only for and not against the King and produced his commission. The Court noticed that it was granted by the Prince. Morris replied that the Prince had his commission as Captain General from his father, by which he was authorized to grant commissions. The Court answered, this would not avail him. Morris replied that by the same power all judges, justices of peace and officers had acted, and all process of law was in the King's name. The Judges said that the power was not in the King but the kingdom, he acted in trust for it. It was called The King's Highway, and The King's Coin, but the property was in the subject. His natural and legal power were different things. Morris answered that they could not be separated. The Court replied, if the King ordered him to kill a man, this command would not justify him.

Morris observed again that he had acted for the King and in his name before the regal power was abolished, and could not commit treason against the Parliament: that they assumed a power their predecessors never exercised, and that the putting a soldier to death in this manner might be retaliated. There might come a turn of times, and the Marquis of Ormonde had assured him that whatever should befall him, the like should be returned on the prisoners he had taken. He was bound by his allegiance without commission. The Court answered this was not much to the purpose. Morris replied that since they had rejected the authority he acted by, he might as well have held his tongue, were it not for the hearers. They might

do by him as by his dear Lord Strafford, put him to death without law, and then make an act it should be no precedent. Then he insisted on 11 Henry VII., which enacts that whoever shall aid the King in his wars shall not be questioned. The Court answered, Henry VII. was an usurper and made that act for his own security. Morris said, it was never repealed *. But the Judges would hear no more and ordered the Colonel to be laid in irons.

Morris said this was a disgrace to him and to all soldiers and desired they would not use him and his fellow soldiers who were prisoners, thus ignominiously, for it would trouble him more than the loss of his life. But they put irons both on his hands and legs before he was removed from the bar, and even before the verdict. Then the Court adjourned, and being assembled again in the afternoon, the Jury gave in their verdict that the Colonel was Guilty, as they did also against Blackburne.

After the sentence of death as a traitor, Morris thanked God that he should die for a good cause and with a good conscience, and prayed for a blessing on King Charles. There was some application made even by the officers of the rebel army, to save the Colonel, as he was a prisoner of war. (Abridged from the State Trials.)

21. York. "Morris and Blackburne were near escaping last night: they had got over the castle wall, but were taken ere they got over the moat. Tomorrow they are to be executed, with about 30 other prisoners †."

Aug. 23. Morris, when he was brought out of prison and saw the sledge, said he was as willing to go to his death as to his bed; and at the place of execution, declared that he was brought up in the true Protestant religion in the house of his dear master the Earl of Strafford, one of the best governed houses in the kingdom, and without wavering had professed it and now would die in it; and, after a loyal and pious address, concluding with a prayer that by God's turning the hearts of the soldiers to their lawful sovereign the land might enjoy peace, which till then it would never do, he took his Bible and read several passages out of the Psalms suitable to his condition, and the executioner did his office. (Abridged from the State Trials.)

He "happened to be put to death in the same place where he had committed a fault against the King, and where he first performed a great service to the Parliament." (Clarendon.)

"His body being afterwards buried according to his desire at Wentworth in this county of York, near unto the grave of his worthy lord and master the late famous Earl of Strafford." (Dugd. Visit.)

* A few years after the regicides themselves argued, that as they acted under the powers in being, this statute ought in equity to be extended to them.

† "Morrice, by means of a rope, had lowered himself from the wall, but his companion, less fortunate, fell, and broke his leg. Morrice generously refused to quit his friend." (18 Tait, 42.)

"I myself followed the fortune of King Charles in his exile, was sent into England on several occasions, for his Majesty's vice. I was once betrayed, and brought before Cromwell; b denied my name, and nothing could be proved against me. I ever, he sent me to the Gate-house in Westminster, from whe made my escape, with our old friend Jack Cowper, by throwing and pepper into the Keeper's eyes; which, I think, has mad love salt the better ever since; as you, and all my friends, kn do, with whom I have eaten many a bushel.

"I went again beyond sea, and, upon King Charles II.'s res tion, returned into England, accompanied with my old compa loyalty, and with the usual companion of that, poverty. The never quitted me; the other, by the favour and bounty of the D of Buckingham, was made tolerable.

"And having now survived most of my old acquaintance, and, verily believe, all who had any part in the foregoing story, bein the 78th year of my age,—perhaps it will not be thought amis our countrymen of Yorkshire at least, that I have lived on to time; if for nothing else, yet for this, that when the memo action at Cremona [Prince Eugene's surprise of Marshal Viller his quarters] shall hereafter be spoken of with the honour it serves, this attempt [to surprise Col. Rainsborough] at Donc may not be altogether forgotten by Posterity.—THOMAS PAUL London, March 31, 1702."

INDEX.

Abbot, Mr., 5
Adcherman, Cornet, 4
Allott, Mr., 6. 104
Andestay, Coronet, 6
Anne, Mr., 4, 5: Mr., junior, 4. 6: Mr., frater, 4
Antrobus, Lieut., 4, 5
Arksey, 62
Arkexam, Isle of, 62
Armyn, Col., 15
Ashby de la Zouch, 60
Ashby, Major, 88. 108, 109
Ashley, Sir Jacob, 16
Ashton, Lieut. Col. Ralph, 92: Col., 94
Atkins, Col., 19
Atkinson, Mr, 4, 5
Audley, Cornet, 4
Austwick, Alderman, 3. 6. 78: Lieut. Allan, 97, 98. 108, 109
Autterway, Aunchient, 65
Axholme island, near Trent, 91

Badsworth, 18
Barnsley, Churchwardens of, 113
Barton, Serjeant, 39. 46. 55, 56
Bates, Capt. Wm., 92
Battley, Lieut., 4
Baumford, Cornet, 4, 5: Mr., 5: Mr. Tho., 34
Baune, Nic., 20
Baynes, Capt. Adam, 102, 103. 110, 111. 113: Cornet John, 103. 105, 106. 108: Robert, 104. 106
Beale, Capt., 4, 5. 21, 22. 25, 26. 40
Beaumont, George, vicar of South Kirby, 84. 104, 105: Richard, 6: Major Sir Thomas, 1. 3. 6. 43. 47. [On 9 Feb. 1645, he was so ill and infirm from several bruises and hurts gotten in the castles of Sheffield and Pomfret that he could not travel to London. Boothroyd, 290]
Bees, Capt., 91
Bell, a presbyterian minister, 111
Bellwether, Wm. Wether, called, 24. 28. 36. 38. 42
Bely, General, 78
Benson, Mr., 4: Capt., 6. 21. 37
Bertram, Capt., 46
Berwick, 28. 89
Best, Capt., 4, 5
Bethel, Col., 100, 101. 103, 104
Biggleskirke, Thomas, 6
Binnes, Mr., 5
Blackborne, Cornet Michael, 98. 108, 109. 111. 115
Blagburne, Michael, a clothier, 42
Bland, Sir Thomas, 3. 6. 78: Major, 26
Blockley, Cornet, 40
Blundeville, Lieut. Edward, 92
Bonevant, Capt., Governor of Sandal Castle, 25, 26
Booth, Mr. Wm., 34
Boynton, Col. Sir Matthew, 82, 83: Col. Matthew, 101. 108
Bradford, 2. 16, 17
Bradford, Capt., 102. 105
Bradley, Dr., 3. 6. 36
Brampton, 18
Brancepeth, 93
Brandling, Col., 18
Brereton, Sir William, 19. 43. 45
Bridgewater, 82
Briggs, brothers, 9: Colonel, 94
Bright, Col., 80. 82. 100. 104. 106, 107. 110
Brooke, Mr., 114
Brotherton field, 2: marsh, 68
Browne, Capt., 4. 9: Lieut., 10: of Wakefield, 21
Buchanan, Mr., a Scotch clergyman, 3. 5
Burchell, Mr., 5
Burley, Mr., 3. 5
Burton, Rob., 5: Mr. his, 5

Byard, Capt. Thomas, 92
Byron, Lord, 85: Sir Gilbert, 92

Cape, Lieut., 4, 5: Capt., 4
Carleton, 54. 66. 68. 72
Carlisle, 44. 89
Carnaby, Col., 17
Cartmel, 1.
Carwike, Mr., 5
Cartwright, Capt., 4 *bis*, 58. 70: Sir Hugh, 90. 93
Castilians, 106. 108
Cawood, 24. 38
Chadwicke, Capt., 4. 6
Charles I., *passim*.
Charles II., 104. 114. 116
Cholmondley, Sir Henry, 82. 92, 93, 94, 95. 99, 100. 110: Col., 100. 103: Col., a royalist, 92
Clarke, Capt., 70
Clayton, Capt., 95: Mr., 95
Clifford Moor, race at, 106. 110
Clithrow, Mr., 4. 6
Clough, Capt., 4, 5. 43. 93
Collinson, Lieut., 4
Collinnes, Dr., 4
Consborough, 96
Constable, Capt., 3. 5
Cooke, Lieut., 4. 6
Cooper or Cowper, Capt. John, 92: Jack, 116: Sir Roger, 92
Copland, Serjeant, 40
Copley, Major, 3. 6. 78: Lieut. Col., 80: Colonel, 82
Corbrook, 105
Corker, Mr., 3. 6. 11
Correr, Mr., 4
Cotterell, Col., 84 to 90: Major, 114
Coulerk, Capt., 36
Cremona, 116
Cridlin stoopes, 53
Croft, Capt., 4, 5. 21. 25
Cromwell, Lieut.-General, 44. 61. 77. 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97. 99, 100, 101, 102. 108
Crooke, Major, 82: Lieut.-Col., 107
Crosland, Col., 3
Cuthbert, Lieut., 4. 6.
Cutler, Sir Gervase, 3. 5. 21. 25. 61. 65, 66: his man Jonathan, 24. 53: Lady, 61. 65, 66, 67

Darcy, Lieut. Col., 3. 5
Darington, 41. 54. 69
Daventry, 61
Dawson, Quartermaster, 22
Dent, Capt., 33
Denton, near Otley, 95
Derby, 45. 49. 51. 54: Earl of, 108
Dickson, Wm., 47
Digby, Sir John, 90. 93. 109
Dilman, Lieut. Marmaduke, 92
Dinnis, Major, 3, 4. 26
Dobson, Richard, 6
Don, river, 96
Doncaster, 17, 18. 37. 52, 53, 54. 60, 61. 67, 68. 71. 76. 95, 96, 97, 98. 110. 116
Drake, Nathan, the diarist, 3. 5: Francis, 3. (*See* Introduction.)
Durham, 94
Dutchman, the, 58. 69. 76, 77. 79, 80

Eden, Col., 24: Lieut. Col., 36
Egerton, Sir Rowland, 82
Ellis, Mr., 18. 91: Jasper, 112.
Ellison, James, 5
Ellyate, James, the gunmaker, 11
Elmsal, 85, 86
Elvidge, Capt. John, 92
Empson, Mr., 4, 5: Mr., senior, 6: Lieut., 61
Eugene, prince, 116

Fairfax, Ferdinando, Lord, 3. 7, 8, 9. 11. 16, 17. 19. 38. 57. 77. 83: Thomas, Sir, 3. 11. 74, 75. 78. 82, 83; afterwards Lord, 94, 95. 103. 112, 113: Lieut. Col., 80; Col. 100, 101. 110
Fanshaw, Sir Simon, 18
Farmarie, Mr., 4. 6
Farram, John, 5
Favell, Lieut., 25. 30. 40. 63
Feilding, Daniel, 6
Fell, Col., 111
Fenton, Mr., 6
Ferrybridge, 1. 12, 13. 15, 16, 17, 18. 23. 30, 31. 35. 37. 40, 41. 49. 54. 58, 59, 60. 64. 67, 68, 69. 71. 75
Fether, Serjeant, 5
Fetherstone, 68
Fines, Capt., 91
Fitz-Randall, Major Edw., 92
Fleming, Lieut., 5
Flood, Capt., 4. 21. 27. 39, 40. 46. 55
Floyd, Serjeant, 88. 108, 109
Forbes, Lieut. Colonel, 2, 3: Colonel, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. 16, 17, 18, 19. 21
Foster, Mr., 4 *bis*, 5
Foxkroft, Anthony, 27
French, Quartermaster, 5
Furness, 1

Gascoigne, Mr., 4, 5
Gauthrope, Edward, 5

Gerard, General, 61
Gibson, Lieut., 4
Gilbreth, Col., 25. 55: Lieut. Col., 40. 46. 80
Gilling Castle, 19
Gloucester, 17
Goring, General, 16. 61. 74, 75. 77, 78. 107
Graverner, Mr., 4, 5
Gray, Mr., 4: Col., 3, 4, 5: Colonel, brother to Lord Gray of Warke, 5: Gilbert, 6
Greatheads, Capt., 95
Green-sauce, 37. The query in the note is withdrawn, the expression referring more probably to some culinary herb.
Grimstone, Capt., 4, 5. 27
Grinditch, Lieut. John, 92
Grinfield, Sir Richard, 66
Grinoway Castle, 42

Hallyfax, Robert, 5
Hamilton, Col., 26: Duke of, 84. 92, 93. 95
Hammerton, Mr., 5, 6: Mr., senior, 4: Mr., junior, 4: Mr., frater, 4
Hanson, Thomas, 38, 39, 42
Harborough, 61
Hardwicke, 54
Harebread, Mr., 4. 78
Harrington, Cornet, 4, 5 *bis*
Harris, Capt., 3 6
Harwood, Capt., 92
Hatcher or Hacker, Col., 93, 94
Hatfield, 94
Heaton, Peter, 5
Helmsley Castle, 3. 7. 102
Herbert, Ensign, 5
Hestam, John, 5
Hey, Mr., 5
Higford, Mr., 5
Hill, Quartermaster, 25
Hilton, Capt., 3. 6
Himsworth, Capt., 25. 58. 63. 78
Hirst, Mr., clergyman, 3. 6. 53. 71. 78. 80
Hitchin, Mr., 5
Hodgson, Mr., 4, 5. 78
Hopgood, Mr., 4, 5
Horsfold, Capt., 4, 5. 36
Houghton, Long, 16, 17
Hoult, Lieut., 4
Huddleston, Capt., 3. 5: Major, 3. 5
Hull, 17. 50. 101, 102: drawbridges of, 113
Hutchinson, Mr., 4
Hutton, Col., 3. 25: Sir Richard, 4, 5. 21. 78, 79, 80

Ingleton, 2
Ingram, William, 25. 52. 54. 57. 61. 79: Sir Arthur, 94
Ivers, Major, 95

Jackson, Mr., 4, 5; Mr. Charles, 5: Capt., 102
Johnson or Johnstone, Mr., 4, 5
Jubbe, Wm., 45

Kellom, Alderman, 3
Kendrick, James, 5
Key, Mr., clergyman, 3. 5. 53. 71. 78
Killingbeck, Ensign, 39, 40. 55: Lieut., 46
Kirby's son, 42
Kirkby, South, 84. 104, 105
Kitchen, Capt., 60
Knaresbrough, 3. 7. 24
Knottingley, 39. 53. 68. 76. 91. 99, 100. 102. 110

Laipidge, Ric., 53
Lamb, Lancelot, 112
Lambert, Col., 11. 15, 16: Major Gen., 92, 93. 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111. 113, 114
Lancaster Castle, 111
Langdale, Sir Marmaduke, 12. 14, 15, 16. 19. 28. 42. 49. 51. 60. 68. 75, 76, 77, 78. 85. 88, 89. 91. 93. 95, 96. 98, 99, 100. 111
Langport, 74
Langwith, John, 5
Lascell, Lieut. Hen., 92
Lathom Hall, 42
Lathome, Lieut., 4, 5
Lawson, Wilfred, 82
Layborne, Capt., 4, 5. 9. 18
Leadston, 18
Leavens, Capt., 104
Ledger, Lieut. Col., 18
Lee, Capt. Arthur, 92: Lieut. Col., 92
Leeds, 17. 23
Leicester, 50. 60
Lichfield, 60
Lilburne, Col., 104: Robert, 110
Lincoln, 91
Lister, Mr., 3. 6: Sir William's son, 2: Mr. Richard, 6
London city, 60
Lonsdale, Capt., 4, 5
Lowther, Col. Richard, Governor of Pomfret Castle, 3, 4. 9, 10. 17, 18. 21. 31. 39. 42. 48, 49. 55. 59. 72. 78, 79, 80: Capt. Gerard his son, 4. 72, 73: Robert his brother, 4: Thomas, a soldier, 14. 31. 38
Lucas, Sir Charles, 18

Ludlow. 19
Lunne. Alderman. 3. 5. 78

Madockes. Mr.. 5
Mainy. Sir J ..n. 1
Malton. 112
Manchester. 45: Earl of. 1
Mankenbole. Mr.. 3 5
Mansfield. 18. 92
Margetts, Tho.. 103. 104. 105. 106. 110. 111
Marston Moor. 1
Masham. Mr.. 3. 6
Massey. Mr.. 4. 5. 50
Matthewman. Cornet. 5
Mauleverer. Col., 15. 100. 101. 110.
Maullet. Capt.. 3 13
Maurice. Prince. 16. 17. 19. 44
Mayor of Pontefract (Mr. Scillito), 5
Meldrum. Sir John. 43. 50
Melton Mowbray. 59. 60
Metcalf. Mr.. 4: Mr. Cuthbert, 5: Mr. John. 5: Alexander, 66
Methley. 18: bridge, 53
Mexborough, 96
Middleton, Col., 3: Lieut. Col., 4. 25. 55
Milton, Mr.. of Spittle Hardwick, 27
Monkes, Serjeant, 26: Lieut., 56
Monkton, Capt. Edmond, 92
Montgomery, Lord, 19: his brother, 39: Col., 26
Montrose, Lord, 78
Monson, Capt. John, 92
Moore, Robert, 5. 113: Lieut., 22. 55. 64
Morgan, Col., 16. 61
Morrett, Capt , 5: David, 6
Morris, Col. John, 85 to 90. 100. 106 to 109. 111. 114, 115: Castillian, 106
Motherby, Thomas, 6
Mouncton, General Sir Philip, 92
Mountaine, Major, 3. 6. 18.
Mulling, Mr., 18
Munroe, Capt., 4. 9. 21. 25. 30. 40. 46. 55. 57. 78
Musgrave, Capt., 4 *bis*, 5
Musten, Mr., 4

Naseby, 38. 58, 59, 60, 61. 63
Naylor, Cornet, 4, 5
Naward Castle, 19
Netherton, 6
Nevil, Mr. Gervase, 4. 6. 78
Newark, 2. 7. 16, 17, 18. 32. 34. 36. 38. 44. 49, 50. 59, 60, 61, 62. 67. 70. 73, 74, 75. 78, 79. 82
Newcastle, 94
Northampton, 61
Northumberland, 91
Norton, Mr., 4
Nostall. 18
Nottingham, 22, 33. 95. 100
Nunne, Cornet, 4, 5

Oates. Alderman, 3. 6
Ogle. Mr.. 10
Ogleby. Capt., 22. 25. 46: Lieut., 46
Oley. Mr., 3. 5. 36
Ormond. Earl of, 85: Marquis of, 114
Orton in Furness, 111
Ottoway, Ensign, 40. 55
Overton, Col., Governor of Pontefract Town. 48. 49, 50. 61, 62. 67, 68. 71 79. 80. 82. 83. 113
Oxford. 61
Oxley, John, 5. 6: Joseph, 6
Oyston, Dr., 70

Parker, Mr., 4: Serjeant, 55
Pattison, Mr., 7
Paulden, Capt. William, 85. 89, 90. 96 97, 98. 108: Capt. Thomas, 84. 96 107, 108. 116: Capt. Timothy, 84 108
Pearcey, Lieut., 4: Mr., senior, 4, 5 Mr., junior, 4, 5: Mr., frater, 4
Perry, Lieut., 5. 22. 24
Pert, Capt., 91
Pickering, Mr., 3. 6
Pierrepoint, Fra., 83: family, 92
Pilckliffe, Ric., 6
Pilkington, Capt., 4, 5
Plague, 76. 82
PONTEFRACT.
Abbey Close, 30. 39. 41. 48, 49. 52 Lower, 30
Back-closes and Townfield behind Baghill, 68
Baghill, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25. 27. 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33. 35, 36, 37. 39, 40, 41, 42. 46, (Baghill Top) 47, 48. 50, 51, 52, 53, 54. 56, 57, 58, 59. 64. 66, 67, 68, 69. 80: Lane, 48. 69
Barbican, 9. 12, 13. 31. 32. 35. 37. 56. 67. 77: near to the Sallyport, 46: Gates, 67, 80: Wall, 66. 112: Trench in, 35: Lower, 51. 54. 64: wall of, 54. *See* Works, Gates
Battleye's (Mr. Robert) barn and new house, 36
Bondgate, 58: Mill Dam, 27
Booth's (Wm.), in the park, 20. 54
Bottom Close under Baghill, 80
Brame Garth, timber in, 113
Broad Lane End, 24. 31. 36. 46. 53. 89
Burnt house near Elis. Cattell's house, 46

PONTEFRACT, continued.
Byron House, 99
Castle yard, 38. 60. 69. 76. 79. 113: yards, 52: side towards Monkhill, 48. *See* Walls, &c.
Cattell's (Eliz.) house, 13. 46
Chapel of S. Clement in the castle, 66. 109. 112
Chequer field before Baghill, 14. 46. 58. 69
Cherry orchard, near Newhall, 52: head, 27. 40: side, 52
Church, Upper, 31: Low, 6, 7. 12. 20. 28. 31. 35. 39, 40. 43. 46, 47. 55. 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65. 70. 100. 110; steeple of, 7. 56, 57, 58. 63, 64, 65; lantern of, 63, 64; timber for, 113
Churchyard, 6, 7. 57. 60. 63, 64
Closes, 24. 66: below the town, 7: at west end of the town, near May dicke, 68: about the Castle walls, 26: under the castle, 28: hard by Monkhill, 29: by and under Baghill, 33. 46, 47. 50, 51, 52. 54. 80: above Denwell, 49; near Denwell, 61: under the Headlands, 58
Constable tower, 112: screen by the, 112
Courts of Guard, 101. *See* Works
Couper's (Bonny) shop in Market Place, 49
Demesnes, 111
Denwell, 21. 29. 31. 49. 61: Lane, 39. 61. 73
Dikes, Castle, 67
Ditch, 89. *See* Graff
Drawbridge, 89: Lower, 51. 67. 69. 112 *bis*
Drawbridges, the two, 112
Dungeon, down thirty stairs, hard by the Gate, 89, 90
England's house, 14
Farrow's (William) door, 69: under Monkhill, 71
Frealles, the, 12. 24. 69
Garden within the Upper Gatehouse, 64, 65
Gascoygne Tower, 112
Gates, entered by Morris, 89: the three, 112; the two out, 112: Barbican, 67. 72. 77. 79, 80
Gate, the castle, 27. 46. 81: buildings from Constable Tower to, 112; screen from, to Round Tower, 112: Inner, 113: Upper, and Guardhouse, 27. 64. 69. 79. 112; platform within, 45; great gun above the, 51; removed to a platform in the garden within the, 64; exposed to Baghill, 27: Lower, 21. 63. 69. 71. 64. 73; drawbridge of, 67. 69; leading to trenches at Ald. Lunne's house, 25; exposed to Monkhill, 27. 54; to Baghill, 28. 34; trench from, through Mr. Tatham's orchard to the church, 57: on the south side, covered by Newhall, 92. 96. *See* Works
Graff, 9. 89. 101: at the Lower and Upper Drawbridges, 112
Grange Barn or Lathe, 29. 39, 40. 55. 58: Lane, 27. 41
Halfpenny house, 9. 21; under the castle wall, 32: burnt, 78
Hall, Great, 78. 80. 112, 113
High Street, called Micklegate, 36. 40. 63
Hospital, shot from Swillington tower to, 12: mine within, towards the King's tower, 14: Door, 48
Jackson's (Mrs.) door and so up into the Market-place, 29
Kellome's (Mr.) house, near the church, 55. 57. 59. 63
King's Close, 70
King's Tower, 10. 21. 23. 36. 39. 41. 47, 48, 49. 51. 57, 58, 59. 62, 63. 65. 68, 69, 70, 71. 79. 112: shot from, to market-place, 36. 47; to Newhall yard, 48
Kitchen, Great, 112
Line of circumvallation, 100. 102. *See* Works
Lower Town, 19. 27. 38. 42. 66
Lunne's (Ald.) house, 19. 22. 25. 35: backyard or backside at west end of castle, 9. 28. 34, 35: lathe or barn end behind, 34. 36: works behind, 49, 50
Market Place, 7. 12, 13. 22. 25. 29, 30. 36. 39. 46, 47. 49. 51, 52. 54. 59, 60, 61. 69. 76. 79, 80: Upper, 70: Barley, 76
Mayor's (Mr.) barn, 36
Meadows, the, 96
Micklegate, 36. 40. 63
Middle Street, 22
Mill, water, below the castle, 44. 52: Monkhill, 53. 62: wind, 70. 113: Dam, Bondgate, 27
Mines, besiegeds', 14: besiegers', *see* Works
Monkhill, 20. 23. 27. 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36. 38, 39, 40. 42. 48. 51. 53, 54. 56. 58. 62, 63. 68. 71: top, 30: poor Kate Lillhole's house on, 32: houses below, 13: Closes, 29. *See* Works
Moodie's Close near Baghill, 54

Fortifications continued.
Mount, new, where the Castle Gate is the Barbican, 27. 32. 34. 39. 65. 66. Scroll's, 112
Normal, 7. 29. 34. 35. 37. 38. 39. 39. 2. 32. 34. 37. 38. 40. 41. 42. 43. 47. 52. 53. 52. 54. 57. 58. 61. 63. 66. 68. 70. 71. 72. 73. 77. 78. 92. 100
Navigate, 2.. 22. 25. 30. 32. 34. 36. 44. 45. 52. 76. See Works
Outer Mr. wine in the Market-place. 29. 46. 47: [illegible] near the upper church. 31
Outwork above the Upper Gate. 37
Paradise Orchard. 35. 45. 48: work at, 45
Park. 10. 12. 20. 21. 28. 31. 32. 37. 41, 42. 53. 54. 58. 59. 62. 64. 68. 70. 71. 72. 74. 77: Closes, 27: Wm. Booth's in the, 20. 54
Piper Tower. 7. 9
Primrose Close, little round close called, under Baghill, 23: 46. 52
Queen's Tower, 51. 112
Redman's Peter, tanpits. 52
Ropergate end. 69
Round Close under Baghill, 33: little, called Primrose Close, 46. 52
Round Tower, 7. 12. 13. 19. 22, 23. 28, 29, 30. 32. 34, 35, 36, 37. 39. 41, 42, 43. 45. 49, 50, 51. 54. 56. 60. 67, 68. 71. 73, 74, 75, 76, 77. 79, 80. 111, 112
Rusbye's, Mr., 20: lathe being a sentry, and his house, 20. 58: sentry-house over against, 45: works, trenches, and barricado near or behind, 32. 35, 36. 46. 49, 50. 58. 67. 71. 77: Closes under Paradise Orchard, 48
St. Thomas' Hill, 40. 62. 68
Sallyport, 67: in the Barbican, 67. 74: private-covered, 109
Sandbed below the Hall, 23
Schoolhouse, 27
Scottes, in High Street, 40
Screens (castle walls), divers, 112
Sentry lathes, 20. *See* Works.
Siege pieces, 65
Skinner Lane, 20, 21
Stable of the castle, 35. 42
Stables' (Zachary) Orchard head, 51, 52: house near church, 55: (Mr.) backside, 69
Star, on the north side of the church, 55
Swillington Tower, 12. 21. 23. 25. 30. 34. 36, 37, 38, 39. 45, 46. 49. 53, 54. 72, 73. 76. 105. 112

Fortifications continued.
Trenched, 41
Trinity's Mr.' Orchard close by the Lower Castle Gate, between it and the church. 57
Trenched behind Baghill, 68
Trenches within the castle yard, 14
Trumpeter's Tower. 20. 41. 69. 112: platform at, 20. 36: lands by the, 58
Trench from Lower Castle Gate through Mr. Tunham's orchard to the church. 57. 63
Trinity's, 28. 34. 35: backside, 24
Tupman's (widow) house. 35
Upper Town. 19. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31
Wakefield's Mr.'s, houses behind, 12
Walls, Castle. 9. 14. 32. 42. 78. 88. 100. 104. 106
Ward's house. 27: works from, along the Ditch. 12: mine below, under the Moat, towards the Round Tower, 14
Well, 7. 21: New, 37
West end of the Castle, 9: of the Town. 74
West Field, 41. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76
Wilkinson's, Mr. John, up the Town. 36. 58
Works, besiegers', in number twenty-six works and trenches on June 2, 1645, 50.—Sentry-houses at lower end of town, 20. 30: at lower end of Northgate, 12: at Skinner lane end, 29: first, nearest the Upper Castle Gate, 79: behind Alderman Lunne's house, 34. 36: being Ald. Rusbye's lathe, 20: over against Ald. Rusbye's, 45: in widow Tupman's house at Monkhill, 35: at Baghill, 32: Grange lathe, 29. 39. 40. 55.—Works from Ward's house along the Ditch, 12: Mine below that house, under the Moat towards the Round Tower, 14: Trench from upper end of Bondgate Mill Dam, to Ward's, 27, 28.—Mine within the Hospital towards the King's Tower, 14.—Trench before Ald. Lunne's house, 19. 25; on his backside, 35; work there, 49, 50.—Lowest Trench near Mr. Rusbye's, 32. 35: trench behind Mr. Rusbye's, 35, 36: works there, 49, 50. 58. 67. 77: trenches against Mr. Rusbye's, 46.—Trenches beyond Halfpenny house, 21.—Trenches in Middle street, 22: first works in High stre[illegible], 40.—Up-

Pontefract, continued.
Works, continued.
per trenches, 25.—Great trench, 25: trenches above the castle towards the town, 32.—Little work, 25.—Trench near the bridge, 25.—Trenches below Broad lane end, 24. 36: lowest work there, 46. 53.—Barricade behind schoolhouse, 27.—Trench on south side of Mr. Kellome's, 59.—Work below the Low church, 31. 39, 40. 46: lowest, 55: lowest, against the church, 65: near to the church, 70: in the church, 65.—Trenches about Paradise orchard, 35: guard in the work there, 45.—Trenches about Trinities, 35.—Work at the bottom of Abbey close, 39. 41.—Triangle work in closes above Denwell, 49: another work begun near Swillington tower, 54: fence all along the hedge side from the work against Swillington tower into Denwell Lane, 73: works made up betwixt the triangle works on the north side of Swillington tower, 76.—Trenches in West-field, 75, 76.—Work against Barbican gate, 72. 79.—Trenches below Lower castle gatehouse, 73.—Sir John Saville's quarters about Newhall, 31: guards there, 36: trenches near Newhall, 30: barricado at Cherry orchard head, near Newhall, 24. 27. 40: bulwarks from thence to Monkhill-top, 27.—Trenches near Monkhill, 29. 33. 40: first trench there, 32: first lower work there, 39: guards at Monkhill, 35: platform for cannon there, 62, 63: half-moon work there, 36. 38: outworks at back of Monkhill, 39: barricado at Wm. Farrowe's door under Monkhill, 69.—Trench half the way in the old dike at Baghill, 30: trenches at Baghill, 31. 33: guards there, 36: triangle work there, walled of stone and filled with earth, 33. 35: great work there, 41. 46: porthole there, 36: trench all along the hill, 32: works under the hill between it and the castle, 32. 53: half-moon work in closes below Baghill, over against the church, 50, 51: lower work in the Round close under Baghill, 33: work in the little Round close called Primrose Close under Baghill, 46. 52: work in Moody's Close near Baghill, 54: barricado in lane leading up to Baghill, 48: another, 69: trench therefrom along the hedge against Alderman Stable's backside, 69.—Upper work near T. Stable's orchard head, 52: lowest, about 120 yards from the other, 51. 55.—Line of circumvallation during the third siege, 100. 102
Portington, Lieut. Col., 3. 5: Lieut. Col. Robert, 92: Capt., 4: Capt. Roger, 5: Col., 92: Col. Roger, 107
Pouke, Thomas, 5
Poyntes, General, 57. 59, 60, 61. 65. 67. 72. 74, 75. 77, 78. 80. 82, 83
Preston, 92. 95
Preston, Mr., 4, 5: General, 86

Rainsborough, Col., 93 to 99. 108. 111. 116
Ratcliffe, Sir Edw., 3. 5: Sir Francis, 3. 5: Mr., 5: Capt., 22
Reaser, Mr., 4, 5
Redman, Sir John, 2: Capt., 4. 19
Rhodes, Sir Edw., 92, 93: Col., 103
Rich, Capt. John, 92
Risby, Capt. John, 92
Roberts, Major Geo., 92
Rokeby, Col., 110
Romsden, Capt., 3. 6: Sir John, 3, 4, 5. 21. 25. 42. 78. 80, 81
Rooke, Mr., 4. 6: Corporal, 104
Rosemary, 10
Rosse castle, 86
Rosseter, Col., 16, 17. 77. 91, 92
Rossington, 53
Rotheram, 67. 92
Rupert, Prince, 16, 17. 19. 38. 71
Rusby, Alderman, 3. 6

St. Albans, 99
St. George, William, 2
St. Paul, Lord, 2
Saltingstal, Major Walter, 92
Saltmarsh, Capt. Wm., 92
Samond, Capt., 81
Sandall castle, 7. 16, 17. 19. 23. 26. 32. 36. 38, 39. 41, 42, 43. 45. 47, 48. 51. 54. 60, 61, 62. 66, 67, 68. 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76. 83
Sanders, Col., 95
Sanderson, Cornet, 4. 6
Sands, Col., 1, 2
Saville, Lieut., 4, 5: Sir John, 17, 18, 19. 23. 26. 28, 29. 31, 32, 33. 42
Sawrey, a justice of the peace, 111
Scammenden, Stephen, 5

Scarborough, 7. 24. 43. 45. 49. 82, 83. 99. 101, 102, 103, 104
Scillito, Mr., mayor, 3. 5: George, 6
Scotch march, 53
Scot, Major Tho., 92: Major John, 92
Scots, 26, 27, 28. 43. 53. 67. 72. 92, 93. 103. 105
Seaton, Mr., 4: Capt., 4, 5
Selby, 24
Senior, Thomas, 5
Shaw, Capt., 3. 5
Sheffield, 54: castle, 1
Sherburne, 2. 15
Sherwood forest, 94
Siege-pieces, 105
Sikes, Mr., 3. 6
Silkstone, 65
Skipton, 2. 92: house, 76; castle, 7. 42
Slane, Dr., 104
Smith, Alderman, 3. 5: Lieut., 4, 5. 30. 46. 62: Capt., 4, 5. 12. 20, 21. 22. 30. 39, 40. 46. 55. 59: Ensign, 88. 108, 109: Mr., in Lincoln, 91
Snaphances, 47
Speght, Cornet, 25: Capt., 26. 43
Spence, John, 9
Spencer, Capt., 19
Spittle Hardwick, 27
Spright, Lieut., 3
Spurgion, Cornet, 4, 5
Stables, Alderman, 3. 5: Mr. Richard, 52
Standeven, Capt., 4, 5 *bis*: Stephen, 6
Standon in Wilts, 109
Stanley, Lieut. Col., 43
Stapleton, Mr., 4, 5: Mr. Brian, 6
Steele, Walter, 5
Strafford, Earl of, 85. 115
Strickland, Mr., 4, 5
Stringer, Mr., 4, 5
Sutton, Matt., 5: Nathaniel, 33
Swift, Peter, 5
Swillavant, Capt., 4, 5

Tadcaster, 15
Tanshelf, 70
Tatham, Alderman, 3. 5: Mr., junior, 5
Taunton, 65. 74
Thimbleby, Mr., 4: Mr. John, 5: Mr. John, senior, 6
Thomson, Lieut., 38
Thornton, Col., 15
Thorpe, Judge, 114
Thurley, Coronet, 37
Tichburn, Sir Henry, 85
Tickhill, 53
Tindall, Lieut. Col., 3. 5. 25: Mr., 4 *bis*: Mr. George, 5: Mr. William, 5. 78
Tofeld, Mr., 4
Tulley, Capt., 7
Turnebridge, 18, 19
Tuxford, 52

Vaucer, Capt., 3
Vaughan, Col., 3. 6
Vavasour, Capt., 5
Villeroy, Marshal, 116

Wade, Capt., 25
Wakefield, 17. 19. 42
Walker, Tho., 5: Capt. Joshua, 7. 46, 47. 56. 61
Warde, Major, 3. 5. 39, 40: Lieut., 21. 25. 40. 46. 55: Capt. John, 60. 113
Washington, Capt., 4. 6. 21, 22. 25. 43. 45, 46. 61: Col., 59: Mr. and Mrs., 74: note on the family, 6
Wastell, Mr., 80: Col., 82. 102. 110
Waterhouse, Capt., 4. 6
Watson, Wm., 5
Welbeck, 54
Wentbridge, 14. 16. 70, 71, 72. 94
Wenthill, 18. 53
Wentworth church, 115
Wentworth, Sir George, 4, 5, 6. 21. 60. 78, 79, 80: Major, 3. 5: Col., 3. 25: Lieut. Col., 3. 6. (*See* Strafford)
Westchester, 29. 38. 43. 45. (*See* Chester)
Westmoreland, 91
Wether, William, 24. 28. 36. 38. 42
Wheatley, Lieut., 4, 5. 22. 43. 46. 55. 59: Capt., 4, 5: Lieut. Col., 3, 4. 78
White, Lieut. Robert, 92: Col., 93, 94
Widdrington, Sir Tho., 16, 17
Wigan, 108
Wight, Isle of, 84
Wilkes, Mr., 5
Wilkinson, Ald. John, 3. 5: Ald. Thomas, 3. 5. 23
Willoughby field, 92
Willoughby, Lieut. Col., 40: Lieut., 55. 58. 62: Sir Francis, 85, 86
Willys, Col. R., 18
Wilson, Mr., 5: a trooper, 22
Worcester, 19
Worstenholme, Sir Jos., 18
Wrench, Capt., 111: Lieut., 113
Wressel, 17
Wright, Capt. Anth., 92

York, 1, 2, 3. 11. 24. 37. 53, 54. 57. 77. 80. 82, 83. 92, 93, 94. 96. 104. 110: Clifford's tower, 112: Assizes, 114: Castle, 115.

A

BRIEF MEMOIR

OF

MR. JUSTICE ROKEBY,

Sir Thomas Rokeby

COMPRISING

HIS RELIGIOUS JOURNAL

AND

CORRESPONDENCE.

Tho: Rokeby

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PREFACE.

For the materials out of which this Memoir has been composed the Council of the Surtees Society is indebted to the kindness of William Collins, Esq., of Knaresbrough. They are merely the *disjecta membra* of a very large body of family papers and correspondence, which, unfortunately, is not now in existence. Out of the remnants the editor has endeavoured to construct the memoir of a very good and distinguished man, who was an honour to the Bench and to the great County which gave him birth. At the beginning of his religious journal he has modestly written "This is not to be divulged." The words and the example of a good man are too valuable to be suppressed. They should be the property of others

besides his descendants; and the readers of the journal, whilst they admire the modesty of the writer, will not be sorry that his wishes have been disregarded.

J. R.

York, Feb. 1861.

A

BRIEF MEMOIR

OF

MR. JUSTICE ROKEBY.

THERE are few names in the north of England better known than that of Rokeby. Fiction and history have done their best to immortalize it. From that little fortalice which overhangs the Greta where it commingles with the Tees, great and noble-hearted men have gone forth who are not yet forgotten. In arts as well as arms they made themselves renowned. "So much courage, patriotism, law, and piety," as Dr. Whitaker has well observed, "have rarely been assembled in one name." And I know of no family in which there was more proper honest pride; the virtues of its great men were not the subject of vain boasting and idle talk. They were chronicled and recorded for imitation and example. The early history of this ancient and distinguished house has been charmingly narrated by one of the worthiest of its members. I have now to introduce to the world another member of that illustrious family, of whom there is too little known, who for piety and learning was inferior to none of his noble ancestors.

In the middle of the sixteenth century, Thomas Rokeby, Esq., of Mortham, who is most honourably mentioned in the Œconomia Rokebeiorum, had among his younger children a son who bore his own names. He adopted the profession of arms, and settling at Hotham, in the East Riding of the county of York, was the

father of several children. His eldest and only surviving son, William Rokeby, of Hotham, married his cousin Elizabeth, daughter of William Rokeby of Skiers, and the niece of Ralph Rokeby of Lincoln's Inn, the secretary of the Council of the North at York, and the author of the annals of his family. The fruits of this match were four sons and one daughter, as will be seen more clearly in the accompanying pedigree.

One of William Rokeby's younger sons was Thomas Rokeby, who, like many of his ancestors, was a soldier, and was killed at Dunbar in 1650. Before he went to Scotland, like a prudent man, he made his last will and testament, which gives us some insight into his condition in life, and shows us that either by inheritance or purchase he had a very good estate, which he divided among his ten children. To Elizabeth, his wife, a daughter of Robert, and a sister of Sir William Bury of Grantham, he leaves the house at Burnby, in which he is residing, together with his house in York, for her life, and after her decease to revert to his eldest son. His lands and leases at Woodhouse, and other places within the lordship of Cottingham, are bequeathed to his three eldest sons, and to the rest of his children he leaves portions, respectively, of 200*l.* or 300*l.*

With his second son, Thomas Rokeby, we are especially concerned. He was born in 1631 or 1632, and, therefore, when his father died, he was only eighteen or nineteen years of age. He was not, however, unprovided for. His father bequeathed to him his lease of Woodhouse, with the grounds attached to it, and a freehold in the same parish, recently purchased by him of the corporation of London, called Applewith wood. His father had also shown his wisdom by giving his son the benefit of a college education. On June 20, 1646, he was admitted a pensioner at Catharine Hall, Cambridge, being matriculated there in the following month. In Jan. 1649-50 he became B.A., the only degree that he ever took: but at Christmas, 1650, he was made a fellow of his college,—an honourable position which he ceased to occupy at Michaelmas, 1651*.

Young Rokeby chose the profession of the law, a study which many of his ancestors had followed with distinguished success. The fame of those three great lawyers, each of whom bore the name of Ralph Rokeby, would be ringing in his ears, arousing his family pride, and urging him to follow in their steps, and, in the opinion of the world around him, adding materially to his chances of success. The law books of the secretary of the

* I am indebted for this information to the kindness of Messrs. C. H. and T. Cooper of Cambridge.

Council of the North, the author of that well known chronicle which he loved so well to dwell upon *, had descended to his great grandfather, and the young student, no doubt, had often seen them. He knew well the legal reputation of John Rokeby, LL.D., the "Mr. Doctor Rokeby," as he was generally called, who, in the opinion of the author of the Œconomia, was almost infallible. He was brought up, as it were, in a legal atmosphere, and we cannot wonder at his being sensible of its influence.

In 1652 or 1653 he became a student at Gray's Inn, a place in which his very name would insure him some respect. It was here that he laid the foundation of those vast stores of legal knowledge which were afterwards so useful to himself and others. The inns of court were at that time filled with young gentlemen of the first families in the north; but Rokeby enjoyed their society without being deteriorated by it, and escaped all those evil influences and baser passions which turned Richard Braithwaite, with all the versatility of his talent, into a driveller and a sot, and quenched, too prematurely, that bright light of genius which shone so promisingly in John Hall of Durham.

After Rokeby was called to the bar, he seems to have passed a considerable portion of each year in chambers at Gray's Inn. His country residence, when term was over, was at York. There was much to attract him to that ancient city. It was the capital of his native county, and a place in which he had many friends. His mother, too, was living there. At York, therefore, he took up his abode, and increased rapidly in substance and reputation.

In his religious opinions Rokeby was strongly tinged with Puritanism, and to these views, which he honestly and consistently maintained, it is not unjust to say that he was greatly indebted for his success in life. It is quite natural and reasonable that people should, in their temporal affairs, seek the advice of any one whose religious opinions are coincident with their own. It is not too much to say that Rokeby became the chief

* The well known chronicle of the history of the house of Rokeby, called the Œconomia Rokebeiorum. Nearly the whole of it is printed by Dr. Whitaker, in his History of Richmondshire, and there is another MS. copy of it in the public library at Leeds. I have before me a portion of a transcript from the original, made in 1654 by Thomas Rokeby when he was at Gray's Inn. He had prepared it apparently for publication. It is prefaced by several appropriate mottos and introductory verses by himself and other members of his family. I hope to be able to bring out a new and complete edition of this invaluable piece of family biography, illustrating it with much novel and interesting information.

and most confidential adviser of the Nonconformists in the North of England. In their principles he had been brought up. His father had fallen in the side of the Parliament at Rowton. The connexion between his family and the Bourchiers of Beningbrough near York would not strengthen his attachment to the Established Church*, and the lady whom he selected as his wife was even more devoted to Presbyterianism than her husband.

But passing aside family ties and family connexions, there were other reasons why a good and thoughtful man should in those days look upon Puritanism with something like feeling of approval. There were few men of piety and learning between 1660 and 1690 who were not tinged with it. Although there were shining lights in the Church of England during that period, still their example was in many cases too severe and too difficult for that age to follow, and there were very many of the parish priests, unfortunately, whose lives were anything but worthy of imitation. Intolerance on the one hand, and a total absence of all earnestness and zeal in God's cause on the other, were looked upon with dislike by good and sober-minded men. And there were few places in England in which the national Church was, at that time, at a greater disadvantage than in the city of York. The Minster clergy did no credit to their office or their religion †. Dean Scott died a beggar in the Queen's Bench prison ‡. Marsh, his successor in the deanery, could not take his place till the Restoration, when he was broken down with the infirmities of age. Sancroft was scarcely installed before he was removed to London; and his successor, Robert Hitch, was a cold-hearted, penurious man, who had no sympathy with any one or in any thing but his money-bags §. On

* Thomas Rokeby's first cousin, William, son of Alexander Rokeby of Sandal, married the daughter of Thomas Bourchier, Esq., the brother of Sir John Bourchier of Beningbrough, the regicide. I have seen several letters from Sir Barrington Bourchier to Mr. Rokeby. One of them, written in 1694, has reference to a Mr. Bainbridge, who was a candidate for the rectory of Marston, near York. "I went to hear him," says Sir Barrington; "and tho' his voice was not very good, yet, for my one part, I heard him so well, that I found what he delivered in the pulpit (haveing no prayer) to be a printed sermon of Dr. Wake's, which, as soon as I got home, I read over, hapning to have it, and did very well remember it to be the same verbatim." Sir Barrington died very suddenly of the gout.

† Baxter and Palmer relate the following story:—"One Mr. H—— conformed; and Mr. Bowles soon afterwards meeting him, said,—'Well, brother H——, how like you the Common Prayer?' 'Truly,' said Mr. H——, 'it's but dry stuff.' 'I always thought so,' said Mr. Bowles, 'and suppose that may be the reason why our vicars choral run to the alehouse as soon as they have done reading it.'"

‡ A very unfavourable character of Dr. Scott may be seen in the Cabala 305, and in Hacket's Life of Archbishop Williams, p. 207.

§ Dean Hitch had the reputation of being one of the richest clergymen of his time.

the other side were men of great piety and learning. Edward Bowles*, who preferred the maintenance of his religious principles to the deanery of York; the good Oliver Heywood†; Rabbi Calvert‡ and his learned nephew; the famous Matthew Poole §, Williams ‖, and Ward ¶: all these at that time set an

He is said to have left behind him a fortune of 20,000*l.* Narcissus Luttrel, and other writers, speak to his avarice.

* Of this pious and excellent man even his opponents must speak with respect. He was the leader of the Nonconformists in the North, and the friend and patron of all good men. He died suddenly a few years after the Restoration. During the Commonwealth he preached at the Minster, and at All Saints in the Pavement. There is a good deal about him in all the Puritan writers, and there are some interesting notices of him in the Fairfax correspondence; for he was greatly concerned in the stirring events of the times, having been chaplain to Sir Thomas Fairfax. There are several elegies on his death. Two of them are among the Rokeby Papers. One is by R. S., probably Richard Stretton. It is not worthy of being printed here, for it is little more than a metrical sermon. The author calls him

> "The glory of the North parts, York's right eye,
> His brethren's right hand, one who from on high
> Was furnisht with incomparable parts
> For the instructing minds and warming hearts."

Mr. Bowles died on Aug. 21, 1667. The 24th was black Bartholomew day, on which circumstance Mr. Stretton composes what he calls a Chronogramma,—"Cadit et Bartholomæus oritur."

† For an account of this estimable person, and an admirable account of the rise of the old dissent, I must refer my readers to the most interesting Life of Heywood, which has been published by my kind and revered friend Mr. Joseph Hunter, F.S.A.

‡ Thomas Calvert, rector of All Saints, Pavement, and the author of several very learned works. He was a distinguished Orientalist, so much so, that he was generally called Rabbi Calvert. Thoresby gives an interesting account of him and speaks of him with very great respect. James Calvert, his brother's son, was a very celebrated scholar. I have a copy of a very rare work which he published, entitled "Naphtali: seu colluctationes theologicæ cum tribus ingentibus dubiis, viz. De reditu decem tribuum, conversione Judæorum, mensuris sacris Ezekielis. Authore Jacobo Calvert, Eboracensi. 4to. Londini, 1672."

§ About Matthew Poole, the author of the famous Synopsis Criticorum, there is much to be found in many places. There are a few supplementary notices respecting him in the Appendix to Mr. Mayor's Life of Matthew Robinson. I have much pleasure in adding another. In 1677 Thomas Lord Fairfax leaves the sum of 10*l.* "to Mr. Matthew Poole, towards the carrying on of his Synopsis of the Creticks." Few people are aware of the extent of the obligations that literature and literary men were under to the famous General.

‖ Peter Williams, a native of York, and a pious minister among the Puritans. He had a weekly lecture in the city at the house of Lady Lister, and, after her death, at Lady Watson's. He died in 1680, leaving an excellent character behind him for piety and goodness. He was a friend and spiritual adviser of Mrs. Rokeby. I am fortunate enough to possess a little volume of which he was the author, a book of excessive rarity. It is entitled "φιλανθρωπία, or the transcendency of Christ's love towards the children of men. Laid down by the Apostle St. Paul in Ephes. iii. 19. A treatise formerly preached, but now enlarged and published for common benefit. By Peter Williams, Preacher of the Gospel." Small 8vo. London, 1665, pp. 275. It is dedicated "To his Christian and dearly beloved friends in York, and elsewhere." This copy, in addition to the rarity of the work, which is very great indeed, is also interesting from the circumstance of its being the copy that was presented by the author

example which, we regret to say, was not at that time to be found in York, where it ought to have been manifested, and we need not wonder, therefore, at the increase of those principles of Puritanism to which Rokeby was so strongly inclined.

Soon after the Restoration Rokeby took to himself a wife. The lady was Ursula, daughter of James Danby of Newbuilding, near Thirsk. He was a member of a branch of the ancient and widely-spreading family of Danby, which had been for some time settled in the parish of Kirkby Knowle*. Danby lived in York in the early part of his wedded life, and nearly all his children were born within the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey; but, afterwards, he settled at Newbuilding, the ancient mansion of the Constables, which had passed into his hands by purchase from the coheirs of Constable on Feb. 11, 1653. Out of a large family of children, he had five who survived

himself to Mrs. Rokeby. He has inscribed upon one of the fly-leaves, in a small and neat hand, "For your selfe;" and below it Mr. Rokeby has added, "Ex dono authoris, U(rsula) R(okeby)."

¶ Noah Ward, a peripatetic minister among the Puritans, who was greatly respected in York and its vicinity. He died in 1699. He was a great friend and confidential adviser of Lady Hewley, as will be seen in the following letter, in which the writer laments his death. It is addressed to Mrs. Rokeby after she had become a Lady and her husband a Judge. I shall soon give two or three other letters from Lady Hewley. She was a good and a pious person, but, like the greater part of the ladies of her day, she could neither spell nor express herself with anything like propriety and ease.

"Honored Madam,—I have lost a soule-frind, a praying frind, a true frind. Non will have so grat a loss as I except his wife and doughter: one yt wos tender both of body and soule: one that I could speke my hart freley tow and reseve concill from. But he is gon. I must nether see, heare, nor convers with him aney more. His deth makes him a gainer, but me a great lousser. I am now a poor disolet cretur. He died when we were in sum hopes of his recovery. He precht and gave the Lord's Supper: yt day senet after he died. The will of the Lord is don and we must submit to it. He has the resurrecon of the spirit and can rease up one for His one glory and the good of soules. Pray for us that the Lord wold dow it; I fere that we shall have devissions about one in Mr. Ward's plase, for sume is for his son-in-lawe and sume for Mr. Ward, and sum for one Mr. Pell, a Linconsher man who thay highly commend. Pray, madam, give me yor advies and what you think in this grat afaire and I will be as secrit in it as you wold have me. Madam, the box cum safe to Mr. Wards when he wos diing, and it wos not opened tell after his bearill and then I reseved my ritings for which I give Sr Tho. Rokeby and yr Ladysp maney thankes and wishes I ware in a capacity aney way to be servisibell to you. Non should be more faithfull to my power then, Madam,

"Yor Ladysp obleged sarvent

"Sa. Hewley.

"March th 26.

"I have sente yor Ladysp a piece of ould gould and beges yor exceptine of it, and remember that ther is a poor miserabel cretur that has a high estem of you. My hombell serves to Sr Tho. Rokeby."

* A branch of the family of Danby was located in the parish of Kirkby Knowle in 1587, but I am, as yet, unable to connect James Danby with it. The following scrap of pedigree contains all that I know about him.

their infancy, a son and four daughters. I do not know the maiden name of their mother, but the children were brought up with the strictest care, and in the principles of the Puritans.

Thomas Danby of Kirkby Knowle.

- Francis Danby of Thorpbasset, gent. Died in 1672.
- James Danby of Kirkby Knowle, gent. The purchaser of New building, 1653. Will dated 7 May, 1675, and proved at York, 3 Feb. 1676-7. Ob. 16 Dec. 1676, æt. 76. M. 1. Kirkby Knowle.
  - Henry Danby, bp. Jan. 6, 1639-40. Bur. 27 Oct. 1643, at St. Mich.-le-Belfrey, York.
  - Thomas, bp. ib. 3 May, 1641. Bur. 26th.
  - William Danby of New building, Esq., son and heir. Bp. at Belfrey Church, Nov. 6, 1635. Died unmarried, leaving his sisters coheirs, inter. 1690—1700.
- = Thomasine, dau. . . . . Ex[x]. to her husband. Buried at Kirkby Knowle, Oct. 6, 1678. Ob. 4th. M. 1.
  - 1. Ursula married Sir Thomas Rokeby, kt. s. p. Ob. 10 Aug. 1707, æt. 74. M. 1, at Kirkby Knowle.
  - 2. Elizabeth, bp. at Belfrey Church, Oct. 19, 1638. Mentioned in her father's will. Married, I believe, Thos. Smithson, Esq., s. p.
  - 3. Milcah, bp. at Belfrey Church, May 25, 1637. Married 20 May, 1668, Joseph Rokeby, merchant, brother of Sir Thos., by whom she had three children. Buried at Kirkby Knowle, Oct. 19, 1726. M. 1.
  - 4. Thomasine, bp. at Belfrey Church, York, Oct. 2, 1643. Married . . . Snowden, s. p.
- Thomas Danby, mentioned in his brother's will. =
  - William Danby mentioned by his uncle James. =
    - James Danby, died without male issue.
    - William Danby, heir male of the family. Lived at Kirkby Knowle under settlement made by James Danby.
  - Thomas Danby.

    Rachel, wife of Robt. Peacock. Both mentioned by their uncle.

In the earlier part of his life Danby resided in York. In 1653 he bought the manor of Kirkby Knowle of the heiresses of Constable. He found the house so much dilapidated, that he added to, and repaired, it to such an extent that he called it New building, a name by which it is still known. He is said, by tradition, to have pulled down a portion of the adjacent castle of Upsall to enable him to erect his own mansion. He was a person of great experience as a land-agent, and was the confidential adviser of many distinguished families in Yorkshire. In his will he says, "I have paid my son-in-law, Mr. Joseph Rokeby, 1000*l.* with his wife, and lent him, since, 100*l.*, the said 100*l.* to go to his dau. Eliz. when twenty-one. My bro[r]., Thos. Danby, owes me about 112*l.*, and I give 20*l.* of it to his dau. Rachell, now wife of Robert Peacock, 20*l.* to his son Wm. Danby, 10*l.* to his son Thos., and the rest to himself. To Sir John Legard, B[t]., Thos. Rokeby, Esq., John Danby, and James Atkinson, gent. (trustees), to each 20*s.* in gould, to buy rings, and to my sonne Wm. Danby my seale ringe. My loveing wife Mrs. Thomasine Danby sole ex[x]. I give my servant Daniell Todd 10*l.* a yeare for his wages dureing all the time he shall continue to serve my wife and helpe to manage my occasions."

I have seen many of the letters that passed between William Danby * and his two sisters Ursula and Milcah †, some of them

* A good many of his letters to his sister Milcah are preserved; indeed, he corresponded with all his sisters on difficult points of divinity. He made use, every now and then, of a kind of cypher, which makes his letters by no means easy to understand.

† Of this amiable and excellent lady it is impossible to speak too highly. In 1668 she became the wife of Joseph Rokeby, the Judge's younger brother, by whom she had three children, who were brought up by her in the most admirable manner. Her husband died after twenty years of wedded life, and she survived him nearly forty years. By all of her relations she was regarded with the utmost affection. She lived at Newbuilding during the last thirty years of her life, and I have before me her book of accounts, showing her carefulness in housekeeping and her many charities. She died on the verge of ninety with unimpaired intellects and sight. Some excellent specimens of her needlework are still preserved. She possessed, too, far more learning than the majority of her contemporaries. She was acquainted with many tongues, and could read the Scriptures in the languages in which they were written. I cannot refrain from giving one or two of her letters, which exhibit in a very favourable aspect her goodness and affection, and at the same time show us what a true friend he had in her brother Thomas.

The first letter is written to Mr. and Mrs. Thos. Rokeby, in October, 1684, when her husband had had some mishap in his trading.

"Deare bro. and sister, these are to give you both my affectionate thanks for your kinde letters too us, and I desire that you would not be so much afflicted for us. I hope our God will doe all things well for us, how hard at present soever it may seeme to be. Nay it may be the Lord in His providence doth see fitt to put us to the tryall to see if we dare trust Him for our all, even when every thing ells failes He will be the great rock in a wery land. And I bless my God He gives me to fly thether, and I am indeed comforted in the midst of all my castings down; and, therefore, pray deare brother and sister, be yee also comforted too, for in the end He will shew Himselfe full kinde. I am glad my poore childeren are in health; the good Lord contenew that mercy too them, and inrich them with His Spirit that they may be ayares of glory, for that is an inheritance that cannot fade away. My indered affection to you both and my poore childrens. I remaine youer affectionate and oblidged sister, MILCAH ROKEBY."

"Deare brother, I receved yours and have seriously weighed and considered itt, and I must acknowledg you doe abundantly manifest you love and caire to my son Joseph, as you have indeed to me and all mine in your reneued and repeted kindness to me and all mine which I shall ever acknowledg. I doe indeed with you heartily desire my poore son weere in a comendable imployment, for I do know the law of our God and espeshaly his case calls for itt, and, therefore, in my own choyse I thought of a physition as the most propper for him. But I confess when I was last in the cuntery my brother Danby did not so seeme to close with itt, which did then put to a stand, and unsetled my thought about him; yet my bro. then said when I told him that Joe, I thought, more inclined to the law, he ansered he would have him have some knowledg of the law, which he thought my son Boxton might informe him in, together with your instructions (I give you his owne expressions) so this did sway with me then; but when I come more closly to consider that as to making the law his calling and being in the practise of itt, I did not see he could or ether can follow it to any considerable purpose, but he most voyolate that which in my judgment and reall apprehention is the commandement of the Lord our God. And this, I can truly say, is the case, and not because I have brought him so up or this or the other sayes of men, for I know that will be nothing in the day of accounte when every thing shall lye manifest and open before Him with Home (whom) we shall have to doo: Who will render to every one according to His owne wayes, and, therefore, in this I would

1. Sir William Rokeby of Skiers. Created a Baronet Jan. 29, 1661. Enters his pedigree in the Visitation of Yorkshire in 1665, then æt. 64. Buried at Wentworth. M. I.

1. William Rokeby, died unmarried, patre superst. Buried at Wentworth.

2. Alexander Rokeby, Esq., d father's lifetime, æt. 37. M. I. made on or about Mar. 8, 1666.

4. Francis, died unmarried in France.

Sir William Rokeby of S æt. 9, 1665. Died April

1. Mary Rokeby died unmarried. Buried at Wentworth. M. I.

2. Elizabeth Rokeby died unmarried. Buried at Wentworth.

Elizabeth Rokeby, to whom her uncle, Sir Willoughby, left 1000*l.*, she being then a minor. "In 1708, 19 Oct., Sir Stafford Fairborn married to a daughter of the Lady Rookeby. Her fortune said to be about 10,000*l.*" (*Narc. Luttrell's Diary*, vi. 304.)

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17

William Rokeby, to whom his aunt Byard leaves 5*l.* to buy a little h of him as if he did not know whether he was alive or dead.

George, Alexander } Rokeby, mentioned by their aunt Byard and in the Visi

John Rokeby, mentioned by his aunt. Drowned near Doncaster De

Thomas Rokeby, Esq., only surviving son. Died May 2, 1706. s. p

Jane Rokeby, mentioned by her aunt. Married Henry Scott of Yo

Elizabeth Rokeby, to whom her aunt in 1668 leaves 50*l.* Married

Emm Rokeby, to whom her aunt leaves all her needlework. Marrie

Susannah Rokeby, mentioned by Mr. Smyth in his pedigree.

Dorothy Rokeby, 5th daughter, married Sir Thos. Ianson, Bt., who some time at Skellow in possession of the estate.

written in cypher, and all of them relating to knotty
of divinity. The brother died without issue and his
became his co-heirs, and divided among them the fortune
their father had amassed. He had been a steward or
gent, especially to the Howards*, and had become a man
lth and substance.

eby's wedded life was one of serene happiness, although
ld was born to him. Seldom has there been a more
e or a more loving pair. "I might have matched her
a large jointure was preferred," says the lady's father-in-
her husband, "but I am as well pleased in her choice as
ıad been matched to thousands a yeare and feare nothing
ch as that your too much care of her should be too great
en, and truely I doe not thinke myselfe indebted to any
person save onely your selfe and your wife." The frag-
of their correspondence that remain show how affectionate
intercourse was. And they had many friends, especially
the Nonconformists. The Fairfaxes, the Legards, the
hiers, the Huttons of Poppleton, and many other county
es of consequence were on terms of intimacy with them.

ore the Lord my God, and not put him to a calling the issue of which must
ly and frequently put him the temptation of the profanation of that holy rest
ism to the Lord our God, and, therefore, as God hath plased me in the
am, doth He not require me to looke well to the wayes of my housold, to my
ck, and even as Job feare continually leaste my childeren sin and provoke the
And this Job did even when they were growne up and had houses of theire
I suppose age neither taketh the parents from theire caire and watchfullness
re soules, nor the childeren from obedeience and reseving admonishon, which I
d would doe to the uttmost of my capassity. And though I know you are
o ofer the greattest kindness emaginable in our case and sircumstances, and,
ther hand, my bro. D. hath not now, when our nessesities moste calls for it, so
eated us, yet, deare brother, give me freely to unbosome my heart and soul.
freely make that choice for him, I meane of the prophession of the law, for
ons above saide; Pardon me in itt; all I can say further is, being you judg,
is come to those yeares, and that he hath right and ability to consider what
est for himselfe, I must leave him to that consideration, and heartily begg
to the Lord so to direct him that he may in this and in all cases so make his
s it may be moste for the glory of God, and the peace and wellfaire of his
le, which is and shall be the prayer of, Sir, your affectionate sister, MILCAH
.—*Indorsed* to her deare brother Sir Thomas Rokeby, *s. a.*

ve seen many of his letters and papers. Among them is an account book
g the sums expended by him on account of the Hon^ble^ Charles Howard in
8, 9. It contains some very curious items. "1646. For fynding the office
death of Mr. Wm. Howard, brother to Mr. Charles Howard, 21*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.*
n. 17. Paid to the Committees at York 100*l.* 1646. Dec. For watered tabba
lady was at Yorke 6*l.* 9*s.* 9*d.* For 2 pound of hard sugar sent to Hynder-
r preserving aprecocks 4*s.* To Mrs. Eliz. Howard for sweetmeats which she
Naward 1*l.* To Robert, the coachman, when he came downe from London,
. 1649. To the coatchman for the hackney coatch from London to Yorke
For Lyllies booke and dyurnalls 3*s.* 6*d.* For Doctor Andrew's devocions
To the taylor for mending my ladye's wastecoate and for sattin 4*s.*"

Within the city there were Lady Watson and Lady Hewley, who looked up to Mr. Rokeby with very great respect. With the Nonconformist ministers of the day they were on the most friendly terms, and the pious Oliver Heywood * tells us how he was "lawyer Rokeby's" guest at his house in Lendal.

By his industry and ability Rokeby acquired a considerable fortune. He was, as I have said, the principal adviser of the Nonconformists in the North of England. Lady Hewley placed implicit confidence in him †. He was frequently consulted by the noble families of Howard, Wharton and Fairfax, and many of the Yorkshire gentry followed their example.

* See the life of Oliver Heywood by Mr. Hunter, which contains much interesting information about the Nonconforming families in York and the North.

† One letter of Lady Hewley's has already been given; I now add others addressed to Mr. Rokeby and his wife after their position in life had been altered. They show the respect that was felt towards them. It is quite unnecessary, I hope, to tell my readers who the Hewleys were. In nearly all the letters that I give any one must be struck with the pious thoughts and ejaculations which pervade the whole of them. How few epistles in these days are seasoned with such salt!

"Sir, I humbly thanke you for your welcome newes you gave me of your safe returne from your circuite. I know such long journeys must needes be troublesome to you if any thing can be soe while you are in y^e^ service of your king and country. I pray God continue youre health, that as you are ready and willing, soe you may bee able in body to discharge y^e^ duety incumbent on you to His glory and your countries service. Wee have nothing of newes here worth the notice, onely wee have beene full of hopes to have heard ere this of the surrender of Limerick, which if it pleased God to give us before y^e^ seige bee raised it would pluck a thorne out of our foot and inable us to act with our united power against the common enemy y^e^ next campaine, but wee must waite God's time with patience, and praise Him for the mercies Hee has beene pleased already to vouchsafe us. I am sure I have many causes to bless Him, and particularly for my deliverance from my late fall, which tho' of it selfe was a great shock and straine to such an aged body as I have, yet if I had fallen as I did with my head downewards upon a stone (as there were many thereabouts) I had never spoke more. I am now, I praise God, much better tho' not perfectly well, but in all conditions both of sickness and health shall endeavour to expresse myselfe, sir,

"Your unfeigned humble servant,

"Yorke y^e^ 5th of Octr 1691. "Jo. Hewley.

"My wife gives her service to you, and both of us to my Lady."

"Honored Madam, I reseved your leter long after the date of it, and as I remember the day before the sade axsadent of my hosbends falle, and sad it wos indeed to see a husbend week and dead in halfe an houres time; and I noe body with me but sarvants; yet it plesed the blessed God to recover and bring him to himselfe befor aney doctors could com at him. You may imagen somthing of my condition. It wold be too trobelsom to give you the relation of it; the good Lord sanctifie it to us both, and fite us for the gret strok which cannot be long to us. I was trobled to heare of the seling of your hous. Now I feire we shall not see you heare unless it be for a viset, and that will be but short and, if not so, I must never see you, for I grow both very ould and weke. God orders all things, to Whos provedenc we must submite. I wish it lay in my power to be aney way sarveseabill to you hear, you should find me, madam, your Ladyships faithfull frind and servent, Sa. Hewley."

"Honored Madam, We heard hear that you had ben very ell and that you are recovered againe, which I desiere with you to be thankfull to God for, and hops that

But there is no one, however fortunate he may appear to be, who is free from care in some form or other. Rokeby's chief annoyance in life was the carelessness, and improvidence of his brothers. William Rokeby*, the eldest of the five, wrecked a fine estate, and died almost in penury—the other three, Joseph, John, and Benjamin, were merchants, and were frequently in

He hath a grate dell of worke for you to dow befor He takes you hence. God hath taken away severel of our sosiety heare, and thos that upholds it are very ould, weke and inferme, so that its sad to think what grat alterationes may be in this plas in a litell time. Our Bishop is a grat Arminion, and grat floking to heare him. We are heare in expictation of hearing grate things. The Lord is at worke and He only can prepar and fitt us for His provedenc whatever it be. I give yor Ladyp thanks for yor leters and kind advise and has and shall indever to follow it. I am now as unesy and ell as I can right, and gos up and down with so much wekens that I am a wonder to myselfe: yet God sufers an unprofitabell reck and a comber of the grond to contennew when He take away maney ussfuell ones. My sarves to Sr Tho. Rokeby. Deare madam pray for me. I am yor Ladysp humbell and faithfull sarvent,

"The 20 May. "SA. HEWLEY."

"Honored Madam, I have had a very bade sumer, for I wos never so ill, slepey, sencles and sotish in my life, but I must luke to grow wors and wors ever year now: the Lord helpe me to lieve as one that is in expictation of death dayly: this, I hope, will pled somthing for my neglegens, for indeed I have ben unfit for any implyment and am but littel beter now, thoug I cannot forbear exprising my trobel that you should say you think never to see Yorkshire againe. I allwayes conclued you wold not dweell heare any more; yet I deed not think but your relations and frindes wold have dron you dowen sumtimes. I beleve non wold rejoys more to see your ladyp then I whos companey I have had and has a grat want of. I cannot right what I should speke. As for the marriage you spoke of I wos never consarned in it eather by my husbone or the partes tell it was conclured, and then my husband right to me from London in short that ther wold be such a mach, and that he had seteled ther afaires, but nather befor the marriage nor sence ded he ever speke on word of it to me. This you will think straing but it is very true: so that I am not wiling to intrud whare I shall have so littel thank for my laber. I give your Ladyship a thousen thanks for your good concel and begs your prayers that God will soport and derict a poor dissolat cratuer. I am your Ladyship

"obeged heumbell servent

"Septh 9 92. "SA. HEWLEY.

"I have a grat a very grat lose of Mr. Ward. Pray give my humbell services to Sir Thos. Rokeby. *For my Lady Rokeby, Sargeant Inn, Fleet Street, London.*"

* William Rokeby was brought up a lawyer, and was at Gray's Inn from 1651 to 1653. In the former of those years I find him expressing in a letter to his brother his wish to get possession of the estate of some Roman Catholic gentleman in Yorkshire on the score of delinquency. He inherited a very good estate within the Deanery of Doncaster which he did his best to scatter to the winds. A large and expensive family, reckless improvidence, and easy good nature, brought him into great difficulties, from which he was frequently extricated by his brother Thomas. He died in 1700. His widow, Emm dau. of Sir Wm. Bury of Grantham, survived him a few years and died at Tunbridge Wells in 1703. Samuel Crompton, son of Mr. John Crompton, a well known Puritan minister at Arnold, Co. Notts, was her private chaplain for some time before she died. He had also a congregation, according to Palmer, at Doncaster. The following extracts from two letters addressed by Wm. Rokeby to his brother Thomas show the feeling that existed between them:—

"Sep. 14. 1691. *From Wm. Rokeby.* I writt to you to returne you my most harty thankes for your incomparable love and kindness to me in your pitty and compassion expressed in your letter wherein you acquainted me with y^e^ passinge over

difficulties, and occasionally in very great distress. But to all of them their good brother's purse was always open, and with it came kind words and friendly counsel too soon, frequently, to be forgotten. For many years of his life Rokeby was a poor man through his kindness to his relations; and it is impossible to estimate too highly the affection which he always shewed to his family and friends*. I shall now give a few extracts from his letters which bear special testimony to the great goodness of

your houses in the Minster yard in Yorke to be sould for payment of my debt. I have aboundant cause to acknowlidge the goodness of God in raiseinge me up such a brother and such a true friend to stand in the gappe."

"Sep. 16. 1699. *From Wm. Rokeby.* I doe assure you, deare brother, it stickes often close to my spirits, and occations me many troubled thoughts that I should be soe burthensome to you as I am, but I reccon that a little time now will ease you of your payments and me of my receipts and we shall then lie still and be at rest, as Job saith, for which rest the good Lord fitt us all."

* Mary Hall, Mr. Rokeby's eldest surviving sister, married Francis Hall of East Lilling, gen., the brother-in-law of the well known Dr. Witty, and the descendant of a family of York merchants. They had twelve children, many of whom died in their infancy. Their mother was an excellent manager and had a fast friend in her brother Thomas. She was a capital letterwriter, and I have read many of her letters with much pleasure. In 1692 she lost her husband and she announces the sad event to Lady Rokeby in the following pathetic letter:—

"Dear sister, My hart is so full of trouble and sorrow I know not what to writ. The death of my deare, deare husband you have heard of. I have long dreded this hevey stroke but when it cam was very surprising to us all, but I belive not to him. He so often told me he should not continew long but when it did com he spoke litell of it but of his trouble for me which he use allwayes to express with much affection saying 'I must leave thee a poor widdow and in a great deall of troubles,' which the Lord knows. Now it is so; the good Lord support me under this . . . and helpe me to beare it with Christian submission of spirit He requiars from me. I veryly belive he is happy and has attaind that gloryous rest which he oft mentioned in prayer was prepared for the peppell of God. He yelded up his soull with great submission to the will of God on Sabbath day morning; when my son Hoare went to prayr with him, he desioured him to pray that God would confirm his faith and prayed God to bless his children. He use to charg them to be dutyfull to me, but spoke littell then, for indeed speking was troublesom to him, I persevid his speech to be altrd on Sattrday before my son Hoare and daughter cam. I bless God that rebukt the temptor and sufferd him not to assalt him at the last houre. I have no cause to mourn on his behalf but bless God for the good grounds of hope that he has maid a blessed exchange but never any had greatter cause to sorrow. As to my own loss, my loss is unexpressably great in every respect, not only as a most kind and tenderly loving husband and such a father. I begg your prayers that God would direct and comfort me under all these sad tryalls."

To the children of the writer Sir Thomas was always extremely kind. She had begged him to be good to them, some time previously, in the following affectionate letter:—

"My deare brother, Fearing I should not meet with an oppertunity to speke with you, I writ these my requests to you. First, I begg it of you that when I am gon, if you either heare or see any vice in any of mine that you will reprove it in them and drop upon them som of your admirable instructions. My next is that you will own them as the childran of a sister that dearly loves you and has recd much comfort and satisfaction when under trouble and much soule-refreshment in joyning with you in dutys. And, last, that you will lett me and myne be intrested in your prayrs for

his heart. They are remarkable also for a facility of expression rarely to be met with in letter writers of that period, and there is in them, now and then, a quiet vein of humour.

"May 18, 1665. Honored sir,—I doe return you many thankes for your tender care of me in acquainting me with y^e^ newes concerning y^e^ plague; I meet with many relations here that doe much agree with your intelligence, soe y^t^ I incline not to goe up this terme unlesse I receive some good incouragement from my bro^r^. Ben. to whom I have writt particularly concerning it*."

"Honored Sir,—Since I came home I have received intimation y^t^ my mother † intends shortly to remove her household stuff from hence, soe my wife is takeing care to get what may be necessary for us for our present use. Here is also an opportunity to take a house in this street which is as convenient for business as this where I am."

"York, 28 Feb. 65."

"Honored Sir,—I am in this my wife's secretary, and my letter comes in leiu of hers and to save her paines. Its cheife errand is to acquaint you that this is my first day of goeing abroad, and I am

grace and new naturs and for more clear menifestations of God reconsiled love to the soule in and through Jesus Christ. I hope God will bless your instructions to mine as He has don your councells and comforts to me. I hope you'l pardon this trouble for I have no friend in the world that has ever given me that satisfaction I have found from you, and be pleasd to own me as I really am

"your intirly affec. sister,
"M. H.

"*Indorsed in the Judge's hand.* Deare Sis. Hall, 20 Ap. 89."

* This and the three following letters are addressed to the writer's father-in-law, James Danby, from York. He had deterred his son-in-law from going up to his chambers in Gray's Inn on account of the plague. That great scourge was just beginning to make its most violent onslaught upon London, an attack which has been graphically described in the picturesque narrative of De Foe.

In May, 1666, Joseph Rokeby writes thus from London to his bro. Thomas. "The mortallity increaseth this week 21, of the pla. 13, dying of all diseases 235, and of them of the plauge 53. Blessed be God that it increaseth noe more. We are pritty cleare in the citty as but one increased of the pla. within the walls. Wee have great reason to stand astonished at God's great mercy, that when wee abound in wickednesse, He is pleased to abound in mercy, to Whose holy name be the praise and glory."

Benjamin Rokeby, the writer's youngest brother, was a merchant in the parish of St. Margaret's, Lothbury. He was in partnership with Mr. Thos. Langham who purchased the estate of Arthingworth, Northants. He married Mr. Langham's daughter, and became in right of her, the owner of Arthingworth which is still in the possession of his descendants. In 1666 Benjamin Rokeby was in Spain. In 1677-8 he had got into difficulties and was in prison for debt, but his brother kindly released him. In 1688 he and his father-in-law took a house and shop in Bishopsgate-street.

† This house had been left to her in her husband's will, and it appears that she had resided in it for some time. I do not know either the place where she subsequently resided, or when she died.

pretty well after it (I bless God) onely I find such a weakness and faintness upon me when I walke that I doubt how I shall be able to walke from Grayes Inn to Westminster, yet I am loath to quitt all thoughts of goeing up this terme, if I could have hopes of getting thither in any tollerable time, and of being in any fit condition of business when I come there, but I am in fear I shall scarce do either. God willing, you shall heare further on Thursday, and in y^e^ meane time I begg your prayers for me and my deare wife, with both our dutyes to yourself and my mother and love to bro. and sisters, I remain your obedient and obliged son.

"York, 11 June, 66."

"Sir,—For the business of my cos. James Atkinson *, I had always a very good opinion of him, and I must have another clarke in regard this I have cannot doe all my business, and none could be propounded to me more acceptable then Jamy. A moderate Latine scholler and writeing a good hand are enough for my business. His hand will improve by leasurely exercise. I hope I shall have something to employ him in. Let him come as soone as he will. My hearty thanks to you and my mother for all your kindnesses, particularly your kind gift towards the buying of our household stuff. My duty to you both with due respects to bro. and sister Betty †, and I pray you tell her that I intend to keep both my sisters here till she acknowledge it is not good for a woman to be alone. Pardon, I pray you, this extravagancy in your affectionate and obedient son."

"York, 28 Sept. 67. Dear bro. Joseph,—All att Newbuilding are very well, but the sennight, in y^e^ evening, this house was in some danger of being robbed. Some men were discerned in the woods nere the house with vizards on, and stayed there till about cockcrow in the morning, but their neighbours of Kirby Knowle and Upsall comeing in prevented the designe ‡. I thinke I shall have possession of my new-old-house this next week."

* A relation of his wife. He is mentioned in the will of James Danby.

† The brother was William Danby who died soon afterwards. Miss "Betty" did feel like Adam that it was not good "to be alone," and took to herself a husband who will be found in the pedigree.

‡ A letter which describes an attempted robbery at Newbuilding near Thirsk, the residence of the writer's father-in-law. It was a fine old house erected in the reign of Elizabeth by the Constables, and surrounded with woods and plantations. Its solitary position would endanger the security of its inmates, and we can well imagine the alarm that the threatened assault of a band of plunderers would excite.

Joseph Rokeby was the brother of the writer. He likewise married a Miss Danby of Newbuilding, with whom he had a fortune of 1000*l*. They had three children, to whom the greater portion of the wealth of their uncle was bequeathed. Joseph Rokeby was a clothier by profession, and resided at Leeds, and afterwards at London, where he died. He was a bad man of business, and was obliged to appeal every now and then to his brother for pecuniary assistance. I have seen a lugubrious elegy on

"Honored Sr*, Since my last to you I have advised with ye learned in ye faculty of gardening, who have perswaded me to doe something about it now whilest open weather lasts, soe that on Monday next my gardiner comes, and if Mathew can come before or then we may learne something. I will allow him two or three dayes att another time to receive his freinds: cakes and ale, if he shall desire it. We are all in health, blessed be God, and present our duties to your self and mother, with due respects to brother and ye solitary virgin. Pardon my hast. I remain yr obedient son.

"Yorke, 14 Nov. 67."

"Apr. 25. 1668. Here is a rumor of a Frenchman of Rouen that is now in Newgate, and was apprehended upon a discourse of his owne to a citizen of London living about Temple barr, who tells there is a design of burning again this summer which is intended to begin about Chancery lane and that it is to be about August and yt a French fleet will then appeare upon our coast, and yt there are great designs of ye Papists against the Protestants: and its said ye man is very free in his discovery now when he is in ye gaole †."

"Deare bro.: I hope you got safe to London with all your concernes, of which I should be glad to heare.

"Your hogg (for which we are all to thanke you) proved very fatt, and had noe other fault but that. I sent a quarter to Ackworth, and a quarter to Newbuilding, and upon ye head and ye other two quarters we made a great invasion upon Thursday last, and remembred you and bro. Jos and all freinds in five or six sorts of liquors. Both Mr. Hen. Hall and Ra. Waterhouse deceived me without any

his death, drawn up by Mr. Joseph Stennett, but it is not worthy of being perpetuated here.

Joseph Rokeby, his only son, witnessed the extinction of every family of his name in Yorkshire, but so great was his attachment to his ancient house that he actually passed over in his will the issue of his two sisters, and left the estates of Sandal to his cousin Rokeby of Arthingworth in Northants. "Having a great desire," he says, "that the estate at Sandall, near Doncaster, should still continue as it has done for many years in my own name and family, I give and bequeath all my lands, &c., at Kirksandall, Long Sandall, Bentley Inges, and Barnby Dun to my cousin, Langham Rokeby, for his life, and then to his heirs male, and, failing them, to the son of Joseph Rokeby, commonly called Captain Rokeby, of Hurworth, late deceased, and his heirs for ever."

The "Captain Rokeby" here mentioned was one of the last survivors of the ancient family of Mortham.

* Another letter addressed to Mr. Danby. The writer had been taking possession of a new house in York, and was anxious to get the garden put into proper trim. Mr. Danby had been very kind to him in assisting to furnish his house.

† A specimen of the rumours that were then rife in London, raised, for the most part, by cunning and designing men, but occasionally founded upon truth. They are the natural results of a state of society where foreign influences are potent, and where religious parties are fierce and uncompromising.

reasonable excuse. But now, bro., I must begg your pardon that I put one trouble upon you, it is to buy my wife black silke for a winter gowne. She is informed that watered farandine is much in use: I pray you buy either that or some other black silke that is used, good of its kind; and send it downe either by bro. Joseph or some other speedy conveyance, and I will thankfully repay him or you the mony. The mercer, I suppose, can tell how much will serve for a gowne onely, and my wife is not of y^e^ largest size of women. My wife's and my own true respects to you and bro. Jos., and our best wishes for your welfare. I remain

"Your very affectionate brother

"T. ROKEBY.

"York, 28 Sept. 68.

"My service to Mr. Chaplin, Mr. Mariott, Mr. Newton and the rest of your freinds. My wife desires to fix you either to a farandine or a mohaire with a small weale. *These for Mr. John Rokeby, merchant, in London* *."

To John Rokeby †, his brother. "I desire my wife's stuff for a

* A letter addressed to his brother John, who was now in London after his wanderings beyond the seas. It refers to a present that he had sent to York. Ralph Waterhouse was the writer's brother-in-law. Mr. Henry Hall was the elder brother of another brother-in-law, Francis Hall of Dunnington. He lived at East Lilling, and "died the 8th of Jany. 1674, being Fryday, about noon, aged 57 years, the 7 January before, and buried in the chancel next his wife at Sheriffhutton by Mr. Tayler, on the 10th Jany. being the Lord's day." There is a curious monument to this family in the very interesting church of Sheriffhutton.

† The writer's fourth brother was a merchant, who resided principally in London, where he died unmarried. He had many reverses. On Sept. 17, 1660, he sold to his brother Thomas all his patrimony in the parish of Cottingham, and after this he spent some time in the island of Barbadoes. A volume of letters from him, written from that place to friends and kinsmen in England, is still preserved.

The "brother Weddell," whom the writer mentions, was Leonard Weddell of Earswick, near York, who married his sister Emm. The Weddells were a family of very respectable merchants in the city. They are represented, at present, by Earl de Grey, &c.

It will be observed that there is a very characteristic postscript from Ursula Rokeby, the writer's wife. She was, like most of the ladies of her day, by no means an enemy to dress, although she was a Puritan. I have seen a good many of her bills which would amuse the milliners of the present day. But the love of dress was not altogether confined to ladies. The following letter, addressed to his cousin Thomas by William, son of Alexander Rokeby, and directed to him at Gray's Inn, is curious and amusing.

"Honored Cosin,—I am in great want of a prety stuff suit to visit freinds in this summer time. I would have it prety strong becaus of riding in, and of the most fashonable stuff. I would have it lined with taffaty, of y^e^ same color with y^e^ stuff, in y^e^ armes, and open, y^e^ body with callico. I would have a coote too it of y^e^ newest fashion and hair buttons. I would have it trimed neatly with a plain taffity ribbin, green or leman or philamol or some prety colour. My aunt Sarah Vincent was married about a weeke agoe. I hope we shall see you and my cosin Willoughbie in y^e^

gowne may not be deferred till Loft's next jorney, but sent by y^e^ first carrier, and if it be not too much trouble I desire you also to send me a rideing cloake of y^e^ best worsted camlett of a fashionable sorte. I am sorry to heare of your indisposition; I pray God restore you to health and preserve you in it and bless you both in soul and body. My brother Weddell is very ill, and I doubt in a dangerous feaver: he hath been blooded this morning, though against his own inclination. He takes very little rest, and y^e^ truth is I am afraid of him. The Lord fitt him and us for all His owne appointments. Grant that whether liveing or dying we may be the Lord's.

"Your affectionate bro.

"T. ROKEBY.

"York 6 Oct. 68.

"Pray let the cloake be large, good, and gentile. U. R."

"Nov. 5, 1668. Honored Sir; truth will out, and what neither I durst write from Doncaster, nor my bro. Joseph would from Stamford, may, I hope, be written from York without much trouble to you. My Sowerby horse, as arrant a jade as I could wish to buy, lamed himself in our first dayes jorney to Ackworth, and y^e^ next morning I was gone about business about 6 miles off, before it was discovered, but when it was found out my wife was gladd to betake herself to y^e^ gray mare as being the better horse, and she brought her to Doncaster with much more ease to her mind then y^e^ other. By that time we had been 3 or 4 houres att Doncaster your owne saddle horse complained of a hinder foot and was in such paine that he refused his meet, and the next morning was scarce able to let his foot touch the ground, soe y^e^ farrier blooded him in the toe vain and applyed some things to him which I hope have done him good, and he is come hither this night from Ackworth *."

"Mar. 2, 1668-9. Honored Sir,—I bless God I came safe home last night, and had a very good jorney downe, onely y^e^ waters were out a little at Ferrybridge, but I thanke God I gott well over †."

country. I pray you pray Jack Dand to bye me an organ pipe with a case to carie in my pocket to set an instrument by.

"Your loving cosin att command

"WILL. ROKEBY.

"June 2, 55."

* A letter to Mr. Danby, describing a mishap that occurred on the way to Ackworth. William Rokeby, Esq., the writer's elder brother, resided at that place.

† This and the five following letters are all of them addressed to the writer's father-in-law, Mr. Danby. The journey to and from London was in those days a very serious matter. Bad roads, a wretchedly-drained country, and marauding bands, were some of the perils that beset travellers.

"York, 6 Jan. 69. We are mighty right att this towne soe as we cannot tell what to doe with our money, and therefore we are setting up danceing meetings, maskings &c. where we may be eased of y^e^ troublesome burthens of our money and our honesty *."

"York, 2 Mar. 1669-70. I bless God my wife and myselfe are both come safe to our home, and though my wife used to feare my passage over Humber, yet my comeing that way this time was by y^e^ providence of God ordered much for y^e^ best, for my fellow travellers which parted from me to goe y^e^ usuall road rid over y^e^ boot tops att Newark, but I (blessed be God) never rid ancle deep y^e^ way I came; and I never had my health better in all my life then this jorney.

"My wife is very desirous I should write you some newes, att which I am soe great a bungler that I dare scarce attempt it. I thought I had brought down y^e^ kings and my lord keepers speeches, but I cannot find them among my papers. They both were to the same purpose for 3 things: 1. Union between y^e^ two houses. 2. Union of y^e^ two kingdoms. 3. Money. The first of these is already effected by an expedient which his Majesty hath found out of raseing out all y^e^ records and memorialls of their differences and burying all their animosity in his Majesty's cellers, and my cosin Ned. Legard is of opinion that the most effectuall way for maintaining a good understanding between y^e^ king and his people is for his majesty to play y^e^ good fellow with y^e^ houses once or twice a weeke.

"Sir, I have by this bearer sent you a bible, I hope, of a good and usefull print, which of its self and according to y^e^ intrisicke worth is y^e^ best present in y^e^ world. Yet as it comes from me and according to its extrinsick valuation is but a poor token, but I rest assured you will receive it according to its inward worth, and, next after its owne excellency, will regard that affection with which I can confidently say it is presented to you, Sir, by

"Your affectionate, obedient and obliged son."

"Grayes inn, Feb. 3, 1671. Honored Sir,—Blessed be God, I came very well hither last Wednesday, but since my comeing there hath faln y^e^ greatest quantity of snow that I have known this many yeares in soe little a time. I was yesterday att Stepney where I found bro. and sister and Tom very well, and sister Betty not worse

* Mr. Danby seems to have been very fond of news, and Mr. Rokeby was too much a matter-of-fact person to care about communicating it. He gives a brief description of the Christmas festivities in York, occurring at a period of the year when the city was filled with the county gentry. Buckingham house, some years after this, became the great centre of fashionable gaiety in York. Oliver Heywood gives a graphic description of a duel which was caused by a few hasty words that were spoken after one of these parties, in which Jonathan Jennings, Esq., of Ripon, was killed.

then she hath been of late, onely some thing afflicted with y^e^ violent cold of y^e^ season. My bro., I thanke God, is not dejected, nor I hope will have noe occation. He tells me he hath lately given you a full account of all his concernes in brother John's affairs, which I am very glad of, as being that which I allwayes desired."

"Yorke, 5 Aug. 72. Honored Sir,—I return you many thankes for your great kindness expressed in your last to my wife. I thanke God we want not supplyes for our present occasions, but, however, we are not the less sensible of your love to us.

"I desire when you send to Morton that you will let your man bring my wife's young mare to Newbuilding, and let the horse rider have her 4 or 5 dayes to put her into her pace, and then I will send for her hither. I write this not knowing whether my wife will write or not by this bearer; her finger is so troublesome to her that she cannot write with ease. Her and my duty to y^r^ selfe and my mother with our due respects to bro. and sisters. I desire your prayer for a blessing upon us."

"Yorke, 26 Dec. 72. Honored Sir,—I must begg your pardon if I erre in telling you that I feare your sorrow for y^e^ late afflicting providence of God toward you may exceed the due measure, and, I beseech you, give me leave to offer something toward the allaying of it *. It cannot be denyed but there is some tribute of greife due to

* This excellent letter was written to Mr. James Danby by Mr. Rokeby upon the death of his brother, Mr. Francis Danby. He lived, I believe, at Thorpbasset, and died in some difficulties. The following letter, which he wrote to his brother James, is well worthy of being recorded.

"Loveinge brother,—I am excedinge sory thatt you have such sore eyes, and your health no better, and itt is a great troble to me thatt I am nott yett able to gett to see you. Here was with me on Munday last Mr. Haman Daltre of Catton and a younge minister his sonn, who told me he had bene with you on the Thursday before. I know nothinge touchinge the man, butt we have reports that the Earle hath promised this liveinge to one Mr. Humes (by means of Mister Hodgson) if his owne chapleyne do nott like of itt. And itt's also reported that Sir Tho. Gower hath gott a grant of itt for one Mr. Heslerton one of Mr. Joseph Heslerton's sonns of Hutton; butt I hope Mr. Haddlesay may make them weary with wayteinge, for he conceaves thatt he recovers prittily and hath gott a stomacke to his meat, well rellishinge itt, and thatt he does recover strenght, yett he is nott able to gett upp from his bedd. I conceave he may contynue now some tyme, yett I fear he will scarse ever be able to goe on his feet, butt he hopes he shall. I have had a sore tyme with my infirmity which, I conceave, is y^e^ gowte, butt, I thank God, I do mend pritty well. I was charged to be att Birdsall before the Com^rs^ for the Poll on Tuesday last, and did goe, though very unfit, for I cannott yett put on a boote, but hopeinge that I shal be able to goe abroad shortly (myne occasions pressinge me) made me goe, butt I have gott cold and am worse. They gave us charge to retourne all (of whatt age soever) thatt ar nott received by almes and does nott pay to the church and poore and to be carefull to omitt noe servants, and to give in their due wages. They were told thatt the Com^rs^ in some places had taken in bills, wherin none were named under 16 years of age, butt they would nott listen to that. They make me a gentleman, now in myne old and every way declineinge days, though in all my former tyme I have onely desired to be an honest yeoman, butt I could nott fairly gett it avoyded, though none

the memory of a dead freind, and where endearedness of freindship and conversation of many years continuance is added to nearness of blood, I must confess it may reasonably be supposed to swell the flood of sorrow to a greater height: but yet a Christian must not greive as one without hope, and it is too much selfishness to pore upon ones own loss onely, and not consider your freinds gain. The providences of God doe many times seem to us (poor dimsighted creatures) as having a dark side and we cannot understand them, nor see that good is intended in them, when all the while they are the designs of love and goodness towards us. Will it hurt you, if God by this stroke let you see that all the comforts of this life (a dear and faithfull freind and relation being the best of them) are not to be rested on, because of their uncertaintys, and will you have any cause to complain if God shall by this bring you to a more intire dependance on Himself, Who neither will nor can faile you. It may be you over loved him. God is very jealous in that particular, and will rather take away the occation, then permitt you to let out any part of that affection toward any creature which He would have intire to Himself; but whether this be so or no, it is certain that God sees it best to deale thus with you, and the great spring of all true quiet contentment and satisfaction of mind is to resolve every thing into the righteous, just, and holy will of God. If we could but fix our hearts here, 'it is the Lord,' Whose wisdom knowes what's best, Whose power inables Him to doe what's best, and Whose goodness makes Him willing to doe what's best, it would carry us above all the troubles and disquietments of this lower world. All this is summed up by the Apostle in this that 'all things work together for good to them that love God.' Sir, I am very confident you will from these little small intimations gather arguments for your own satisfaction and quiet: I pray God work them effectually upon your heart, for if He speakes peace none can cause trouble. I hope I am not in what

in the wapontake of myne estate be so charged. They were nott very strict butt in some places, (kissinge goeing by favour) nor made no enquiry for moneys. I longe exceedingly to heare of your health and the recovery of your eyes, and how you are charged. I do verylie suppose that they make you an Esq, I suppose the same wilbe great thatt wilbe raised by this act, if itt be through the three nacions, as is reported. Few (by myself) ar hard charged in our towne. We gott favour of the Comrs for Tho. Lovells children: he is power and hath ten small children: they dashed them all out. Here is a season of the sorest wether thatt ever I have known att this tyme of the year. I doubt itt will goe hard with many, and for myne own part I fear I shall be in great want of fodder, especially hay; I had a mare dyed and 4 have shott their foales; I know nott the reason butt itt's a great losse.—On Fryday last was buried our great Docter Carter who dyed with as little love and as little lamented as ever I did know any. I pray God send a carefull minister into his place. Thus, with my love to your selfe, my sister and to all my cosins, rests

"Your loveinge brother

"Fr. Danby.

"Thorpbasset March the 7th 1666.

"I am so very tender and the cold nips me thatt I cann hardly wryte these ragged lynes. My wife remembers her love and Kate her duty and respects to you all."

I write troublesome beyond your forgiveness, which I believe I shall the more easily obtain because my design herein is onely to contribute my poor help towards that calmness and sedateness of mind which I heartely wish and pray for in all occurrences of this life which doe or may concern you or your affectionate and obedient son.— —"

"Yorke 30 Ju. 74. Deare bro.*, we purpose, God willing, to set forward to-morrow morning, and my affairs in this place will not allow me to stay much above 14 dayes att y^e^ Bath, and it may not be soe much. I write this that Ben. may know how long we thinke to stay. I am glad to heare that he hath good success att Tunbridge. Blessed be God for it, without Whose blessing all these things are ineffectuall. I desire you to buy and send me down by Loft a dozen of y^e^ plain bibles you once sent. I shall be ever and anon troubleing you in this manner till you send me my account. Mr. Danby is here and is very well, thankes be to God. All our respects to you and bro. Ben. Trusting you and us and all your and our affaires to the good providence of our God I remain, your very affectionate,

"T. Rokeby."

"York 20 Mar. 1677-8. Deare bro.†, I have not writt to Tom Waterhouse since his letter to me. In very great civility and complement to me and my profession he sayes that he would almost as soone be a cobler as a councellor, which inclination if he had fully discovered before I had any way medled with his affaires, he should almost as soon have had a cobler as a councellor to have taken care of him. I must intreat you to put Tom to board att some arithmetick schoole, or else we must thinke of sending him into Holland for it. I am very sorry for the condition of your son Tom, whose recovery I here pray for, if it be the will of God. Our God is holy and wise and righteous and gracious in what He doth. He is soe in this stroke of His providence upon your son; He is soe, in leavinge some of our relations to ruine their outward estates; He is soe in leaving the children of some to be crosses and afflictions to their relations and He is soe in denying me children. I hartily wish that these severall sorts of disappointments may put us all upon serious and earnest looking after those spirituall and heavenly contentments which are of a certain, eternall, and satisfying nature. I am

"Your affectionate bro. T. Rokeby."

* Joseph Rokeby, at that time in London.

† Addressed to his brother Benjamin Rokeby. Tom Waterhouse, the youth mentioned in this letter, was the writer's nephew. What became of him I do not know. Nothing can be more touching than the latter part of the letter in which Mr. Rokeby alludes to the trials that had befallen his family. "Tom" the youth mentioned, died, I believe, soon after the date of this letter.

"York 8 Oct. 84. Deare bro.*, I have yours wherein you give me a reason of your reservedness to bror. B. R. for feare your openness should cause some imbargo upon your effects. I hope there is noe cause to have any suspicion of him for doeing such a thing to you, and in regard he declares his willingness to assist you in case he may have satisfaction in the security for his new undertakeing, I apprehend it very reasonable that you should satisfye him therein. I forbeare, and onely desire that in all your dealeings both with relations and others you will lay your hand upon your heart, and in your thoughts change places with them a while and doe to them what you would thinke were just and faire for them to doe to you."

"York, Dec. 86. Dear bro.†,—The same time that I received your last I received a sadd letter from bro. Rokeby letting me know

* Written to his brother, Joseph Rokeby, who was at that time in pecuniary difficulties. The letter contains a kindly-administered and sensible rebuke.

† Addressed to Joseph Rokeby. The letter gives him an account of the accidental death of his nephew. William Rokeby was singularly unhappy and unfortunate in his children. George and Alexander died young. John was drowned. William, the eldest, died under a cloud beyond sea, his father knowing nothing of him. His uncle, Joseph, mentions him, I believe, in 1675, when he speaks of Wm. Rokeby, then an apprentice in London, being turned out of doors by his master.

Thomas Rokeby, the other son, was the greatest scapegrace in the family. He was educated, I believe, by the Judge, but he did him no credit. In 1690 his father writes to Mr. Rokeby, complaining of him, and very justly, for it seems that he had appropriated some money. He says, "it is the greife of my heart to find his improvements soe small with all the costs you have bene at with him. I am jelous his brothers and the souldiers company last summer at Yorke hath don him noe good. But I can onely grieve for him, pitty and pray for him." In the year after this he was ill, for his father says of him, "he has been brought soe low with an ague that we feare him fallinge into a consumption; his flessh is much worne off and he very weake and his stomacke quite gon." On Nov. 6, 1694, the young man writes from Skellow to his aunt, Lady Rokeby, to the following effect:—

"Honoured Madam,—My father hath been pleased to let mee know his willingnes and readynes (as far as in him lies) to inable me to git my owne maintenance. He hath a great minde I should goe in to the army, which is likewise my earnest desier; and haveing allways, most honoured madam, had large experience of your great kindenesse makes me once more be so bold as to desiere your Ladyship's assistance in this matter. My father doth intend (God willing) to write to your Ladyship about it, and he will do what he can to git my Lord Falkenbridge intrest to the generall, Sir Henry Bellowes, to give me a commission, for I thinke I could rase the king a company of foot in this country without much difficulty, though I believe men will be harder to raise this next spring then they have been yet, unless it be by men of interest in the countrey. My humble request to your Ladyship is, you would be pleased to speake for me to Mr. White whose acquaintance and intrest might doe much towards the procuring a commission; which if it be, I hope I shall never be guilty of anything that may reflect upon me or any of my relations, ether as I am a Christian or a gentleman; and I hope, if God blesse me with life and health, I might doe very well, and be rather helpfull than needfull to my father, who gives his service to the Judge and your Ladieship, with my most humble duty and many thanks for your kindness to me in Yorkeshire; as all att present from, madam, your Ladyship's most dutyfull obedient nephew and humble servant, THO. ROKEBY."

Would that he had kept to his good resolutions! He fell into the hands of an

that on Thursday last his son John was drowned nere Doncaster as he was comeing from Sandall with some rents which he had received there. His body was not then found and since that I have not heard any thing from thence. I pray God sanctifye to us all, and especially to his nere relations, this chastizeing providence. Our God is righteous in all His wayes and holy in all His workes, and it becomes us to be silent before Him because He hath done it."

"York, 21 Apr. 88. Deare bro.*—I thanke you for your kind token of oranges which proved very good. I thanke you also for your care about the pippins and cider which likewise are very good. My poore wife hath been much indisposed and hath been blooded and under the prescriptions of the physitian this weeke, and, I bless God, she is now much better, and my sister Smithson is well recovered of a dangerous squinsey which the doctor was afraid would have choked her. Dolly is very well, thanks be to God. I committ you and us and all our affaires to the good providence of our gracious God and Father in Jesus Christ."

"My deare sister †,—Our heavenly Father hath an unquestionable right to doe whatever He pleases with us and all our relations and concernments, and whatsoever He doth it is alwayes best, however our blindness and unbeliefe may hinder us from apprehending it to be soe. Oh that we could live more that precious life of faith. I confess it is much easier to speake of it unto others than to put it in practice ourselves when it comes to be our own case to need it most. God hath now put you and yours into such circumstances that you are now under severall promises and declarations of kindness made by God. To those in your condition He hath said by y^{e} Psalmist in y^{e} 68 Psal. 5, 'a father of the fatherless and a judge of y^{e} widows is God in his holy habitation.' Y^{e} notion of a father imports y^{e} greatest tendernes of affection, and that of a judge y^{e} greatest care to doe right, and to rescue from wrong and oppression; and I know not why a beleiving soul may not by faith lay hold of that expression as a promise, w^{ch} is in y^{e} 49 Jer. 11, 'Leave thy fatherless children; I

artful attorney at Doncaster, of the name of Gamble, who, through post obit bonds, and the various tricks of money-lenders, got his prospective estate into his hands. The account of this transaction will be found in Mr. Hunter's history of the Deanery of Doncaster. He was completely lost in recklessness and extravagance. In Nov. 1705, Mr. Crompton, writing from Sandal to Lady Rokeby, says, "there is a report at Doncaster that Mr. Tho. Rokeby is married to a person he hath long kept with him." The young spendthrift died on May 2, 1706.

* Another letter to his brother Joseph. The "sister Smithson" was a Miss Danby, and "Dolly" was Mr. Joseph Rokeby's own daughter, who afterwards married James Wyndlow of Thirsk. She generally lived with her uncle, and was a very great favourite of his.

† Written to his sister-in-law, Milcah Rokeby, on the death of her husband, the writer's brother, Joseph Rokeby. Of Mr. Joseph Rokeby somewhat has been already said.

will preserve them alive and let thy widows trust in me.' I am sure y^e^ Scriptures frequently speake of God's speciall care of strangers, widowes and fatherless, and this is a great matter for faith to rest upon. The Lord helpe you in y^e^ exercise of that precious grace.

"But, deare sister, I doe not thinke I have done all that I ought to you when I have told you that you ought to trust in God, for it is part of y^e^ character of pure and undefiled religion to doe kindness to y^e^ widowes and fatherless, and this is more acceptable to God than any externall observances; and upon that account I judge it my duty to be helpfull to you and yours, soe farr as I am able, and therefore if there be any thing wherein I can be of any way assisting to you I intreat you to let me know it, and (God willing) I will doe what I can for you. I know not anything of my brother's circumstances as to his estate, and therefore can give noe advice for y^e^ present, but onely this, that you be sure you make no promise nor sign any writeing but upon good advice and deliberation, I pray God comfort you, support you, supply you and quiet your heart in Himself: this is y^e^ hearty prayer of

"Your truly affectionate bro.

"18 Aug. 88."

With the eventful year of 1688 a new era commences in Mr. Rokeby's life. The political changes that then occurred are matters of history. In the month of November in that year a great movement in favour of the Prince of Orange took place at York, and in that movement Mr. Rokeby is said to have played an important part. Thoresby states that he was believed, by some, to be the author of a quarto pamphlet entitled "*The thoughts of a private person about the justice of the gentlemen's undertaking at York*," a piece which has been generally ascribed to the pen of the Earl of Danby. But whether Rokeby wrote this tract or not, we may be certain that all his sympathies would be with the "gentlemen," and it is, to say the least, a remarkable fact that a few weeks after the establishment of the new monarch in England he was marked out for a seat upon the bench. For this honour he was peculiarly fitted by his great legal experience and reputation; and his appointment, also, was a compliment to the great Presbyterian party, with which he was so intimately connected. William III. is famous for the excellent judges that he appointed; and the selection of Mr. Rokeby did no discredit to his discernment. But he shall himself tell the story of his appointment which he accepted with all those doubts and misgivings which harass a thoughtful and religious mind.

In the same year that witnessed political changes of such

striking interest, Mr. Rokeby began to note down in a book his most secret thoughts and aspirations, which, ever since his decease, have been copied and re-copied by his descendants and cherished by them as precious treasures. "That great and good man, the late William Wilberforce," was so struck by them that it was his intention to have given them to the world. I cannot but think that too little attention has been paid to documents of this kind. Not only are they interesting as evidences of the workings of the mind of a good and a great man, but they are most valuable for the light which they throw upon the religious history of the time in which they were composed. The Presbyterian party took a most important part in secular and ecclesiastical affairs in the seventeenth century, and in being made acquainted with the feelings and the thoughts of a man so distinguished as Mr. Justice Rokeby, we learn much of that great body which he assisted at the same time with his counsel and his character.

The journal begins in the following manner:—

This booke is for myselfe in my greatest and best commendments,—T. Rokeby.

Oh, Lord my God, I humbly pray Thee, for Christ's sake, to pardon my standing so long idle as I have done in the day of my life, I being now in the fifty-seventh year of my age, and have done Thee very little service in all that time: the Lord help me to bring forth more fruit now in my declining age. Blessed be God, Who (as it is in the parable Matt. xx. 9) gave a penny to those who came to labour in the vineyard but at the eleventh hour.

T. Rokeby.

6 May 1688.

I humbly resolve I will be a sincere disciple of Jesus Christ. 1. I will deny myself. 2. I will take up my crosse. 3. I will follow Christ.

May the 5th 1688. I, Thomas Rokeby*, doe here under my own hand solemnly and deliberately dedicate and devote myselfe,

* It was a common practice among the early and the later Puritans to make a special covenant with their Maker, and to renew it solemnly at stated periods. Oliver Heywood renewed his baptismal covenant every year on the anniversary of his baptism. Matthew Henry did the same every new year's day. Many other examples can be given. Judge Rokeby's M.S. is drawn up in a most precise, I had almost said a legal, manner. At the end of every paragraph and solemn engagement is his signature.

soul body and spirit, unto God, the Father Son and Holy Ghost. I give up sincerely and unreservedly all I am, all I have, and all I can doe, unto God through Christ, and I here take God in Christ for my portion, for my all; and I doe humbly and earnestly begg of God graciously to accept of me in and through the mediation of my Blessed Redeemer, the Lord Jesus Christ, and to pardon me and justifye me through His blood, and to sanctifye me by His Spirit; and I purpose (by God's gracious help and assistance) to renew this solemne personal covenant again, and to express it more fully and largely.

THOMAS ROKEBY.

July 11 1688. Oh eternal and infinitely glorious and gracious Lord, my God, the God and Father of my Lord Jesus Christ, and in Him my most gracious Father, I doe humbly acknowledge and heartily bemoan the defilement of my nature, and my great actuall guilt, and am apprehensive and sensible of my lost and undone condition by reason of my original and actuall sin, whereby I have lost the favour of God, and am become justly obnoxious to His displeasure. And I am utterly unable by any righteousness or wisdom or strength of my own, either to escape the just displeasure of God, or to regain His favour; but blessed be God who hath not left me without means and hopes of recovery; He hath been pleased to declare Himself willing to pardon and accept poor returning sinners in and by my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and to enter into a new covenant of grace, mercy and reconciliation with sinners through Jesus Christ, and hath proposed in the Gospel the terms of peace and reconciliation, which terms I heartily and really submit to and embrace as they are offered in the Gospel.

God accepts of none but in the way of a covenant, and the first covenant of friendship betwixt God and man being broken by Adam (who was the head of that covenant and the representative of all his posterity) God now receives none but only in the way of the covenant of grace and reconciliation in and by Jesus Christ, Who is the head of this second covenant; and it is His will that every soul whom He accepts should enter into covenant with Him. (God who is Lord of all hath an undoubted right in me and dominion over me as my Creator, and my dedication of myself to God is onely a recognition of that right, and gives not any thing to God which was not His before.) My parents dedicated me to God in the baptismal covenant, and by that I am obliged to be the faithful servant of God, and Christ, and I have often in a solemn manner, both in my solitude and retirement, and also at the Lord's supper renewed my

covenant with the Lord, but haveing lately seen a booke writt by Mr. Heywood*, I have purposed, by the assistance of the Holy Spirit of God, to renew my personal covenant with God again in a more solemn and large manner, and to put it in writing under my own hand for the better preservation of the memory of it, and the stronger obligation of myselfe to keep it, which I humbly begg of God, for Christ's sake, to enable me to doe. Amen. Amen.

I do here take God the Father for my supreme and finall happiness and for the onely portion of my soul; as Thou art, O Lord, the first cause, soe I desire sincerely to make Thee my last end; as Thy glory is the end of my being, soe I doe now make it the end of my acting, and doe fully resolve (by Thy grace and assistance) that Thy glory shall be the real design of all the actions of my whole life. I will be for God and not for any other; but, Lord, I am a vile sinner, and Thou art a God of infinite purity and holiness, and art a consuming fire unto sin; and, therefore, there is noe approaching to the Lord but only in the way of a Mediator, and God the Son, the second person of the ever-blessed Trinity, hath taken upon Him humane nature, and is the onely Mediator between God and sinners, being both God and man in one person. I do here, therefore, take the Lord Jesus Christ in all His offices.

1. As my Lord and King, to rule and governe me in every thing, and not onely to protect me, but to subdue me entirely to Himselfe; and, in His strength, I humbly resolve to obey His will in every thing, for I know it is righteous, holy, and good in every declaration of it.

2. As my Prophet, to teach and instruct me in all the ways of truth and holiness by His word and Spirit, and, in His strength, I humbly resolve to learn all His teaching. I humbly beg of God to make me a teachable and a spiritually-teached creature.

3. As my Great High Priest to satisfye the justice of God for me, by the sacrifice of Himself, and, thereby, to reconcile God to me and me to God, and to intercede for me with God in the vertue of His oblation; and I humbly rest and relye upon His merits and satisfaction for pardon, acceptance and salvation, and I desire that He alone may have the whole glory of my salvation.

I here humbly take God the Holy Spirit, and third person of the ever-blessed Trinity, for my sanctifier and preserver, and to

* Oliver Heywood. whose writings were read with great attention. Mr. Rokeby had a great regard and respect for him and his opinions.

work all my workes in me and for me; and I now heartily yeild up myselfe to His blessed guidance, conduct and manuduction in every thing, and I humbly beg that He will enable me to walk resolvedly in them and to persevere therein to the end. I doe heartily and willingly receive and subscribe to all the revelations which God hath made in the holy scriptures of the Old and New Testament, in reference to what I am to know and believe concerning God, and what duty God requires of me.

I doe heartilye acknowledge the justice and goodness of all God's commandments, and desire that all my obedience to them may spring from a principle of unfeigned love to God and Christ; and I desire to obey them however opposite any of them may be to flesh and blood and worldly interest.

I doe sincerely own and submit to all the institutions and appointments of my Lord Jesus who is the onely king and lawgiver of His Church, and I humbly resolve in the strength of Divine grace never to change them for humane inventions.

I humbly adore and put myself under all the dispensations of Divine Providence whether prosperous or adverse. Thou, O Lord, shalt chuse my inheritance for me, give me or take from me what Thou pleasest; teach me, O Lord, how to abound and how to want, how to pass through bad report and good report, soe as that I may be really better by both. I have had great proportions of health and liberty, for which I bless my God; and Thou, O Lord, hast given me some small taste of sickness and imprisonments *, oh that I could improve all to my spirituall and eternal advantage; I have had and still have comfortably and plentifully outward things to enjoy (blessed be God for it). Lord, let them not be my portion; Lord, let them not be my snare; in the midst of these enjoyments, Lord, helpe me to look after and obtain a more sublime and heavenly way of satisfaction than all the things of the earth can give.

I doe now sincerely dedicate and devote my soul and all the facultys and powers of it, and my body and all the members of it, unto the great Lord of heaven and earth, to be entirely imployed in His service and for His honour.

I here give up my understanding unto God, to be spiritually illuminated by Him. Oh Lord, fix my mind to contemplate and meditate on Thee, and on those great and glorious things which are eternal.

I here give up my will to the Lord to be sweetly but effectually wrought upon by the Lord to chuse Him freely,

* I do not know to what the writer is now alluding. It is quite possible that he had been a prisoner "for conscience sake."

readily and permanently, for the chiefest good which I am capable of.

I here give up all my affections unto my God to be put into their due order to love and delight in Him above all, to feare Him with a childlike awe and reverence; to hate what God hates, and to be angry with every thing that displeases Him. I resolve to fix my hope on Him and my chief joy shall be in Him. I humbly pray that all my affections may be fixed upon their right objects and kept within their proper bounds.

I here give up my conscience to my God (Who is the only rightfull Lord of it). Oh, my God, I here subject it to Thy authority in every thing: Lord, purifye it and keep it tender, but deliver me from all the weakness and viciousness to which it is liable.

I, also, give up my memory to Thee, O Lord, to be a repertory and storehouse of spiritual and divine things: Oh, my Lord, strengthen it for Thy service and purge it from all vain and foolish frothy things, that bemean it before the Lord, that it hath been like a sieve, very apt to retaine trash, chaff and rubbish, and to let the usefull and good corn slip through.

I here, likewise, give up my imagination and fancy to the Lord to be imployed in receiving the ideas and impressions of holy and heavenly things: Oh Lord, purge it from all impure ideas and impressions, and inable me to reject all filthy and vain imaginations with the greatest scorn and indignation, and not to give the least place or entertainment to any infections of that kind.

Lord, I doe now give up all the members of my body to be weapons of righteousness unto holiness, my tongue to speak Thy praise, my hands and feet to act for God my Lord, and my eyes to behold Thy works and to be turned away from beholding vanity.

Oh Lord, I here give up all my relations unto Thee, and myself in every relation: Lord, I give up my wife, my family and my servants unto Thee to be wholly Thine; Lord, make every member of my family a living spirituall fruit-bearing member of that mystical body whereof my Lord Jesus is the true and spiritual head.

Lord, Thou hast in Thy wise providence (and upon my humble seeking for Thy direction in it) made me a husband of a most loving and justly beloved wife (I heartily bless Thee for her). I resolve to love her with an entire affection in Thee and for Thee; I will doe what I can to promote her spirituall and eternall welfare, and I will cherish her in all conditions, and provide for her as well as I can. Lord, pardon all my fail-

ings towards her, and though Thou hast been pleased to deny us the blessing of children, yet, Lord, I humbly pray Thee, make us heires together of the blessed inheritance, and give us a name better than of sons and daughters.

O Lord, I have several brothers and sisters, nephews and neices, I give them to Thee, and humbly resolve by Thy grace to improve all the interest I have in them, and all the influence I have upon them and theirs to make them all sincerely Thine in the bond of the covenant. Lord, make them all Thine, and give me wisdom to know how to carry towards them soe as that I may accomplish this end which I aime at, to be really instrumental for their spirituall good.

Lord, Thou hast given me servants (I owe all the accommodations of my life to Thy free bounty and goodness). I give them up to Thee, and I give up myself to be Thy servant in the relation of a master unto them. I will (by Thy assistance) give unto them that which is equall, knowing that I have a Master in heaven Who hath far greater authority over me than I have over them. I will instruct them in the way of truth and set them an example of walking therein; the good Lord pardon all my defects in the relation of a master to my servants. Lord, I give up my estate to Thee: whatever I have is from Thy bounty and I hope it hath not any part of it been gotten out of Thy way. I am onely a steward of it, and I render it to Thee Who art the true proprietor and Lord of it, and by Thy grace I will imploy it and lay it out in Thy service and for Thy honor in works of mercy and liberality: if Thou increasest it, I will not set my heart upon it; if Thou shalt diminish it, I will not murmur or repine, but will bless the Lord Who takes away as well as Who gives, and having food and raiment I will therewith be content.

Lord, I give up to Thee, my liberty, reputation, habitation, ease and plenty, whatever I have that is valuable in the eye of the world and lawfull for me to use: I lay it all at Thy feet: I will serve Thee with them all; I would have none of them to dishonour Thee with, but, onely, to use for Thy glory which is the great end for which the whole world was made and yet continues. Oh Lord, inable me to honour Thee in believing and obeying; and when Thou shalt call me to it, in suffering for the sake of my dearest Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen and Amen; and, when my life shall end, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.

THOMAS ROKEBY.

11th July, 1688. Yorke.

This 30th day of March 1689 I have received the preceeding covenant and dedication of myself unto my God, and I doe now humbly and heartily renew the same. Oh Lord, I most earnestly begg of Thee for the sake of my Lord Jesus Christ, to pardon all my unsteadiness in my covenant with Thee, and all my backslidings from Thee, and give me strength and power from on high to walk more stedfastly, faithfully, and vigorously with Thee, for all the remaining part of my short and frail life. Amen. Amen. THOS. ROKEBY.

April 14, 89. I have received intimations from good hands * that there is a probability that I shall by publicke authority be called to a place of eminent and publick magistracy. Oh Lord, Thou knowest my great infirmity and exceeding unfitness in many respects to be in such a station, and the consideration of these things hath occasioned many anxious thoughts in my mind. I hope, O Lord, I can truly say that the greatest cause of my trouble about this affair is, least through any weakness or unfitness of mine to fill up such a station, Thy glory should in any respect be eclipsed, or the publicke justice and good of this kingdom should take detriment, or the religion I profess should

* Among the friends who named Mr. Rokeby to the king for this appointment we may safely place Lord Wharton. There were many other gentlemen of distinction in the North who would endorse his recommendation. Among Judge Rokeby's papers there is a letter from his cousin White, of Carburton, Co. Notts, announcing his appointment. He was an ancestor of the family of White of Wallingwells. The letter runs as follows:—

"April 13th 1689.

"Deare Cosin,—What I formerly hinted (tho' it has proved more teadious then I could have apprehended) is now compleated, and yesterday you was chosen by his Matie one of his Judges for the Common Pleas, and I shall now give you a catalogue of the persons elected to fill the severall benches.—The choyce is to the great satisfaction of all good men. I presume you will have some further account hereof from other hands, but this which I tell you, you may depend upon for a great truth. Pray, therefore, prepare yourselfe and your affaires for your speedy attendance upon this service, to which you are now called by God, your king and your country, and therefore not to be withstood. If I can doe you any service here before your coming to Towne, you may be confident I will doe it with all the zeal and kindnesse imaginable. Pray make no excuses now, for there will be no room for them, and I, amongst others, have undertaken for your acceptance of the imploy, and I pray God give you strength of body to performe it. Your three partners are without excepcion for integrity as well as law, which must be a great encouragment to you. And this I have further to add that all the commissions run *tam diu bene se gesserint*. And now I shall greatly long to see you and hope you will let me know the very day I may expect you here. But I shall, I believe, trouble you once againe (if not oftner) before you leave York. My services to yourselfe and my good cosin your lady, not forgetting my champion. I am,

"Your truly affect. cosin and faithfull servant

"JO. WHITE."

be exposed to any reproach or contempt. Oh Lord, inable me, I beseech Thee, to promote the manifestation of Thy glory in the world and the publicke good and justice of the nation, and to adorn my holy professions by a conversation every way suitable to it, and then keep me where I am or place me where Thou pleasest.

Thou knowest, O Lord, that this matter was not at all desired or sought by me, and when the first notice of it came to me I was much troubled about it, but after a little consideration I solemnly in my retirement committed the whole matter to Thee, my most gracious Father in Jesus Christ, to order it according to Thy good pleasure. Oh Holy Father, I beseech Thee, pardon all my unbelieving and misgiving thoughts which have at any time come into my mind about it: I now, again, committ it to Thy holy wise righteous and gracious conduct; I lye myself at Thy feet; doe with me what Thou pleasest; Holy Father, glorifye Thy name, and whatever Thou shalt call me to, I beseech Thee, qualifye me, fitt me, and strengthen me in every respect for it, for my Lord Jesus Christ's sake. Amen and Amen.

Some memorials about my being called to be a Judge in the Court of Com. Pleas at Westminster anno Domini 1689.

About the latter end of Feb. 1688 I had notice by 2 letters from London that I was one of the persons named by severall Privy Councellors to the king, to be one of the 12 Judges. I immediately upon the receipt thereof writt to my friends to London and did ex animo declare my unfitness for such an imployment, and my real unwillingness to undertake it, and my desire to prevent the king's choice: and this matter rested soe long that I was in great hopes that all thoughts of me in this matter had been laid aside, att which I began to please myselfe: but upon Monday the 13th of April, att night, I received a letter by the post from Sir Wm. Rawlinson, one of the Lords Com^{rs} for the custody of the great seale, declaring that the king had nominated me a Judge of the Com. Pleas, and requiring me to come up to London speedily about it. I had, the day before, seriously committed this matter to God (as may be seen at the former end of this book) soe that now I tooke this letter to be the voice of Providence calling me up (If I was mistaken herein the Lord pardon me). This I doe acknowledge that though my fears, unbeliefe and unquietness of mind were very great by reason of my weakness and unfittness in mind and body for the imployment of a Judge, yet I did daily and frequently find and experience that God did graciously give in

some support which kept me from wholly sinking under the burden of my own troubled thoughts. Oh for ever blessed be the Lord for this mercy and loving-kindness thus manifested unto me.

I found, also, that in reading the Holy Scriptures God did often pitch me upon supporting scriptures, and dart in supporting considerations into my mind, which were exceedingly helpfull to me (and I hope spiritually advantagious) in this troubled condition. "Bless the Lord, Oh my soul, and all that is within me bless His holy name. Bless the Lord, Oh my soul, and forget not any of all His benefits. Bless the Lord, Oh my soul, Who hath thus far crowned thee with loving-kindness and tender mercy." May 14. 89.

Upon Monday the 15th day of April, 1689, I received by the post a letter from y^e^ Lord Com^r^. Rawlinson * acquainting me that the king had named me to a Judge of the Com. Pleas, and requiring me to hasten up to London for that purpose, and, accordingly, I begun my journey towards London upon Monday the 22 April, and came safe to London (blessed be God) upon Saturday the 27 April, 89.

Upon the 4th of May, 89, I was compleated a serjeant at law, and upon the 8th of May 89, I was made a Judge of the Com. Pleas †. I sate in court upon the 10th and 11th days of May, and sate soe long both dayes, without any support for my armes and back, that it was very wearisome to me, and made me

* Narcissus Luttrel in his diary, i. 529, says that Rokeby and fifteen others appeared at the Chancery bar on the 2d of May and took the oaths as serjeants. On the 4th they were in Gray's Inn Hall and were counted, and again at Westm^r^. They gave rings bearing in the motto a special allusion to the advent of the Prince of Orange, *Veniendo restituit rem*, substituting *veniendo* for *cunctando* which won for Fabius his victories and his glory. The ceremony ended with a dinner at Serjeant's Inn to the nobility and judges.

† The patent making Mr. Rokeby a Judge was dated on the 8th of May. "The same 8th day of May, in y^e^ afternoon, Just. Rokeby tooke y^e^ oath of a judge before y^e^ three Lords Commissioners for y^e^ custody of y^e^ great Seale (Sir Jo. Maynard, S^r^ Anth. Kerk, S^r^ Wm. Rawlinson) att the Lord Com^r^ Maynard's house in Lincoln's Inn feilds, and att y^e^ same time Baron Lechmere and Just. Eyre were sworn Judges.

"Pasch. 1° W. and Mar. anno 1689 in y^e^ Com. Pleas, Sir Henry Pollexfen Cheife Just., S^r^ John Powell, Tho. Rokeby, Peyton Ventris.

"These two last-named Judges were knighted in the king's bedchamber att Whitehall, on Thursday y^e^ 20th of October 1689.

"Apr. 6, 91. Just. Ventris dyed in Suffolk neare Ipswich, and all y^e^ Judges agreed that his Lady should have all y^e^ Dedimus mony for Easter Terme, and my bro. Powell and I agreed that she should have all y^e^ judgment mony of Mr. Tempest's office to y^e^ 1st day of Easter Terme, and, accordingly, she had them both.

"June 15, 1691, y^e^ L^d^ Ch. Just. Pollexfen dyed att his house in Lincoln's feilds, of a very short sickness, he being then in y^e^ 50th year of his age (as he told me 3 dayes before he dyed). His death was a great and publicke loss, he being a very learned, upright and usefull man. His body was carryed into Devonshire and there buryed."

begin to reflect upon it as an undertaking that I should never be able to carry on; and soe some troubled and desponding thoughts begun to prevail upon me. The good Lord pardon and forgive all these unbelieving and desponding thoughts for Christ's sake. Amen.

May 12th, 1689. Oh Lord, I humbly adore all the steps of Divine providence toward me in the whole course of my life to this very moment, and doe now in Thy presence heartily bemoan, and desire to repent of, all my unbelieving and fearful thoughts about the station I am now in; and as Thou hast by Thy special providence (as I apprehend) placed me in it, soe I desire by renewed acts of faith to committ myself in this station, and all the matters which relate to it, unto Thy holy, wise, gracious and powerfull influence, assistance, direction, conduct and manuduction, for without Thee I can doe nothing. The putting me into this station hath brought upon me a very great change in my way and manner of living, in which I have lived comfortably (I bless God for it) above 27 years, ever since I have been in a married condition; it hath changed my private, retired and easy condition into a publike, noisy, tiresome and uneasy condition, for which my own strength and abilitys are very unfitt and unequall, but I trust in the Lord to bear me up under it. Lord, though the present sence of the weight of my burthen makes me complaine, as being weary under it, yet I humbly pray and hope, that I may never be weary of waiting upon Thee for Thine aid and assistance.

I desire by a stedfast faith to draw out and apply to my own soul in my present circumstances the sweetness and comfort of that Scripture: Isa. xl. 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, "Why sayest thou, O Jacob, and speakest thou, O Israel, my way is hid from the Lord, and my judgement is passed over from my God. Hast thou not known, hast thou not heard that the everlasting God, the Lord, the creator of the ends of the earth fainteth not, neither is weary? there is noe searching of His understanding. He giveth power to the faint, and to them that have no might He increaseth strength: even the youths shall faint and be weary, and the young men shall utterly fall. But they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength. They shall mount up with wings as eagles, they shall run and not be weary and they shall walk and not be faint."

Lord, Thou art the same to Thy poor creature in a crowd and in a closet, and though there be a great difference betwixt them in reference to me, yet that is occasioned onely by my weakness and infirmity, and Thou canst (if Thou pleasest) inable me to glorifye Thee in the one as well as in the other. Lord, I

humbly begg of Thee that Thou wilt give me such spirituall wisdom, prudence, courage, presence of mind, strength of attention and memory and all other qualifications, as thereby I may be inabled to glorifye Thy holy name and serve Thee publickly, faithfully, justly and understandingly in a publicke, busy, noisy and troublesome station, and that I may not be cumbred about many things but may duly mind the one thing necessary. Amen.

May 17, 1689. I being now placed as one of the Judges of England, which is a great trust, and requires much greater strength and abilitys both of mind and body than I can find in myselfe.

1. I doe in the first place humbly implore the special influence, supplys and assistance of Divine grace to enable me in every respect duly to performe every duty required of me.

2. Next, I desire seriously to fix my mind upon Jehosaphat's instructions to his judges in the 2nd of Chron., xix. chap. 6 and 7 verses, and to looke upon those words as the voice of God to myselfe, and to take great heed, (that caution being twice repeated) for I am not to judge for man but for the Lord, Who is with me in the judgement. I also propound to myselfe the rules which S^{r} Matth. Hale proposed to himselfe att his undertaking the imployment of a Judge, as they are sett down in his life written by D^{r}. Burnett pa. 57, 58, and the good Lord strengthen and inable me to observe them and all other rules of my duty towards God and man, both in my present station, and in every other station or condition I shall be brought into, and in every affair in which I shall be engaged.

I looke upon the cause wherein King William and Q^{n}. Mary and the Parliament of England are now ingaged to be the cause of God and Christ against Satan and Antichrist; and I look upon the wonderfull series of providences by which this matter hath been hitherto carried on, to be the eminent voice and finger of God, and which I hope and believe God will carry on to a compleat measure: and I look upon myself as ingaged in that cause by a call from God to be one of the 12 Judges of England, and I looke upon it as my duty not only to own that cause, but also in my place and station to own, practice, promote, incourage personall and family piety and holiness in the most real and serious manner of the exercise of them. I feare I have been formerly too apt to be ashamed of these things for fear of man's reproach, and too unwilling to own or justify them. Oh Lord, my Heavenly Father, I beseech Thee for my Lord Jesus Christ's sake, that Thou wilt pardon all my guilt herein, and that Thou wilt give me a holy courage

and resolution for God and Christ and His ways and His truth, and the serious practice of piety and holiness in my person and family; and that Thou wilt also give me a Christianly wise zeale in my place and station to disown, discountenance and discourage all sorts of prophaneness, irreligion and looseness of discourse and conversation. 22 May, 89.

May 23rd, 89. In my present troubled condition I find that my thoughts suggest to me that now by taking upon me my present imployment in this publicke station and comeing to live at London.

1. I leave a cheap, pleasant, and convenient spacious habitation for a dear and strait habitation.

2. I leave old friends that loved and esteemed me, for strangers where I fear I shall not have such love and esteeme.

3. I make this great alteration in my course and way of living in the 58th year of my age, and being under much bodily weakness.

4. I leave my ease and delight in retirement for toile and noise and crouds.

Unto all these things, I doe here humbly give these answers in the presence and fear of God, and I doe begg of God that He will by the almighty working of His Spirit, set them soe home upon my soul, that my heart may be really both quietted and satisfyed with the holy, wise, righteous and gracious disposal of God in this affair.

1st answer to them all is this: that all these objections referr to selfe, and seem to eye that more than the honour of God and the fulfilling His will; and that I, as a Christian, ought and doe here reject all these objections.

2. I did a good while since (when I had not the least prospect of advancement in the world but rather of suffering) give up to God my habitation, my reputation, my ease and plenty (as appeares before) and declared I laid them at God's feet, and would serve Him with them, and would use them onely for His glory, and shall I now resume them again when I have given them away and they are none of mine? God forbid. Shall I now apparently breake my ingagement made to my gracious God when He seems to be putting it to the tryall whether or no I was real in the making of it, and will be faithful in performing it? God forbid.

3. I find in the 12th of Gen., and the 4 and 5 verses, that God called Abraham in the 75 year of his age (when he had been settled much longer than I had been) from out of his country and from his kindred and from his father's house unto a land that God would shew him, and he departed, as God had spoken

to him, and, in the 11 Heb., 8, it is said that by faith he obeyed and went out not knowing whether he went; and shall I now disobey when my call is much easier, being to a place I have some knowledge of? the good Lord inable me to exercise faith vigorously in my obedience to this call of my gracious God.

It appears, Gen. xiiith, 2 and 6th verses, that Abraham was very rich in cattle (as well as gold and silver) and, Acts vii. 5, God gave him no land, noe not so much as to set his foot on, in that country whether he was to goe, and yet he took his herds with him, which I note as a great proofe of his faith, believing that God would provide for them. Reason might have objected on Abraham's part, what shall I doe with my cattle if I go into a country where I shall not have a foot of land? but Abraham makes no such objection, but goes att God's command and leaves himselfe and his flocke at God's disposal. The good Lord helpe me by faithe to leave myselfe and my all att God's disposall, that I have not any place for my habitation in the place to which I am called.

4th It was God who gave me that habitation, reputation, ease, and friends, and made them convenient and delightfull to me, but still He reserved His own right both in them and me, and if I should be unwilling that He should dispose of them and me according to His right, He could and might justly make them to be a trouble and vexation to me, more than any of the things He calls me to.

I desire heartily, O Lord, to believe that what Thou dost is best; Lord, overcome my unbelief. God who made that habitation and condition comfortable to me, and gave me there those friends and conveniencys, and that reputation which I had there, can doe the same for me here; and, if it be for His glory, He will do it; and if it be not for His glory I ought not to desire it, nor will I desire it, but onely with reference to His glory.

5th God can and I hope through His grace He will preserve me, and use me as well in a corner and exile as in ease and retirement: and that a corner and exile was the least agreeable to the wayes and actings I have accustomed myselfe to for many yeares, yet they are not undull, and God may have as much honour by me in them as in others: and if many ways and some ways crosse to my own inclinations it were not unlike they will to follow God in those ways and it is for that I should preserve unto God the way in which He shall use me and my ease is it not at all.

The good Lord [illegible] all these objections by the mighty prevailing power of His Holy Spirit and grant that

never any of them may rise up again in my thoughts or words. Oh Lord, let me not like Lot's wife looke behind me any more to any of these worldly contentments. Amen. Amen. Oh, Holy Father, let Thy poor servant from this time goe away and eat, and let his countenance be no more sad, as it was in the case of Hannah, 1 Sam. i. 18, when Eli had given her a gracious answer from God concerning her prayer for a son.

May 24th, 89. My thoughts were much at ease this day and several good providences of God were this day exercised towards me which I desire to observe and be thankfull for, and from thence to strengthen my faith in God, for His future carrying me on in the station He hath called me to. Lord, overcome my unbeliefe.

1. This was the 1st day that I ever went into the house of Lords as a judge. I was suddenly called to the house of Lords and went accordingly, and staid there till after two of the clock, and was not troubled with any usual fears of bodily weakness, nor was I soe weary and faint as usually I have been.

2. I met with many respects from some great Lords who had never spoke to me before.

3. The act passed for the ease of Protestant dissenters against several lawes, the continuance of which laws troubled my thoughts.

4. I received a letter from my wife wherein were some things that helped me against some troubled thoughts in reference to some concerns of my estate, wherein I am too apt (I confess it) to fear loss and want.

Blessed be the Lord for all the encouragements and supports to His poor weak servant.

May 26th, 89. I begin to consider the several roots from which my fears and perplexitys arise, and I feare they are from the bitter roots of severall sinfull dispositions in my soul. The good Lord pardon and cleanse me from all these evill dispositions by the mighty prevailing power of His grace and Holy Spirit.

1st My fears that the income* of my imployment will not

* A small quarto book is still preserved in which the Judge has recorded the annual profits of his office. "In 1689 they were 1378*l.* 19*s.* In 1690, 1475*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.* In 1691, 2063*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* In 1692, 1570*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.* In 1693, 1569*l.* 13*s.* 1*d.* In 1694, 1629*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* In 1695, 1443*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* In 1696, 1478*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* In 1697, 1498*l.* 11*s.* 11*d.* In 1698, 1631*l.* 10*s.* 11*d.*"

When Mr. Rokeby first entered into his office he incurred some very heavy expences which he thus records:—

"The charges of my comeing into my Judge's place and ye taxes upon it ye 1st year and halfe.

beare the necessary expences of it (which probably may be greater to me than to another by reason of my many infirmities) probably arising from a covetous or penurious root in my mind: good Lord, let not such a root of bitterness now spring up in me, and if there be any seeds or beginnings of such a root in me, lying lurking and undiscovered in my soul, the good Lord pluck them up and purge me from them.

2. My fears that I may fall into any reproachfull thing by reason of my intellectual or bodily weakness probably arises from pride, and an unwillingness to be derided and scorned.

Oh Lord, humble my proud heart and make me really willing to endure scorn and derision, so that God may be really glorifyed by me in every thing I doe.

May 27, 89. The proper and usefull actings of faith by a person in my condition are to be exercised against natural probabilities, yea and seeming impossibilities. Abraham the father of the faithfull did soe, 4 Rom. 18, 19, 20, 21, in the case of his having a son, which (considering his and his wife's naturall circumstance) was against all naturall probability: Heb. xi. 17, 18, 19, in the case of his offering up his only begotten son he believed against a seeming improbability, for if his son had then been slain, it had been naturally impossible that in his posterity all the nations of the earth should be blessed.

I am under great naturall improbabilitys of duly discharging my duty in every respect, but, in regard I am called to it by God, I will trust and hope and relye upon God's soveraignty, power, wisdom, faithfulness, goodness and mercy, to His poor servant (of which I have had great experience) against my own infirmities of all sorts, and against all naturall improbabilitys, and desire to believe that my gracious God Who hath hitherto assisted me against these, can and will still assist me against them in my further progress in the duty I am called to. I am sure God hath done me good all my days, and even in this

"1689, May 11. To Mr. Milton, deputy clerk of the crown, as per note for y^e^ patent and swearing privately 21*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.* May 30^th^, To Mr. English, charges of y^e^ patent att y^e^ Secretary of States Office, as per note, said to be a new fee, 6*l.* 10*s.* Inrolling y^e^ patent in Exchequer and Treasury, 2*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* Ju. 27. Wine given as a Judge, as per vintners note, 23*l.* 19*s.* Ju. 24. Cakes given as a Judge, as per confectioners note, 5*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* Second hand Judges robes, with some new lineing, 31*l.* Charges for my part of y^e^ patent for our salarys, to Aaron Smith 7*l.* 15*s.* and y^e^ dormant warrant 3*l.*—10*l.* 15*s.*—101*l.* 8*s.* 2*d.*

"Taxes 420*l.*

"The charges of my being made a serjeant att law, and of removing my selfe and family to London, and of a new coach and paire of horses, and of my knighthood (all which were within the first halfe year of my comeing from York) upon y^e^ best calculation I can make of them were att least 600*l.*"

The sources of his income as Judge are regularly put down.

very concerne of my present situation, He hath in every step of it been infinitely better to me than my own unbelieving fears and timorous expectation. Blessed and for ever blessed be His holy name, and let my soul be raised up to love and admire His infinitely glorious majesty. Amen and Amen.

It is very well in a person or people, when called out by God, to leave former pleasant injoyments and to go on in a way of God's appointment, which att present seeme less pleasant, than to murmure and hanker after their former enjoyments and to despise the way of God's appointment; and this is very displeasing to our gracious, wise and holy God, as is evident in the case of the Children of Israel, in y^e^ 11 Numbers 5 and 6, who hankered after the fruits of Egypt and murmured for flesh and despised their present manna: in the 20^th^ verse God glutted them with what they desired.

Good Lord, pardon me for my failing in this kind and grant that I may noe more hanker after my Yorke enjoyments, but may chearfully and resolutely goe on in the way which God hath appointed me, being fully satisfyed with the provision God hath made for me in that way.

Ju. 5, 89. Selfe reflection (which alwayes is a duty incumbent upon every Christian) is now in a more especiall manner a duty upon me in this great change of my life, and of allmost all the concernments of life, which is made by my being placed in my present station. Upon this I desire seriously to consider what was the true and real ground of that contentment which I tooke in my former condition and circumstances. If my contentment did arise onely from a pleasure and delight taken in the creature as such, or onely from an earthly sweetness which was in them, I desire sincerely to repent of that, and doe heartily begg of God that I may no more love them for that cause, but that my affections may be wholly mortifyed to them, and may noe longer hanker after them nor any other thing, in, or of, this present world.

Oh, Holy Father, I humbly begg of Thee that Thou wouldest by this providentiall dispensation of Thine, effectually take off my affections from all manner of worldly injoyments, and really fix my whole soul upon the great and glorious concernments of eternity and make me earnestly to desire to be dissolved and to be for ever with the Lord Christ. Amen and Amen.

I had a very unquiet night the 9^th^ of June and the next day stayed at home from Westminster Hall, and had many troubled and fearfull thoughts, and upon the 10^th^ of June at night I slept little the fore part of the night, but having been in a slumber, about one of the clock, I awaked with this scripture

vigorously impressed upon my mind, "they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run and not be weary; they shall walk and not be faint."

Oh Lord, I desire to set up this as a monument of Thy mercy and kindness to me, and upon this good word of Thine to fix my soul.

Oh Lord, teach me what I may doe for Thy glory in my station in reference to Thy poor people who cannot come up to a compliance to humane lawes in the matter of Divine worship, and let me not be afraid or ashamed to own or encourage those, Thy little flocke, however they may be dispised by men, or I may be dispised for owning them. I have had this thought comeing into my mind, that God's continuing me under, and rather increasing, my bodily infirmitys (in all which I humbly adore His holy, wise, just and gracious providence), is to me an argument that it is His will that I should leave this publicke station and retire again into a private one. I humbly acknowledge the darkness and blindness of my own mind, and doe most humbly begg of Thee, Oh Lord, for Christ's sake, my blessed Redeemer, to shine into my darke mind by Thy blessed Spirit, and to shew to me the way I should goe, and the thing I should doe in this perplexed passage of my life; Holy Father, I would doe what Thou wouldst have me to doe and be what Thou wouldst have me to be. I am sure Thou art the unchangeable God, and Thy purposes alter not, but there are great changes in my circumstances and condition, and I would know how I may chearfully obey Thy holy will in them all. Lord, direct me to doe soe with a holy complacency in Thy blessed will in every thing Thou requires of me.*

The thoughts of my going the circuit was a great trouble to me, considering my particular personal weaknesses which render me very unfitt both for the journeying and the other toiles of a circuit: notwithstanding this, I had determined in my own purposes to try what I was able to doe in it, and should have set forward on Monday the 8th of July, but upon Friday morning the 5th of July, I had notice that it was the king's pleasure that I should not go the circuit† but should stay in Town. This matter was wholly without my seeing the king and unexpected to me, but it is a great ease to my very weak body. I doe most heartily bless God for this gracious providence to me, in which His finger is exceeding evident to me, and I

* "The perfection of holiness is to doe what God loves and to love what God does.—*Dr. Bates.*"

† "Baron Nevill and I were to have gone the Midland circuit, but he went alone."

begg of God to give me a truly sanctifyed use of His mercy to me, and to enable me truly to understand what His further will and pleasure is towards me, that soe I may be found in a full conformity and chearfull subjection to it in every thing. July 9, 89.

Upon the 26th of July, 89, as I was comeing from the House of Lords, the fore axletree of my coach broke, and the coach was quite overturned in the street, and no hurt to any of us, but onely my right arm a little strained.

Holy Father, I humbly adore Thy gracious providence in this matter and bless Thy name that it was noe worse, for if the horses (which were young and unruly) had run away, it might have killed or maimed us.

Lord, it is certain that a sparrow falls not to the ground without our heavenly Father, Matt. x. 29; then, certainly, we ought to observe and improve the passages of God's providence to us in the remarkable events of our lives.

Oh blessed Father, Thou hast exercised many gracious providences towards me in the whole course of my life from my birth to this time: blessed be Thy holy name for them all, and for this in particular, Lord, give me a thankfull heart and lipp and life. Amen. Amen. 27 July, 89.

I have lately had this thought that the complacency and satisfaction I took in my convenient and settled habitation and enjoyments att York made mee too much esteeme it as my home, and made me too much forget my pilgrimage state in this world, and now, since God has called me to this station, I looke upon myselfe as being from home.

Lord, I pray Thee, let me not think any place in this world to be my home, for whilst I am at home in the body I am absent from Thee, Lord. Oh that I may sincerely desire to be with the Lord, and may consider my station in the world to be onely a pilgrimage or a state of journeying to a better country, that is, an heavenly. Lord, fix my heart, affections and desires upon that heavenly country, and inable me to carry myselfe as a stranger in this world, and soe be ready upon all occasions to part with every thing in it, either by my own, or by their, removall, as God in His infinitely holy, just and gracious wisdom shall thinke fitt. 6 Aug. 89.

Upon the 12th of Aug. 89 I begun my journey from London towards York, and my God was very gracious to me in all that journey; the hot season was so much moderated that I was pretty well able to bear it; my young and foul (*sic*) horses performed the journey without damage. I was preserved from all dangerous accidents and from robbers and thieves, and the

same gracious hand of Providence brought me up to London again in a very comfortable manner, the 1st of October, 89.

However these things may seem to others onely as the actings of common providence, and they may take little notice of them, yet I desire to looke upon them as a gracious return of prayer, and as bestowed upon me in a way of covenant, love and mercy, and I desire to make use of these to helpe and raise up my heart, in thankfull obedience, to my God, and to be arguments to me still to trust in and intirely depend on my gracious Father, Who hath dealt thus mercifully with me in these outward concernments. Lord, raise up my heart to heavenly things.

From my first comeing into my publicke station I was really, and ex animo, very averse from receiving the honor of knighthood, for I apprehended that if I should be out of my station again this honor would put me into an higher way of living (suitable to that degree) than my small estate could conveniently bear, and it would be a very uneasy thing to me to have an honor upon me of which I could not support the dignity as it ought with sober decency to be supported.

But I did a little after the beginning of Mich. Term receive a command by my Ld Ch. Just. Holt to wait upon the King on Thursday the 31st of Oct. 1689, which I did together with 4 other Judges, and 5 of the king's serjeants and the solicitor-generall, and we all received the honor of knighthood and kiss'd the king's hand, and then went to the queen's apartment and kissed her hand.

I would really have avoided this, if I could have done it with any decency and dutifull respect to the king.

But in regard I have such an honour confer'd upon me without any ambitious desire or design of mine, (as I hope I can truly say) I would make some good use of it, as far as I am able. I think, therefore, that it is my duty to make this an argument to stirr up and ingage myselfe to doe more service for God in the world, and to strive more earnestly to honor God because He hath honoured me. My obligation to God, I am sure, is heightened by His providentiall conferring this honour, (for I desire truly to see His hand in it) and it may be my example in walking circumspectly in the wayes of truth and holiness may have a greater influence upon others to lead and incourage them in those ways than it would have had if I had not received this honor*. The good Lord teach me and inable me to know

* "Oct. 31, 89. Knighted by K. Wm. in the bedchamber. Sir Nicholas Lechmere, Baron of the Exchequer. Sir Thos. Rokeby, Just. of the Com. Pleas. Sir

and doe my duty herein with all faithfulness and resolution. Amen.

Dec^{r} 89. THOS. ROKEBY.

Jan. 3, 89. I now reflect upon the fears and disquietments which my unbelieving and timorous mind hath too often suggested to me, to my great trouble. Oh Lord, I humbly beseech Thee, for the sake of my Blessed Redeemer, to pardon, subdue, and deliver me from all these fears and disquietments, soe far as may be for Thy glory and the fitting and inabling me duely and faithfully to discharge all the dutys of my station.

Reflecting upon these things, and considering all the passages of Divine providence towards me ever since I was called to this station, I doe now set up this monument of God's infinite and transcending mercy to me. That God hath in every thing and in every respect been infinitely better to me than my fears and expectations, and hath given and doth give me sufficient cause and ground to trust in Him, depend on Him, and to commit my all unto Him, I speak and write this to the praise of His infinite grace, and doe humbly pray God to inable me with power from on high, to cast myselfe and all my care upon Him.

I being to go the Oxford circuit in the Lent vacation 89, I begun my journey from London, March 3, 89, and came very well that night to Reading in Berkshire, which was the first county in that circuit, and the 3rd of March was commission-day there. The next day I sate upon the gaole (my bro. Eyre sitting upon the causes). I pronounced sentence of death against ten men who were found guilty of such crimes as were without the benefit of the clergy. Upon the 4th of March, after my return from the Crown court, I received a letter from my Lord Ch. Just. Holt acquainting me that it was the King's pleasure that I should return to London to attend the King's service before the meeting of Parliament, but giving me liberty to go to Oxford; which accordingly I did upon Wednesday y^{e} 5th of March, and tryed 11 causes there the 6th of March, and then began my journey back again the 7th of March, and came very well to Serjeant's inn the 8th of March. Blessed be the Lord for His abundant mercy and goodness to me in this whole affair. I was very much troubled with the apprehensions of my great

Gyles Eyre, Just. of the King's Bench. Sir Peyton Ventris, Just. of the Com. Pleas. Sir John Turton, Baron of the Exchequer. Sir George Hutchins, y^{e} K. & Q^{s} Serjeant. Sir John Sommers, the K. & Q^{s} Solicitor. Sir John Tremain, Sir Wm. Thompson, Sir Wm. Wogan, Sir John Trenchard, their Maj^{ts} Serjeants.

"1 Sam. ii. 30. 'God saith, them that honour me I will honour, but they that despise me shall be lightly esteemed.'"

weakness and unfitness both for the business and the journeys of a circuit.

But I speak it and write it to the praise and glory of the rich grace and mercy of my most gracious God and heavenly Father in my Lord Jesus Christ, that I found from Him support, strength, incouragement, both in respect of the business and of the journeys, much beyond my fears and troubled thoughts, and I hope through the free grace of my good and gracious God, that I am much better by this journey. I heartily desire to be sincerely thankfull to God for it both in my heart and in my life, and from hence to draw further arguments and incouragements for a more full, intire, chearfull and ready trust in God and dependance upon Him in every thing. God is pleased very graciously to condescend to bear me up under my many and great infirmities and weaknesses; blessed, for ever blessed, be His holy name. Amen. Amen. 13 March, 89.

The preceding covenant, resignation and acceptation was received and renewed Jan. 10, 1690, with humble imploring of pardon for my failings in my observance of it hitherto, and humble supplications to my God through Jesus Christ, for power and strength to walke more accurately according to it for the future.

May 21st, 90. Though I have much darkness and weakness still upon my own mind (which I begg of God graciously to pity and pardon) and many troubled thoughts often perplexing me, yet upon the review of a year and more that I have been in this station, I have most abundant reason to bless and praise my God for His infinite mercy and goodness to me, and to declare (which I here doe with my whole heart and unfeignedly, I hope) that God is good and hath done me good all my days, and especially and particularly since I came into this station; and hath been better to me than my fear, and prevented many troubles which I was apprehensive of. I set up this further monument of God's continuing mercy to me, and in His strength I humbly resolve to trust wholly in Him, and really to resign and committ my all to Him. The good Lord inable me to doe soe sincerely, unreservedly, perseveringly. Amen. Amen.

July 30, 1690. I have still fresh and new occasions of praise and thanksgiving to my gracious God, both for publicke and private mercys. I now bless His holy name for His still continuing abundant care and kindness, mercy and goodness to me in all my concerns and affairs.

He preserves me and my family in health.

He provides for me that I am not in want.

He keeps me from reproachfull miscarriages.

As to the publicke, He is eminently and evidently a wonder-working God in England, Scotland and Ireland. As to Ireland, He hath done that in 40 days time (for and by K. W^{m}.) for the poor distressed Protestants * of that kingdom (more especially those in the city of Dublin) that may justly fill all our hearts and mouths with admiration and affection. Blessed, for ever blessed, be His holy name. "Who soe is wise and will consider these things even they shall understand the loveing kindness of the Lord." (Ps. cvii. 43.)

Jan. 4, 90. King William began his journey from Kensington toward Ireland, 9 Ju. (as I thinke). He tooke shipping at High-lake. 14 Ju., he landed at Carrickfergus or near it. July 1, he fought the battle att the Boyne with success next to a miracle. In the first week of Sep^{r}. 1690 King W^{m}. returned safe into England from Ireland to the universal joy and satisfaction of the body of the nation. Upon Wednesday the 10th of Sept^{br}. the King came to Hampton Court, at which time the Lord Ch. Just. Holt and myselfe were at Kingston-upon-Thames, keeping the assizes for the county of Surrey, and from thence the High Sheriff and the Grand Jury went to Hampton Court and presented to the King an address congratulating his victorys and success in Ireland and his safe return into England, which he kindly received; and I think it was the first address that was presented to him after his return from Ireland. This circuit was putt off (from a former appointment) to soe late a time of the yeare by reason of the French fleet being upon the coast, which was published by a proclamation, 19 July, 90. This delay of the circuit made it much more easefull and convenient to me in that the hot weather of the year was then over, and the season was very temperate and convenient for travailling. I looke upon this as a great and good providence of God to me, it being the first circuit that ever I went thro' as a Judge, and God did carry me through the whole circuit very comfortably and well. I bless and praise Him for it and doe heartily desire still to depend wholly on Him, and believingly and quietly to commit myselfe and all my concernments to His holy, wise, gracious and righteous will and disposall. Dec. 3, 90.

Jan. 10, 1690. It is now a year and nine months within a very few dayes (computing from the first knowledge of my call by authority) since I came to engage myselfe in the publicke station I now am in by God's providence, in which time my poor weak mind hath been exercised with various and many

* A brief description of King William's Irish campaign.

perplexing and anxious thoughts. 1. About the publicke affairs of the kingdom. 2. About my present station and concern in reference to publicke affaires. 3. About my own more particular affaires in reference to my mind, body, estate, reputation and habitation; and upon my most serious reflection and consideration of all these things I doe here set it down to the praise of the glory of the grace and mercy of my gracious and holy God and Father, that I have upon my own experience found that God hath been and still is infinitely good to me, and hath in every thing dealt with me as a most tender and compassionate Father; tho' I doe humbly acknowledge that I have been a most froward, pettish and peevish child (yet I hope through free grace a reall child). Holy Father, forgive I pray Thee, Thy poor weak child.

The publicke affaires both in England, Scotland and Ireland, God hath graciously carried on and prospered, notwithstanding our great unthankfulness for, and unfruitfulness under, received mercies, and notwithstanding the great impiety of many of those instruments which have been imployed in many of these affaires. God can use what instruments He pleases in the doing of His work, but I think those in power should chuse as good instruments as they can for God's worke; but by whatever instruments God is pleased to carry on His own work, we ought to give Him the praise and glory of carrying on His own work.

It was the evident and immediate finger of our gracious God which saved our fleet the last summer from being burnt by the French who had laid the design and were within a very little off effecting it; and God, on a sudden, turned about the wind by which they were wholly prevented in that design*. God, also, presently after, wonderfully saved a very great number of merchant-ships att Plymouth when the French had the command of the sea.

There are many unquiet and restless people who make it their business to instill into the minds of the people discontents, murmurings, and dissatisfactions against the government†; but God soe rules the spirits of the generality of the

* An allusion to the action off Beachy-head on the 30th of June between the Anglo-Dutch and French Fleets. The English and their allies, under Lord Torrington, were considerably over-matched, and were in great danger. A calm interrupted the engagement, and the English ships sailed away during the night. James II. had something to do with the design for burning the English transports. The French were for a short time in possession of a portion of the coast of Devonshire, and destroyed the little town of Teignmouth.

† The Jacobites were at this time very active. Lord Preston, and one or two others, had recently been seized on their way to France, and whilst King William was in Ireland many of the nobility and gentry were arrested.

nation that these endeavours of evil men have hitherto been rendered ineffectual, tho' the publicke taxes are great, and trade much decay'd. This is a great goodness of God soe to order the minds and wills of men as to quiet them under these troubles, and the truth is, it is very observable in the whole series of this great revolution of publicke affaires in these 3 kingdoms, that the most considerable and remarkable things have been done, either by a secret power of God upon the minds of men, or by some signall and uncommon interposition of the finger of God, wherein there was little or noe appearance of man's wisdom or power. Oh Lord, help me and all Thy servants to give Thee the whole glory of all Thy wonderfull workes.

May 29, 91. I hope it is not any vain repetition for me to say over and over again in the same words that God hath been and still is infinitely good and gracious unto me, for holy David in the 136 Psalme hath repeated it 26 times over "His mercy endureth for ever."

I have now been in the station of a Judge of the Common Pleas nine terms, and four circuits, and in all the occasions which have hapned to me in all this time I have had great experience of the infinite goodness and mercy of God to me; and I doe observe it (to the praise of the wisdom and loving kindness of my God) that in severall instances of matters, whereto I have been most averse, and wherein I have been most fearfull, those very things have been the most convenient and beneficial to me; and I write this, not only to excite my heart to thankfulness, but to engage myselfe to trust in the wisdom of God, and not to lean to my own understanding. Particular instances of this are the circuits and my habitation at Serjeant's Inn, upon the consideration of all which, I doe here give thanks unto the Lord, "for He is good, for His mercy endureth for ever."

June 2, 91. Having had some troubled thoughts the last night in my bed, about the dangerous condition I apprehend our King is now in in Flanders, at the head of the confederate army who are supposed to be near the French army, in the opening of my Bible this morning my eye fixed upon the 85th Psalme, from which I received great hopes and incouragement that God, who hath already been favourable to our land, and brought back our captivity, will forgive our iniquity and cover our sins, and will bring salvation nigh unto those that fear Him, that glory may dwell in our land, and will graciously accomplish to us those other good things which are mentioned in that Psalme.

The providence of God, also, led me to fix my thoughts upon the 41st of Isaiah, and from thence, also, my thoughts suggested incouragement to me, as if our King were a righteous man raised up from the east and called to God's foot, tho' I doe not apprehend this scripture to be spoken of our King as the person there meant, yet, all scripture being written for our learning, I hope I may safely use this scripture for the strengthening and encourageing my faith in this matter and att this time.

Sept 20, 91*. I haveing gone the Western circuit this

* Soon after this a change took place on the Bench which made Mr. Justice Rokeby the junior judge. He thus describes the circumstances:—

"Mem. 30 Oct., 91. Just. Powell, myselfe and Mr. Prothonotary Cooke, attended ye Lords Comrs of ye Great Seale att Powys house about 5 of ye clock in ye evening, and there my bro. Nevile actually surrendred his patent of Baron of ye Exchequer unto — — a Mr in Chancery, to be cancelled, and then his patent for a Justice of the Com. Pleas was sealed, and then he took ye oaths to ye K. and Q. upon his knees, and then ye oath of a Judge standing, and then ye Ld Comr Trevor delivered him his patent, and ye Ld Comr directed ye Mr to make a memorandum in Latine under ye patent (in yt place where ye acknowledgments of deeds ar made) of this surrender, and then to deliver it to ye clerk of the Rolls to cancell ye patent and make an entre of it. There was a writeing of surrender prepared but noe use was made of it. After this, some doubt was raised whether he ought to retaine ye same seniority in our court which he had among ye judges before, for if he did then he must remove both my bro. Powell and myselfe from our cushions, he being senior Judge to us both. For my bro. Nevile's precedency was cited the case of Baron Rainsford's being removed into ye King's Bench out of ye Exchequer into ye place of Just. Wadham Windham and his having precedency of Just. Morton, and, also, the case of Baron Hu. Windham removed out of ye Exchequer into ye Com. Pleas upon the death of Just. Terrill, and had precedency before Just. Atkins. My bro. Powell and I agreed both these cases because ye removed Judges came into ye places of those who were seniors to ye Judges of whom they had precedency, and did not remove them from their cushions which they had before, but if my bro. Nevile should have precedency before us, he would remove us both from our cushions, wch was never known to be done before; and we had a precedent for us in point, in Mich. Terme 4to K. Jac. 2, when Baron Jennor was removed out of ye Exchequer into ye Com. Pleas, tho' he was the senior Judge to Just. Lutwich, yet he sate below Just. Lutwich in ye Com. Pleas. This matter was by consent of us three who were concerned referred to ye determination of ye rest of ye Judges, and on Wednesday ye 4th of Novbr 1691 in ye afternoon, att my Ld Ch Just. Holt's chamber in Serjts Inn in Chancery Lane, there mett about this matter, my Ld Ch Just. Holt, Just. Dolben, Just. Gregory, Baron Lechmere, Baron Turton and Baron Powell, and they sent for Serjt Jennor and Serjt Lutwich and they both informed ye Judges that upon ye removall of Baron Jennor into ye Com. Pleas he kept his precedency in everything but onely sitting in Court and being named in ye fines, and that his sitting below Just. Lutwich in ye Court was appointed by ye Ld Chan. Jeffrys to be soe, who said it was by the K's express command; and, after hearing of this matter, all ye said 6 Judges declared that Just. Nevile should have the intire precedency before Just. Powell and myselfe, and they said yt ye Lord Ch Baron Atkins was of ye same opinion, and, accordingly, upon Thursday ye 5th of Novbr, he came into Court and tooke his place upon ye cushion next to ye Ch Just.'s cushion, and by this means I who had been ye 3d Just. of that Court above 2 years was now put down to be ye 4th and puisne Just. of that Court.

"Upon Saturday ye 31st of Oct. 91., Serjt John Powell was sworne a Baron of ye Exchequer (in the roome of Just. Nevile) and upon Wednesday ye 4th Novbr he was knighted att Whitehall.

"Upon Monday ye 9th of Novbr Just. Nevile and Baron Powell sent us cakes and wine to Serjts Inn, each of them a paper of biskets and mackroons, and each of them two bottles of sack and a bottle of claret."

summer *, and being returned home in health and safety I desire to set up a monument of God's renewed and continued mercy and goodness to me. He carried my weak body through the troubles of some very hot weather, through the toiles and difficulties of crouds and business, through the weariness of long journeys, the uneasiness of thirst, and through all the inconveniences which attend my bodily weakness amongst a great variety of persons, places, affaires and provisions, which I have gone through in this circuit. God hath been infinitely better to me than my fears, than my expectations, nay even than my hopes. Whatever good I have received or performed is and was by and from the grace and power of God: whatever ill I have done, or duty I have omitted, or weakness or imperfection hath accompanied me and my actings, hath been from myselfe.

I give God all the praise for the former and I take the shame of the latter to myselfe, but humbly begg pardon of them and power against them. And having received soe many mercys from God in a continued series of His good providence towards me, it is now incumbent on me to consider what duty I owe to God of thankfulness and obedience, and what service I can doe for God in my present station and circumstances, for God having by His peculiar providence both advanced me to the station and assisted me in it, it is but a piece of just gratitude that I should return Him all that humble obedience and faithful service that I can possibly perform. And this must be by being a reall terror to evill doers and a real encourager of all them that do well, and a hearty promoter of truth, righteousness and holiness, among all persons.

O Lord, give me a clear understanding and apprehension of them and a hearty endeavour with courage, and a resolution to advance and set up truth against falsehood, righteousness against unrighteousness, and holiness against all unholiness and impurity whatsoever. Amen.

Aug. 1, 92. I am now by the good hand of the gracious providence of my heavenly Father returned in health and safety out of my circuit †, in which I have had great experience of the infinite goodness and mercy of God to me. I went the Oxford circuit with Just. Eyre ‡. I had some troublesome ways for

* "Just. Gregory and I went y^e Western circuit this time and it was the first time I went that circuit."

† "I and Justice Giles went the Oxford circuit this time."

‡ The following letter from the chaplain at Horsham relates to a poor woman who had been condemned for child-murder:—

"Horsham, March 26, 1692.

"My Lord. Your Lordship was pleased to lay your command on me when you were last at Horsham, to give you some account of the behavior of y^e woman who is con-

the coach, and I had some trouble with the clamours and unreasonable carriage of some of the great practising lawyers, yet I found God's abounding mercy to me in carrying me through these things.

The good providence of my God gave me good preparation for my journey by an excellent sermon preached by Mr. S.* the Lord's day before I went from that text Exod. xxxiii. 14, 15, wherein he shewed that God's favourable and gracious presence, promised by Him and prized by His people, is the greatest blessing they can enjoy. And from thence I received encouragement to seek it earnestly, and to bless God for it. I doe now humbly and thankfully adore and magnifye the infinite grace and condescension of my God Who heard prayers on my behalfe and who accompanied me and followed me with His gracious presence from time to time and from place to place.

I doe now renew my prayers and thanksgivings to my God for all His mercys to me, and I doe again devote and dedicate myselfe, and all my enjoyments and all my actions, interests and all my concernments, unto my gracious God in my Lord and

demned for murdering her child, since her condemnation. My Lord, I have been with her every day but one this week, and according to y^e^ best of my weake abilitys have endeavour'd to prepare her for death and, I thank God, I have had much better successe in my undertakings than I ever had before, for I do beleive her to be truly penitent and sorrowfull for her crime; and tho' I cannot prevail with her to confesse y^t^ she is actually guilty of y^e^ murder, yet she acknowledges the justice of her sentence and bewails her own ignorance in not calling for help, w^ch^ if she had don she might have escaped y^e^ sentance of death. All y^t^ she alledges for herselfe is this, y^t^ at y^e^ time of her delivery she fell into a swooning fit, in w^ch^ she continued for a time, and when she came again to herselfe, she found y^e^ child dead and cold upon y^e^ ground; and to conceal her shame she put it into y^e^ ash hole; and this, she says, is true, upon y^e^ word of a dying woman. I have enquired of her behavior in my absence and y^e^ jaylor and all y^e^ people in y^e^ house do say y^t^ she has behaved herselfe very penitently, and has retired herselfe from all company, and spending her time in reading and praying and fitting herselfe for death: and I do find her every day more and more sensible of her sad condition, and do perceive y^t^ she takes notice of those instructions I have given her and is not without hope y^t^ God will be mercifull to her soul. My Lord, I hope this account of her will dispose your Lordship to y^t^ mercy, which yourselfe was pleased to say you were so naturally inclined, and your Lordship's commanding me to give you this account is a great encouragement to me to hope y^t^ you will pity the poor woman's case. She may prove a good woman after this. There are many instances of those y^t^ have made good use of mercy y^t^ have been in this very case. But I need not use arguments to persuade your Lordship to be mercifull. I shall continue my endeavors to prepare her for y^e^ hour of death and keep her without hopes of pardon or repreive till it shall please y^r^ Lordship to send either, and then I do not doubt but she will prove thankfull, to God in the first place, and, then, to your Lordship. My Lord, I am your Lordship's most humble and obedient servant, JOH. CHURCH. *In dorso.* For the right honourable Sir Thomas Rokeby at his chamber in Serjeant's Inn in Fleet Street, in London."

* Probably Mr. Stretton, the Nonconformist.

Saviour Jesus Christ, and I doe here faithfully promise (in and through the strength and assistance of God's Holy Spirit) that I will for the future give sincere, universall, and unreserved obedience to the whole revealed will of my heavenly Father in everything.

God hath in His wise providence placed me in a publicke station in which I find many snares, temptations and difficulties, which I am not able in my own strength to go through, but I earnestly pray for and humbly relye upon the strength and power of my blessed Redeemer to inable me to overcome every snare, temptation and difficulty, and to perform every duty incumbent on me, to God's glory and the publicke good. Amen. Amen.

The like received renewall and supplication I doe again make this 25th of Septr, 1692. The Lord heare me and accept of me in and through my blessed Redeemer, the Lord Jesus Christ. Amen. Amen.

Febr 11, 93. Renewed again, and I humbly begg strength from God through Christ to keep it stedfast to my life's end.

April 15th, 1693. This day (according to the day of the month) it is just 4 years since I received notice that the King had named me to be a Judge, and I cannot but remember how much trouble, perplexity and unquietness of thoughts came then upon me, and continued with me (by fitts) for a long time; and what great agitations of mind I underwent for severall months: and I desire, also, with all humble thankfulness to recollect and remember how great a extraordinary mercy and loving kindness my gracious God and heavenly Father hath all along manifested unto me. I now am, and for considerable time have been, in a serene, calme, and quiet frame of mind and thought. I heartily bless my gracious God for it, and I desire that my heart and tongue and life may all be truly thankfull: (Lord, make them soe).

I desire seriously to reflecte upon myselfe, and to consider what is the true ground of that calmness and serenity of mind that I now enjoy. I would not set it upon a false bottom and soe deceive myselfe, nor I would not disown the mercy and goodness of God to me, and soe be injurious (if I may soe speak) and ungratefull to that infinite goodness and mercy of God, of which I have had great experience all my dayes. I hope I may without presumption say that this peace and calmness of mind which I now enjoy is a fruit and effect of that peace which, through grace, I hope I have with God in Christ, and is given to me in answer to many prayers which have been put up to God in my behalfe. I pray God I may not be under any mistake in my hopes.

This vacation I went the Norfolk circuit, and God was exceeding gracious to me in preserving me in all my journeying and business, and in giving me such degrees of ability in mind and body for the discharge of the dutys incumbent on me as that I went comfortably and chearfully through my worke. The good Lord pardon all my deffects, failings and imperfections therein, which I acknowledge were very many.

And now, having been something above 61 years in the world, and above 31 years a marryed man, and near 4 years a Judge, I doe most humbly and heartily bless and praise my gracious God for all the mercys of my whole life, and of every condition and station that I am or have been in; and I doe write this to the praise of God's grace that I have always found Him to be a God in hearing prayers, supplying wants, supporting weakness, incourageing fearfulness, and helping me in all the straits and difficultys of my life. I pray God keep upon my mind, all my days, a lively sense of His mercy and goodness to me ever since I had a being, and helpe me to praise Him still while I have any being. Amen. Amen.

This 28th day of May, 1693, I doe again renew this my solemn covenant and selfe dedication unto my God, and doe humbly begg pardon for all my failures and defects herein: and I implore Divine grace and assistance to keep me more steadfast, courageous and active in it for the residue of my declining life.

Aug. 29, 94. I have this day received and renewed my covenant with my God (Psm iv. and v.) before mentioned; and I doe humbly begg pardon of my God, for Christ Jesus' sake, for all my failings and unsteadfastness in this covenant, and I humbly beseech the Lord to inable me, by the power of His Divine Spirit and grace, to walke more faithfully and resolutely in His covenant for the time to come.

I have gone the Western circuit this summer (Just. Powell and I) and have experienced the abundant mercy and goodness of my gracious God to me in all my journeys and affairs, Who hath carried me out, supported me, and brought me home with safety and hath preserved my habitation and concernments in mine and my wife's absence (my wife went into Yorkshire this summer)*. I desire that God would write a law of thankful-

* The following letters were written to Lady Rokeby, by her husband, during her absence from home:—

"Serjts inn 25 Aug., 94.

"My dear heart. I bless God I came home very well and safely on Thursday evening betwixt 6 & 7 of ye clock and found all safe and well here, and my sister and Mary were come hither before me. I received thine of the 18th instant by my sister,

ness upon my life and heart, and that He would help me for the future to trust Him more fully in all my concernments and

and by it I suppose thou wilt not be att my cos. White's till Monday next. I thinke thou wilt meet there with a letter or two from me out of the circuit. I writt to thee about calling to see my bro. in Northamptonshire as thou comes home; I did not intend thereby to put upon thee any thing that will be burthensome or inconvenient, but leave it wholly to thy own disposall. When thou hast advised with my cos. White and fixed the jorneys thou intends to take homewards, prithee let me know them, and be sure thou be carefull of thyselfe and have fires in thy roomes att y^e^ inns, night and morning, for we have cold and wett weather here. Tell Doll she must eat little fruit which will be a means to abate her pain att her stomach: my love to her. I intend to inclose this in a paper to my cos. White. We all here and att my sisters are well (thankes be to God). I pray God direct and preserve thee and bring thee in safety and with much comfort to

"Thy affectionate and faithfull husband
"THO: ROKEBY."

"Serj^ts^ Inn. 30 Aug. 94.

"My deare heart, I bless God for thy comeing safe to my cos. White's, of w^ch^ I had the good tideings yesterday by thy letter of y^e^ 27^th^ instant. I shall be greatly pleased to have thee att home, for I am a very bad house-keeper without thee, but I leave thee to thine own time: onely I would know what jorny's thou designs to take, and what day thou thinkes to come hither. My last told thee what I thought about calling att Arthingworth, w^ch^ I doe not impose upon thee. Our friends here are well (blessed be God) and give their dues to thee. My love to Doll. I pray God bring thee safe and comfortable home. I am

"Thy affectionate faithfull husband
"THO: ROKEBY.

"For y^e^ Lady Rokeby."

The "cosin White" has been already mentioned. He was on most intimate terms with the Judge and Lady Rokeby. The following extracts from some of his letters to Lady Rokeby will amuse my readers:—

"March 11^th^, 94-5.

"Honored Cosin,—The publick affaires now depending in our house will not permitt me to waite upon you this day; you must, therefore, give me leave to impart to you what I mett with on Saturday last after I parted from you. As soon as I came to our house, a worthy gentleman, and a peculiar friend of mine, takes me aside to a private room, and ask'd me if my son were engaged, and presently proposed one of y^e^ young ladys I acquainted you with, and gave me direccions how my son might see her yesterday unknown, which he did, at Covent Garden church, and at his return told me he liked y^e^ elder very well, for y^e^ first sight. And my friend assures me she is very religiously educated, and much a stranger to y^e^ vanities of this Towne: so y^t^ all I have to doe at present is to find out some good lady of my acquaintance and yours, y^t^ is known to y^e^ family, y^t^ I might from theme be fully inform'd of her temper and disposition. I heare a very great character of y^e^ mother for a discreet lady and a good wife. She is the sister of Admirall Russel, and was first married to Coll^l^ Cheeke and now to y^e^ Lord Robert Russel; they live in one of the Piazzas in Covent Garden. Now if Mr. Stretton can put you or me in a way to find out one of her acquaintance y^t^ can and will give us some true information of her disposition it would be a very seasonable kindness; for if there be no objection to my son by y^e^ young lady, nor he have none to her, I believe y^e^ matter will admitt of no long delay, as far as I can understand at present. Pray, therefore, goe, or send, to Mr. Stretton, as soon as you can, to see whether he can put us in a way to make a more stricte inquiry after y^e^ young lady, which I would have done as privately and yet as speedily as possibley may be, for I expect my friend will sett upon me againe this day and will push it with all the hast y^t^ may be, being very zealous to bring it about. And I would be better

affaires relating to soul, body, estate, for I can and doe say upon my own experience that "it is good for me to trust in the Lord." Esay. xxvi. 4.

April 13, 95. This last vacation I went the Norfolk circuit alone (my bro. Nevile with whom I was in commission staying in Town to attend the Parliament). 'It began the 4th of March, and there were great snows fell that week in many places, which hindred the passage of coaches, and made it very difficult for some of the Judges who went on horseback: but I note it as God's great mercy to me that in the ways where I went there were no snow fell to such a degree as either to hinder or make difficult my passage; and though I had some deep and dirty wayes, yet I had a comfortable jorney, and came home in health and safety, blessed be God for it.

Upon the observation I made of the frame and disposition of my own mind I am afraid least there should be growing upon me a frothiness, lightness and vanity of spirit, unbecomeing the gravity of a Christian Judge. I heartily desire to watch and strive against it, and I humbly beg of God to inable me by His grace to prevail against it. Amen.

I have this day again received and renewed this solemne

inform'd of her before I be too far engaged in this matter. Excuse this trouble which I must give you, as I know you to be a true friend to your very affectionate cosin and faithfull servant, Jo. WHITE—*In dorso.* For my honed cosin ye Lady Rokeby, present these."

"Carburton, Septr 16th, 95.

"Honored Cosin,—I have now (as the world goes) indifferent good servants and my family pritty well settled which is much to my ease and satisfaccion now I grow into yeares, and gladly I would have been dismist of and from all publick imploys, yt so I might have spent the remainder of my time in a more private station, but I feare it will not yet be, tho' I grow very infirme and find old age come fast upon me. My son is not like to stand at Newarke unless you can help me to a thousand or fifteen hundred pounds to throw away upon yt debauched burrough, which is not otherwise to be prevailed upon. My son and daughters joyne with me in presenting you and my good cosin Dorothy with our services, which shall conclude your trouble at this time given you by, deare cosin, your much obliged and affect. cosin and servant,

"J. WHITE.

"*In dorso.* For my honored cosin the Lady Rokeby, these present."

"Carburton, Septr 3d, 97.

"Honored Cosin,—I hast to tell you I have yours of ye 31st of the last moneth in which you acquaint me you intend to begin your journey into the South the 8th instant, and yt you must hast to London and so would give us the goe by, but, sure, you will not be so ill-condicioned. You know yt I know you must lye two days still upon the road and certainly you may as well be at a friends (if you take me to be such) as at an inne. Pray, therefore, put on your considering capp and let us see you here for I shall suspect, or rather, expect you. All myne with me are yours, and all my cosin's servants, I hope I need not tell you, you shall be welcome to your affect. cosin and servt, Jo. WHITE. *In dorso,* This for the Lady Rokeby at Newbuilding in Yorkshire. To be left with ye post master of North Allerton. Jo. WHITE." Frank.

covenant and dedication of myselfe unto my God through my Lord Jesus Christ, and doe humbly resolve, in His strength, to be for Him and not for another. I doe humbly and heartily begg pardon for my backslidings in this covenant, and I begg power and strength from on high to be kept more faithfull and steadfast in this covenant for the future.

Wednesday, 8 May, 95. This day of the week and of the month, just six years since, I was sworn a Judge of the Common Pleas. I came into that station with great trouble and perplexity and fear, but God hath been abundantly gracious to me in it, and hath most mercifully preserved, helped and assisted me in performing the dutys of it. I doe humbly acknowledge that there hath great guilt, folly and weakness accompanyed all that I have done, for which I humbly and earnestly begg pardon of my gracious God, for my Lord Jesus Christ's sake, and that He would help me against them for the future. But I would not forget the lovingkindness of my God to me, but desire to keep constantly upon my own mind an abiding sense of God's great goodness to me, for His mercy endureth for ever. Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me bless His holy name. Bless the Lord, O my soul, and forget not any of all His numerous benefits to me. Amen and Amen.

Sep. 15, 95. This covenant and selfe-dedication was received and renewed by me. T. R. And again Feb^{r} 9, 95.

Upon Wednesday, the 16th of Oct^{br}, 1695, in the morning, the Lord Keeper sent to me to come to him to Powys house; and, accordingly, I waited on him there that morning, where he acquainted me with the King's intention to remove me into the King's Bench, and told me of the King's favourable expressions towards me. I endeavoured to excuse myselfe by reason of my great infirmitys, and unfitness to undergo the toile of the business of that Court, and I told my Lord Keeper that I did greatly feare that I should not be able to do the duty of a Judge of that Court, soe as it ought to be done and soe as I desired it might be done for the publick good. But he not admitting my excuse, I submitted to the King's pleasure, and upon Monday the 28th of October, 1695, between 7 and 8 of the clock in the morning, att Powys house*, I was sworn a Judge of the King's Bench. This place is in the general esteeme of people thought

* The patent was dated Oct. 25.

"My removall from y^{e} Common Pleas to y^{e} King's Bench occasioned and caused these expences to me:—

"Nov. 1. To Mr. Partridge, y^{e} cryer of y^{e} King's Bench, claimed by him as a fee due to y^{e} 2 cryers 2*l*. Nov. 12. To Mr. Ralph Hale in full of y^{e} clerk of y^{e} Crown's bill for my patent, and swearing att y^{e} Lord Keeper's, and passing it through y^{e}

to be a place of more honor and profit than the place I was in in the Common Pleas, yet I can truly say I did not seek it, nor were there any motives to me to undertake it; but I hope I may truly say I came into this station in an humble submission to the disposall of Divine Providence, to Whose infinite wisdom and goodness I did wholly committ this affair when it was first propounded to me, and to Whose holy and gracious will and pleasure I do willingly and chearfully submitt myself and all my interest, affairs and concernments. And now, Holy Father, Thou having placed me in this station, which is a station of more action than that wherein I was before, and (as I apprehend) of greater difficultys, snares and temptations, I doe therefore most humbly and earnestly begg of my heavenly Father, for the sake, and through the merits and mediation, of my blessed Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, to give unto His poor worthless creature such measures, proportions and degrees of spirituall, intellectuall and corporall strength and abilitys as may be most for God's glory, the publicke good, and my own eternall comfort. I doe wholly relye upon the aids and assistances of Thy Blessed Spirit: oh Lord, I will not lean to my own understanding. Oct^{r} 28, 95.

March 15, 95-6. I have been now two terms a Judge in the King's Bench, and, by the best calculation I am yet able to make, the casuall profits of this place will be considerably less by the year than they were in the Common Pleas.

I must acknowledge that the thoughts of this have stirred up some trouble and disquietment in my mind, and the rather, because it seemes to me most probable that the wants and necessity of some of my near relations (whom I have helped, and must still help according to my ability) are likely not onely to continue, but to increase, and this abatement of my income will make me less able to assist them.

1st. I humbly and heartily begg of my God, for the sake of my blessed Redeemer, the Lord Jesus Christ, that He will pardon the sin of this trouble and disquietment upon this occasion, for it carrys in it great ingratitude to God for the many mercies I

offices 28*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.* Dec. 6. To Mr. Carpentar, y^{e} vinter, for wine and bottles 22*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.* To Mr. Gwin, y^{e} confectioner, for cakes 5*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* To Maud which he paid att y^{e} Treasury and att y^{e} Pell for my patent, allowed there 1*l.* 15*s.* Tot. 60*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.*"

On the 8th of Nov. Mrs. Rokeby writes thus from Sandal to Lady Rokeby:—"I hear y^{e} Judg is further exalted to a higher court and one of y^{e} King's Counsell, which I rejoice in, as hoping it will be a mercie to y^{e} nation when y^{e} rightious are thus of honour. They are therby more capable of being usefull to incurage thos y^{t} fear y^{e} Lord, and, alsoe, to put a stope to wickednes, and ther is great need of such in this day. The Lord grant him such a spirit more and more."

have already received, and great unbelief that I doe not freely trust Him for the time to come.

2nd. I desire to satisfye my own mind and to take off this trouble and disquietment from it (and I pray God worke it in me by His Blessed Spirit) by applying to myselfe the answer which the man of God gave to Amaziah king of Judah, 2 Chron. xxv. 9, "The Lord is able to give the much more than this," which answer is an eternall truth, and I desire heartily and quietly to rest and relye upon it. 15 March, 95.

Job i. 21. "The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord."

On Wednesday 1st April, 96, I begun to be ill in a feaver*. I had two physicians, Dr. Sampson and Dr. How. They blooded me twice, and by the goodness of God and His blessing upon the means which were used, I recovered soe that I was able to go to Hampstead upon Friday the 17th of April, to which place they advised me to goe for aire, and to stay there for some time, (if I could) for the fuller recovery of my health, and, upon Friday the first day of May, I came home again, in pretty good health.

Psalm ciii. 1, 2, 3, 4, vs. "Bless the Lord, oh my soul, and all that is within me bless His holy name: bless the Lord, oh my soul, and forget not all His benefits. Who forgiveth all thine iniquities: Who healeth all thy diseases, Who redeemeth thy life from destruction, Who crowneth thee with loving kindness and tender mercys." Oh Lord, I beseech Thee to raise up my heart to love and admire Thee: better my heart and life, I pray Thee, by this mercy shown to me and make me more serious,

* The Judge seems to have had a very feeble constitution, impaired, no doubt, by study and application to business. His illnesses now became frequent. In July 1696 he speaks of taking notes of a cause "as well as my trembling and paralitick hand would permit me." In Sept. 1697 Mr. White writes to Lady Rokeby expressing his regret that "my good cosin, your worthy husband, has had any fainting fitts of late. I was in great hopes his late circuit had conduc'd much to the prevention of their hasty returns at least, I feare he has wanted his nurse and has not been so carefully attended as I am now sure he will be. God preserve you both to good old age, for His glory, ye good of your generacion, and ye mutuall comfort of each other and all your friends and relacions."

The doctor's bill of the worthy Judge in Octr and Novr 1697 will amuse my readers:

"Purging pills 2*s*. Leeches 6*d*. Aperitive ingredients 1*s*. 6*d*. Hysterike water 2*s*. A purging bolus 1*s*. 6*d*. Purging pills 1*s*. Gascan powder 4*s*. Vermifuge pills, a box, 3*s*. 4*d*. A purging bolus 1*s*. 6*d*. Purging pills 1*s*. Cephalick drops 2*s*. 6*d*. An hysterick julep, 3*s*. 6*d*. Hysterick pills, 85, 6*s*. 8*d*. A vomitive potion 2*s*. 6*d*. A stomattick cordial 2*s*. A cordial potion 1*s*. 8*d*. Vomitive salts, 3 doses, 1*s*. 6*d*. The hysterick julep 3*s*. 6*d*. Mithridate 1*s*. The vomitive potion 2*s*. 6*d*. Vomitive salts 1*s*. 6*d*. The hysterick pills, 6*s*. 8*d*. The hysterick julep 3*s*. 6*d*. Sal Armoniac 6*d*.—2*l*. 17*s*. 10*d*."

spirituall and heavenly in my affections and conversation than ever I have been. Amen.

Aug. 24, 95. This summer I went the Oxford circuit. I went not out att first with my bro. Powys (who was the other Judge of that circuit) being commanded by the Lord Justices to stay in Town some days, but I went out on Thursday 23 of July, and came to Oxford the next day by noone, and that afternoon I dispatched all the tryalls on the crown side in Oxford, but it was near 12 o'clock att night before I got home. I had full business throughout the circuit, and, notwithstanding my great weakness, God did enable me to go through it. I did all the business at Shrewsbury alone. My bro. Powis, being that country man, appeared not there at all, and tho' there was a great goale and many causes of moment, yet I got all done by Tuesday night 18 Aug^{t}, and then came in 4 days to London. I got home in health and safety on Saturday 22 Aug^{t}. Blessed be God.

I doe now set up another monument to God's praise. Hitherto the Lord hath helped me; He hath been abundantly gracious to me in all this circuit, both as to my mind and body. I hope I shall never forget His goodness and loving kindness to me in every respect. I doe now devote my intire selfe in thankfulnesse to Him Who is my God, and the God of all my mercies. The good Lord pardon all my failings and guilt, and accept of me in my Blessed Redeemer, the Lord Jesus. Amen.

Oct^{br} 29, 96. I have now been a Judge of the King's Bench a full year and a day, and by the abundant goodness of my gracious God toward me (for to Him alone I doe ascribe all the ability I have to doe any service) I have done the dutys of that place, I hope, without dishonour to God, or reproach to religion, or any just cause of reflection upon the King, who removed me into that station. Not unto me, O Lord, not unto me, but unto Thy great name be all the praise. I am only a poor weak instrument in Thy hand. I will not boast or lift up myselfe as if I were anything without Him. Esay. x. 15. I doe humbly acknowledge that I can doe nothing without the help and assistance of my God. In all my wayes I desire heartily to acknowledge Him, and I doe humbly begg of Him, for the sake of my Blessed Redeemer, Jesus Christ, that He will be pleased graciously to direct my paths. Amen. Amen.

Nov^{br} 22^{d}, 96. I have this day received this covenant and dedication of myselfe and all my concernments unto my God, and I doe now again humbly and heartily renew it, and do beg power from on high to be kept stedfast in it to my life's end.

Feb^{r} 6, 97. I doe this day humbly renew this dedication

of myselfe and all my interests and concernments unto my gracious God; and earnestly begg pardon for all my wandrings from this covenant, and begg strength from my Lord Jesus Christ to inable me to walk in this covenant more stedfastly for time to come, and pray that this matter may not degenerate into a formal and customary thing.

April 28, 1697. This last Lent circuit I went with Justice Nevile the Western circuit, and we had an extraordinary circuit for good weather and good wayes, such as have scarce ever been known att this time of the year. We had very great goals in most places and full business* on the *Nisi prius* side, having

* I find the following letters to Lady Rokeby referring to this period; the first is from the Judge's clerk, the second from the Judge himself.

"Salsbury, Wedensday night, 17 March, 96.

"Honoured madam, The Judge haith dispatcht his bussinesse at this place and is for goeing to Dorchester verry earely to morrow morneing. The causes he tryed were most of them verry long ones, w^ch made him verry early in Court in the morneings and to sitt pretty late at nights, but (God be thanked) he haith bene all along verry well, as haith bene all the company except M^r Buxton who haith bene verry ill, but since he came hither is verry well recovered againe. Mr. Justice Nevill had a verry great gaole here. He desired my Judge's assistance in the tryall of the gentleman for killing his gardner, because it had bene transacted in the King's Bench upon a speciall verdict, who is onely found guilty of manslaughter. My Judge condemned 2 at Winchester, a woman for murder and one for the highway, but the woman onely wil be executed. I had given your Laydishipp an account of the Judge's condition before now if he had not writt himselfe and desired my wife to excusse it to your Ladishipp. I wishe all health and happinesse to your Laydishipp and a long life, and presume to subscribe myself, most honored madam, your most devoted humble servant to command. J. MAWDE, *In dorso.* These to the ever honored the Lady Rokeby at Serjant's Inn, Fleet Street in London, humbly present."

"Exeter, 28 Mar., 97.

"My deare heart, I bless God I am in very good health, and tho' our business hath necessitated us to worke hard (especially mine in Sommersetshire) yet I thanke God for it, He hath inabled me to goe through with it. I was forced to try a long cause att Taunton yesterday morning before we came out, which made us come in late hither last night, and we must be gone early to morrow morning to save our commission in Cornwall, where it is probable I shall have some troublesome business on my hand. I pray God inable me to discharge my duty in it. My bro. Nevill hath gott a fitt of y^e gout, which makes him very lame, and he complains very much of y^e loss of his stomach, but I hope he will be able to goe on with me to morrow morning. I pray God continue His goodness to you all in preserving you in health. I pray God Almighty preserve thee and give us a comfortable meeting, which is y^e desire of thy affectionate and faithfull husband, THO. ROKEBY."

I may add, also, a third letter relating to the same circuit. It was written by John Buxton, a barrister (who married one of the Judge's nieces) to his wife. It is dated at Exeter on Apr. 5, 1697.

"Just. Nevill went from Lanceston on Fryday and lay at Oakington that night, and then went to Exeter on Saturday morning, but my Judge could not dispatch at Lanceston so as to get away on Fryday, so we staid till Saturday and got to Exeter in good time. I praise God y^e Judge is very well and hearty. I think I never saw him better in a circuit in all my life. He has been more free from sick fitts and pains than ever I knew him in a circuit before, altho' he has wrought very hard and sate upp many times trying causes till 9 and 10 o'clock at night. I hope this journy and y^e fresh air has done him much good and that God will carry him safe to London to all our comforts."

many very long causes, occasioned in part by the having onely one single Judge in the Lent circuit before, and in the greatest part of the summer circuit. These things kept us full-handed with business in the whole circuit, and I doe humbly and heartily bless and praise the name of my gracious God, Who did abundantly assist and support me, his poor, weak and unworthy servant, in all my journeys and affairs, Who very graciously heard prayers which were put up on my behalfe, and preserved me in a good degree of health and strength. I doe now intirely give up myselfe in thankfulness unto my God. It is this day just eight years and one day since I came up to London upon my call to be Judge, in all which time I have had great experience of the transcendent mercy, goodness, and loving-kindness of my gracious God unto me. Blessed be the Lord for it. Amen and Amen.

Aug. 22nd, 97. I have this day seriously received this covenant and dedication of myselfe and all my interests unto my God, and doe now att this time humbly and heartily renew it, and doe earnestly begg of my gracious God, through the merits and mediation of my blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to pardon all my defects and unsteadfastness in this covenant: and I humbly implore Divine aid, grace and assistance, to enable me to walk more faithfully, actively and courageously in this covenant all the remaining part of my short and declining life. Amen and Amen.

Septr 5th, 97. I went the Western circuit this summer with my Ld Ch Baron Ward, and in the whole compass of the circuit from my first setting out upon the 18th of July, to my coming home upon the 21 Aug., I had great experience of the abundant mercy and goodness of God towards me. I had a very good state of health all along, and a competent degree of strength for my work, tho' under a great infirmity in respect of my motion. I had a very good season of weather, for the most part, free from excessive heats, the usual inconvenience of the summer circuits. I met with no troublesome accidents of any kind.

I mention these things to stir up my own heart to be thankfull unto God, and tho' these matters may seem to be but ordinary and common things in themselves, yet I desire to look upon them as the special disposals of Divine providence which governs and orders the most minute as well as the greatest affaires. I look upon these things, also, as a gracious returne of prayers put up on my behalfe, and I desire to have an abiding law of thankfulness written upon my heart and life. Blessed be God. Blessed be God. Amen and Amen.

Nov. 28, 97. I doe this day humbly and (I hope) sincerely renew this covenant and dedication of myselfe to my God, and doe earnestly beg pardon for my failings, and strength from on high to be more stedfast in this covenant for the future.

April 24, 98. This last Lent circuit I went the Norfolk circuit alone, (my bro. Nevill, who was in commission with me, staying in Town to attend the Parliament) and God was abundantly gracious to me in it. I had a very good degree of health and competent strength (blessed be God) during all the time my business lasted; but, in my return home from Bury in Suffolk, (which was the last place in my commission) I was taken with a very great indisposition, violent pain in my back, some spitting of blood and my motion in a manner wholly lost, soe that at my returne on Wednesday, 13 April, I was necessitated to be carryed up staires into my chamber in men's arms, but, by the blessings of God, upon my being let blood, and some medicines directed by Dr. How, I am this day recovered to a good degree of health, tho' still under weakness. I bless and praise Thy name, Oh Lord my God, for all Thy mercies to me, and more particularly for Thy restoring me att this time. I humbly begg of Thee, Oh Holy Father, for Christ Jesus's sake, to make my heart and life more thankfull and serviceable to Thee than ever they have been heretofore; and, I beseech Thee to pardon all my defects and miscarriages in every respect. Amen. Amen.

In Summer 1698 the L^{d} C^{h} Baron Ward and I were in commission in the Norfolk circuit, but in regard I had a desire to goe into Yorkshire, my Lord Chancellor did the favour to ask leave of the King that I might miss the circuit, and my Lord told me he desired that leave of the King in respect of my health, and he said the King granted it with this exceeding favourable expression, that he wished my health as much as any friend I had. I give God thanks Who hath inclined the King to be soe favourable to me, and I doe humbly pray that I may use this favour to God's glory and the publicke good and service of my King and country. I had a good jorney into Yorkshire this summer, and a safe return home again, blessed be my gracious God for it. Amen.

This 6th of Nov., 98, I have received and renewed this solemn covenant and dedication of myselfe unto my God, and I humbly begg pardon of all my former failings herein, and I humbly implore Divine assistance to keep me stedfast in it for the future, for my Lord Jesus Christ's sake. Amen, and Amen.

Apr. 25th, 1699. This last Lent vacation I went the Western

circuit and Just. Powell with me*. I had (through the great mercy of God to me) a very good degree of health and strength throughout the whole circuit, and came home well the 14th of April, 99. I doe most humbly and heartily bless and praise Thy great and glorious name, Oh my most gracious God and Father, for all Thy abundant grace and mercy to me in the whole course of my life to this very moment, and I doe now sincerely devote and dedicate my soul and body, and all my interests and concernments, to Thy service; I humbly beseech Thee, Oh holy Father, for the sake of my blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to pardon all my sins and failings, and to accept of me in my blessed Redeemer. Amen, Amen.

Deus meus est mihi omnia et semper erit.

May 14, 99. I have this day received and renewed this solemne covenant and selfe-dedication unto my God, and humbly begg pardon of God for all my former failings herein; and I humbly resolve in the strength of my Lord Jesus Christ to keep it more stedfastly for the time to come, and I most humbly begg of God, for Christ's sake, to give His power from on high to enable me to doe soe. Amen. Amen.

Aug. 26, 99. This vacation I went the Western circuit with my bro. Turton, and, by the help of my gracious God, I did my part of the business in the first four countys, but att Lanceston I fell so ill with violent stitching paines in my breast and back, that I came with great trouble to Exeter; and there I was so

* One letter which the Judge wrote to his wife, whilst he was on this circuit, is preserved.

"Dorchester, 17 Mar., 98-9.

"My dearest heart, I am sure ye most acceptable tideings I can send to thee from hence is, that I continue in very good health, for wch I desire to be heartily thankfull to our gracious God. I received thine at Winchester, and one att Salisbury by Mr. King, and one att this place, but not yt which thou mentions to have been written Thursday before. I much rejoice to hear yt thou and my Doll are well; I pray God continue it to you, and give health to my sister and to my neice and her children, and support and supply ye widdow and fatherless. I thinke it will be best to sell ye bookes thou mentions as soon as can be. I myselfe would be willing to buy them for my neph. Joseph, if I thought he would like them and make good use of them, and for both their sakes I would give more for them than any other. I doubt it will be too much trouble to desire Mr. Hutton to get a catalogue made of them. I have now talked with my neph. Joseph, and (God willing) shall be my neice's chapman for ye bookes. I pray thee give my hearty service to my cos. White and all his, my thanks for his kind hopes concerning my jorny. My bro. Powel gives his service to thee. My service to my bro. Benjamin, and love to his children. Jos. is well and gives his duty to his mother and thee, and love to his sisters. I begg ye comforting and directing presence of our gracious God to be with you and us. I continue

"Thy really affectionate and faithfull husband

"THO. ROKEBY.

"My love to my Dolly.

"For the Lady Rokeby att Serjeant's Inn in Fleet Street, London."

very ill that I could not doe any business either in the city of Exeter or county of Devon, but was left at Exeter*, when my bro. Turton went into Somersetshire: but my God was abundantly gracious to me, and was graciously pleased to give such a blessing to the means which were used att Exeter for my recovery that in seven dayes travelling I came safe to London.

I desire to be sincerely thankfull to my gracious God for this sparing and restoring mercy. I looke upon it as a new life given to me by God, and desire to know the will of God in it, what singular thing and service I may doe for my God Who hath bestowed this singular and signall favour and mercy upon me. The good Lord inable me to understand and act according to His holy will herein. Amen."—

This is the last entry that is recorded, and we are now drawing towards the close of the Judge's life. For some time he had been subject to sudden attacks of illness of an alarming kind which were aggravated, perhaps, by an accident that had befallen him. The author of the life of Dr. Manton informs us that "the worthy Judge Rokesby had the misfortune, by the fall of a scaffold, to break his thigh, by which he always went lame and was obliged to have one constantly to lead him." But the end, of which he was being frequently reminded, was not unexpected. His sure hope had for a long time been centred in One Who alone can satisfy every fervent aspiration, and in the following most interesting and characteristic document we can see how he arranged his temporal affairs and commended himself to his God.

"In the name of the Almighty and ever glorious God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and in a reverentiall fear of that infinite, blessed and glorious Trinity, I Thomas Rokeby, knight, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Court of King's Bench, being in good health of body

* On his recovery the Judge writes the following letter to his wife:—

"Wednesday 16 Aug., 99. Exeter.

"My dearest heart, I received thine of y^e^ 12^th^ by y^e^ post, and this morning I have reccived thine by S^t^ Jo. Elwill's express. I bless God for all His mercys to you and us. My bro. Turton went towards Wells yesterday and left me here, I having been wholy disabled from doing any service att all in this great county. I am now, through y^e^ great goodness of God to me, well recovered from my distemper, for w^ch^ I desire heartily to praise my gracious God. I purpose (God willing) to begin my jorny homeward this day, but I must goe but a slow pace and make short dayes jornys. I reckon it will take me eight dayes, if God prospers my way: I humbly committ all to Him. I humbly pray that y^e^ God of all grace will encompass you and us with His favour as with a sheild. I am thine intirely affectionate and very faithfull husband,

"Tho. Rokeby.

"To the Lady Rokeby att Serj^ts^ Inn in Fleet street, London."

and of disposeing mind and memory, (blessed be my gratious God for it) doe make this my last will and testament And, first, and to all humble beleiveing and repenting manner, and with sincerity, I resign up my soul unto my gracious God and Father Who gave it, earnestly begging of Him the full and free pardon of all my sins, and the acceptance of my person only in and through the merits and mediation of my blessed Lord and alone Saviour Jesus Christ the righteous, Who came into the world to save lost sinners, of whom I am cheife; and, being such an one, I fly unto that refuge which is set before me in the blood of my Lord Jesus, and hope for pardon, acceptance and justification in the sight and all the tribunall of the holy and righteous Judge of all the world, not upon the account of my own righteousness, (which is but as filthy rugges) but through that atonement which my dear Lord Jesus Christ hath made to Divine justice by His most perfect righteousness, in which alone my faith, hope and confidence. And I commit my body to the earth to be privately buried where my executors shall think fit, in full hope of a blessed and glorious resurrection at the appearance of my most Almighty power when it shall please my Lord Jesus [illegible] by vertue of my union to Him as my Head and Saviour. And as to that estate wherewith the gracious providence of my God hath intrusted me as His steward I do dispose thereof as follows: And my will is that all the debts which I owe in any manner whatsoever be truely and justly satisfied out of my estate. Secondly, I hereby revoke all former wills and testaments of my estate. I make my most dear and [illegible] (of whose tender affection [illegible] great experience and my [illegible] of this my will. [illegible] all the residue of my personall estate and [illegible] performance of this my will and [illegible] for manner [illegible] assignes all my [illegible] and I do declare [illegible] she with [illegible] Jesus. [illegible]

[illegible] Jerusalem [illegible] Wills [illegible] time [illegible] Dorothy [illegible] whome he [illegible] whome [illegible] Lanerkshire [illegible] the afternoon [illegible] William [illegible] testatrix [illegible]

assignes, for his life, all my lands &c. in Follifoot and Wortley alias Wirkley co. York, and, after his death, I give the same to his son Thomas Rokeby and his heirs, and, for default of such issue, to my four neices Elizabeth Askham, Jane Scott, Dorothy Ianson and Susanna Rokeby, daughters of my said brother William Rokeby. Item, after my wife's death, I give all my messuages &c. in Sandhutton to my said neice Dorothy Rokeby and her heires. Item, I give unto every one of my brothers and sisters a Bible, of forty shillings price, to be clasped with silver, and to every one of my nephews and neices a Bible *, of twenty shillings price, to be clasped with silver: and I desire that in a leafe before every one of these Bibles these following words may be fairly written, *The word of God conteined in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament is the only unerring rule of faith, worshipp and manners.* And under them I desire may be fairly written these following words. *The memoriall of Thomas Rokeby, knt., one of the Justices of the Common Pleas in Ester Terme in the first yeere of the raign of King William and Queen Mary, and afterwards one of the Justices of the King's Bench in Mich. Terme in ye 7th year of ye raign of King William the Third.* Item, I give to poor ministers of the Gospell, and to the widdows and children of such, the sum of one hundred pounds †: and to poor people dwelling in the city or county of York the sum of twenty pounds; both these sums to be distributed to such persons and in such proportions as my executrixes shall think fit. Item, I give to every one of my servants who shall serve me att y^e^ time of my death 1*l.* a peice. December 15, 1697. THO: ROKEBY."

The testator died on Sunday the 26th of November 1699. Narcissus Luttrell records the progress of his illness with a particularity that shows the interest it excited. He died at his lodgings at Serjeant's Inn in Fleet Street, but his remains were not laid in any of the City churches, although one or two of the most famous of his ancestors were there sleeping. His body was carried into his native county and interred on the 8th of Dec. in the church of Sandal near Doncaster. There was a fair chapel there, very rich in painted glass and gorgeous carving, a memorial of William Rokeby, sometime archbishop of Dublin,

* Several of these Bibles, bound in rich old morocco, with their silver clasps, are still in existence. They have in them the inscription, which the Judge mentioned in his will. They are most reverently preserved as memorials of a great and pious ancestor.

† The recipients of this charitable bequest are not specified, but their names would be well known to Lady Rokeby and her niece. Few people have any idea of the good that was done by this excellent man.

Messrs. C. H. and Thompson Cooper have kindly acquainted me with two or three instances of the Judge's generosity, which may be recorded here. He gave £50 to Greenwich Hospital, and £20 to the new buildings at Catherine Hall, Cambridge, which were commenced in 1674, and by deed, dated May 1, 1695, he engaged himself to pay £5 per ann. to the college during his life, to enable the Master and Fellows to pay certain annuities to persons who had advanced sums of money for completing the new buildings; the said sum of £5 to be gradually diminished as the annuitants died.

and in it were laid the bones of his illustrious descendant. Filled that chapel was with the dust of the Hobarts who were commemorated by brass and marble and sculptured stone, and still may you see it there, neglected indeed and in decay, but even at this day there are few memorials of the dead more interesting and more beautiful in the great shire of York.

In front of the east window in the little chapel, hiding all the delicate tracery, stands the Judge's monument. Damp and neglect have tarnished the marbles and obliterated the shield of arms, but it still bears the following inscription *:

Siste lector,
si virtutem colis,
ut justa parentis memoria
egregii viri,
Thomæ Wilkins, equitis aurati,
qui
honesta et antiqua in hac agri gente orti,
et patriæ et genti magis fuit consentaneum,
nam a religione, unde patria constituta est,
liberalitate in egenos sua a summa civili prudentia
omni tempore recta consuevisse fuit,
quas rarum bonum ut consequi ut servet
Legum Anglicanarum peritia se adjuvavit
et causas tanta cum integritate et sedulitate egit
ut ei [illegible]
laude a regia celsitudine
quam et numerosa Collegii sodalis regius optimi
merita erga se sentiens,
tanta fuit ejus modestia,
[illegible]
In utraque ejus [illegible]
[illegible]
posteris mirabitur, [illegible]
[illegible]
et memoriæ [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[

It may easily be seen that these touching lines were written by a friendly pen, but the inscription is not, what such memorials very frequently are, "a monumental lie." The preceding pages will fully bear out the truth of what the writer has ventured to assert. A few more touches may be added to complete the picture.

Of the piety of the Judge it is unnecessary to speak. His own words, which he never intended to see the light, will testify to that. It was his custom to dispense in charity a tenth part of his annual income*. And when we consider the great goodness of his heart, his tenderness of conscience, and honesty of purpose, no common virtues at that time or any other time, we cannot wonder at the feeling of respect and esteem that was manifested towards him. William III., no bad judge of character, expressed the highest regard for him, and as a farther proof of his royal favor, he gave Sir Thos. Rokeby the portraits of himself and his good queen which are still in existence. The biographer of Dr. Manton calls him "an upright judge and a religious person," and Ralph Thoresby, the pious antiquary, speaks of him as the "famous and excellent Judge Rokeby." And this popularity was secured by no sacrifice of principle. What he thought to be right he always tried to do. After he was raised to the bench he boldly adhered to the Presbyterian party. When Thoresby was in London in 1695 he saw him among Mr. Stretton's congregation at Haberdashers' Hall, and the author of the life of Dr. Manton informs us that "he was constant to his principles and always attended the preaching of good Mr. Stretton to his dying day." In 1698 he joined Lord

"Madam, I have defer'd writing till I was able to send you the inclos'd, which is a translation of the inscription which I desired a friend of mine to compose for the Judge's monument. I should have taken a great deal of pleasure to have done that gratefull office to his memory myself, but seeing things of this nature require a particular tallent, which I must own I am not master of, I thought it my duty to put a more fit person upon it. His modesty hath obliged me to conceal his name, so y^t I can say no more of him then that he had a true respect for the Judge, and hath described his character as well as the narrowness of the table will admitt, and in a more correct stile then is to be expected among us with whom the true Roman language is so much in disuse. In this translation wee have onely considered how to convey to your Ladyship the purport of the inscription without labouring the expression as in the Latin. I shall send the Latin one to Mr. White as your Ladyship directed. Wee have seen the model of the monument and have concerted with Mr. Stanton how large an inscription the table will bear. Mr. Stanton desires to have the inscription within 3 weeks, when he saith he shall be ready for it. Be pleas'd to give my humble service to cosin Rokebys and cos. Buxtons, and my good wishes to her little ones. I conclude, your Ladyships most obliged humble servant, THO. HUTTON. Feb. 3, 1700."

* A paper in the Judge's hand is still preserved which shows how he administered this fund during the last year of his life. In that year he gave away not a tenth of his income but an eighth!

Wharton and other religious persons and interceded successfully with William III. for Mr. Richard Frankland.

Sir Thomas Rokeby was also a person of some literary attainments. He gathered together an extensive library which, with his books and papers, was preserved at Newbuilding till a very recent period. It contained many contemporaneous works in Divinity and general literature, including a very large collection of the pamphlets of his day, all of which had been carefully perused by their owner. There was also there a manuscript of Sir Thomas Fairfax's Memorials, the gift of the distinguished general himself. Loggan dedicated his view of Catherine Hall to Sir Thomas Rokeby, who was once a fellow of that house, and he was one of the Judges to whom Dr. Wake inscribed a volume of his sermons which was published in 1690.

I have already mentioned a little tractate of which the Judge was supposed by some to be the author. I am not aware that he ever printed anything himself. Thoresby, in his *Ducatus*, says that he was indebted to him for the pedigree of Rokeby, and I have before me the copy of the chronicle of his house, the Œconomia Rokebeiorum, which he had prepared, apparently, for the press. And in truth he was always, and with good reason, proud of his distinguished family, for he bore what Sir John Ferne calls in his *Glory of Generositie*, "a name in the North province of England of great worship, and plentifull of gentlemen of auntient continuance." In love for that name he renovated the ancient chapel of his house at Sandal, and his purse and his counsel were ever at the service of any needy kinsman. The great deeds of his famous ancestors were ever before his eyes, not as is the case in too many instances, to be the subject of idle vaunt and indolent admiration, but to spur him on to a life, if possible, of equal excellence. You are not a gentleman because you have a large estate and spring from knights and baronets, high sheriffs and esquires, such honors will only cover you with additional disgrace

Si coram Lepidis male vivitur—

Blood had better far be water than be foul with vice and pride. To Mr. Justice Rokeby, the great deeds of his ancient house were a stimulus, if any stimulus was wanting, to the life of a Christian gentleman, and as such, and what nobler title can a man have, he would be an honor to any family in England. He left no child to perpetuate his name, a want which he seems to speak of once or twice with a feeling of disappointment, and it was doubtless a cause for regret to those who loved him well that "nullum suarum virtutum reliquerit heredem."

His widow left her house in London and spent the remainder of her days with her sister at Newbuilding, near Thirsk. Her will, a very interesting one, forms an appropriate conclusion to the memoir of her husband.

"In the name God, Amen. I Ursula Rookby, relict of Sir Thomas Rookby, knight, late one of the Justices of the Court of Queen's Bench, do make this my last will and testament, being in perfect mind though very weak in body, blessed be my God. First, I bequeath my soull to my heavenly Father, even that great and glorious God, earnestly begging of Him the full and free pardon of all my sins, and the acceptance of my person only in and through the meritts and mediation of my blessed Lord and only Saviour Jesus Christ the righteous, Who shed His pretious blood for my redemption and all those that believe in Him, to Whom, with the Father and Blessed Spiritt, be ascribed all honour and glory both now and for ever. Amen. And as for that estate with which my gracious God hath blessed mee, I dispose as followes. First, I desire when I die to be buried in my father's and mother's grave, Sandall where my dearly beloved husband was buried not now being in the possession of any of the family of the Rooksbys. I would have my funerall as private as decency will admitt, noe mournings but to my sister Rookby, her son Joseph Rookby, my nephew Whyndlow and neice Wyndlow and my neice Elizabeth Buxton. After my debts and funerall charges are paid (*sic*). Item, I give to my dear sister Milcah Rookby all the household goods that were left by my brother William Danby Esq. and was in share betwixt her and me. Item, I give unto my nephew Joseph Rookby, son of my sister Rookby, all the books that were my dearly beloved husband's and given into his possession before I left London after my husband's death, and I give all the Law books I have here and Camden's Britania and the largest silver tankard that I have, and my silver watch that was my husbands. Item, I give to my dear neice Elizabeth Buxton the camlett bedd and chairs and cusshings. Item, I give to her daughter Ursula Buxton half a dosen silver spoons marked with U. B. and hath a coat of arms on the end. I have by deed made some particular provision for them. Item, I give to my beloved neice Dorothy Wyndlow, now wife to my nephew James Wyndlow, my large plain silver salver, and the four little ovall salts, and my gold watch, and the porringer with the cover, the fellow to that I gave her before, and give unto my neice Dorothy Wyndlow my picture. Item, and I give to my nephew James, to my dear neice his wife, half of all the books that are in my sad (*sic*) closett. Item, I give to cousin Thorp 10 pounds, to Daniell Tod 5 pounds, and desire him to be helpfull to my sister Milcah. Item, I give to every one of my hired servants 20 shillings each. And as by deed of settlement, resort being had thereto, I have full power and authority to charge my moiety or half-part of my lands of Kirbyknowl and Burrowby with sum or sums of money I think fitt, and by vertue of

that power and authority I doe charge my estate of Kirbyknowl with 2 hundred pounds to be raised out of the lands and profitts. Item, I give to my little neice Dorothy Wyndlow, daughter to my nephew and neice Wyndlow, one hundred pound; and I make my dear sister Milcah Rookby and my neice Dorothy Wyndlow my executors of this my last will, and give all my personall estate to my executores. This is my last will writ with my own hand this day, being y^e^ 9 August 1707, to which I write my name and sett my seal,

"URSULA ROOKBY.

"Richard Wyndlow, Ann Fairbourn,
"Thomas Bates, Christifer Kirby."

Lady Rokeby died at Newbuilding on the 10th of August 1707. She was interred, not at Sandal, for that place had lost its charm, but beside her parents in the little church of Kirkby-knowle. Before the altar rails there is a tiny brass which bears the following inscription:—

"The memory of the just shall be had in everlasting remembrance."

"Here lieth Dame Ursula Rokeby, widow of Sir Tho^s^. Rokeby, kt., formerly one of the Justices of the King's Bench. She was daughter and coheir of James Danby, Esq^re^. She died 10 Aug., 1707, aged 74."

INDEX NOMINUM ET LOCORUM.

Ackworth, 15. 17, *ped.*
Andrews, Dr., 9, *n.*
Anlaby, *ped.*
Arnold, co. Notts, 11, *n.*
Arthingworth, Northants, 73, *n.*, 15, *n.*, 54, *n.*, *ped.*
Askham, co. Westmerland, *ped.*
Askham, Eliz., 66
———, Thomas, *ped.*
Atkins, Justice, 49, *n.*
Atkinson, James, gent., 7, *n.*, 14

Bainbridge, Mr., 4
Barbadoes, 16, *n.*
Barnsley, *ped.*
Bates, Dr., 41
——, Thos., 71
Bath, 21
Baxter (Richard), 4, *n.*
Beachyhead, 47, *n.*
Bellowes, Sir Henry, 22, *n.*
Benningbrough, 4
Bilbrough, *ped.*
Boston, co. Lincoln, *ped.*
Bosvile, Susan, dau. Gervase, *ped.*
Bourchier, Sir Barrington, 4
———, Eliz., dau. Thos., *ped.*
———, Sir John, 4
———, Thomas, Esq., 4, *ped.*
Bowes, Anne, dau. John, *ped.*
Bowles, Edward, 4, *n.*, 5, 5, *n.*, *ped.*
Boyne, battle of the, 46
Braithwaite, Richard, 3
Breary, James, *ped.*
Burnby, 2, *ped.*
Burnett, Dr., 35
Burrowby, 70
Bury in Suffolk, 62
Bury, Eliz., dau. Robert, 2, *ped.*
——, Emm, dau. Sir Wm., 11, *n.*, *ped.*
——, Robert, 2, *ped.*
——, Sir Wm., 2. 11, *n.*, *ped.*
Buxton, Anthony, *ped.*
———, Eliz., 70, *ped.*
———, John of Bilbrough, *ped.*
———, John, his son, 60, *n.*, 70, *n.*, *ped.*
———, Joseph, Esq., *ped.*
———, Phœbe, *ped.*
———, Samuel, *ped.*
———, Ursula, 70, *ped.*
Byard, Mrs., *ped.*

Calvert, James, 5, *n.*
———, Thomas, his uncle, 5, 5, *n.*
Cambridge, Catherine Hall, 2. 66, *n.*, 69
————-, Trin. Coll., *ped.*
Camden's Britannia, 70
Carburton, co. Notts, 31, *n.*, 55, *n.*, 65, *n.*
Carpenter, Mr., 57, *n.*
Carrickfergus, 46
Carter, Dr., 20, *n.*
Catton, 19, *n.*
Chaplin, Mr., 16
Cheeke, Colonel, 54, *n.*
Chelmorden, co. Derby, *ped.*
Church, John, 51, *n.*
Coke, Margt., dau. John, *ped.*
Constable, family of, 6, 7, *n.*, 14, *n.*
Cooke, Mr., 49, *n.*
Cooper, Messrs. C. H. and T., 2. 66, *n.*
Cornwall, 60, *n.*
Cottingham, 2. 16, *n.*, *ped.*

Crompton, Mr. John, 11, *n.*
———, Mr. Samuel, 11, *n.*, 23, *n.*
Cusworth, *ped.*

Daltre, Mr. Haman, 19, *n.*
Danby, Earl of, 24
———, Eliz., 7, *n.*, 14, 14, *n.*, 23, *n.*
———, Francis of Thorpbasset, 7, *n.*, 19, *n.*, 20, *n.*
———, Henry, 7, *n.*
———, James, the Judge's father-in-law, 6, 7, *n.*, 13, *n.*, 17, *n.*, 18, *n.*, 19, *n.*, 20. 67. 71, *ped.*
———, Milcah, his dau., wife of Joseph Rokeby, 7, *n.*, 8, 8, *n.*, 9, *n.*, 14, *n.*, 23, *n.*, 70
———, Rachael, 7, *n.*
———, Thomas, 7, *n.*
———, Thomasine, 7, *n.*
———, William 7, *n.*, 8, 8, *n.*, 9, *n.*, 14, *n.*, 70, *ped.*
Dand, Jack, 17, *n.*
Darcy, Dor., dau. Edward, *ped.*
De Foe, 13, *n.*
Devonshire, 33, *n.*, 47, *n.*, 64
Dolben, Justice, 49, *n.*
Doncaster, 11, *n.*, 15, *n.*, 17. 23, 23, *n.*
Dorchester, 60, *n.*, 63, *n.*
Dublin, 46
Dunbar, the battle of, 2. 4, *ped.*
Dunnington, 16, *n.*, *ped.*
Durham, 3

Earswick, near York, 16, *n.*, *ped.*
East Lilling, 12, *n.*, 16, *n.*, *ped.*
Elwill, Sir Jo., 64, *n.*
English, Mr., 39, *n.*
Epplewith-wood, par. Cottingham, 2
Exeter, 60, *n.*, 64, 64, *n.*
Eyre, Justice, 33, *n.*, 44, 44, *n.*, 50

Fairbourn, Ann, 71
———, Sir Stafford, *ped.*
Fairfax, Sir Thos., 5, *n.*, 69
———, Thos., Lord, 5, *n.*
Falkenbridge, Lord, 22, *n.*
Ferne, Sir John, 69
Ferrybridge, 17
Frankland, Mr. Richard, 69

Gainsbro', *ped.*
Gamble, a Doncaster attorney, 23, *n.*
Giles, Justice, 50, *n.*
Godfrey, Jane, dau. Wm., *ped.*
Gower, Sir Thomas, 19, *n.*
Grantham, 2
Greenwich Hospital, 66, *n.*
Gregory, Justice, 49, *n.*, 50, *n.*
Greta, the, 1
Grey de Ripon, Earl de, 16, *n.*
Gwin, Mr., 57, *n.*

Hacket's life of Archbishop Williams, 4, *n.*
Haddlesay, Mr., 19, *n.*
Hale, Sir Matthew, 35
——, Mr. Ralph, 56, *n.*
Hall, Francis, gen., 12, *n.*, 16, *n.*, *ped.*
——, Mr. Henry, 15, 16, *n.*
——, John, 3
——, Mary, 12, *n.*, 13, *n.*
Hampton Court, 46
Hampstead, 58
Henry, Matthew, 25, *n.*
Heslerton, Mr., son of Mr. Joseph, 19, *n.*
Hewley, Sir John, 10, *n.*
———, Sarah, Lady, 6, *n.*, 10, 10, *n.*, 11, *n.*
Heywood, Oliver, 5, 5, *n.*, 10. 25, *n.*, 27, 27, *n.*
Hickman, Frances, dau. Sir Wm., *ped.*
Hitch, Robert, Dean of York, 4
Hoare (Daniel), 12, *n.*
Hodgson, Mr., 19, *n.*
Holkham, co. Norfolk, *ped.*
Holland, 21
Holt, Lord Chief Justice, 43, 44. 46. 49, *n.*
Horsham, 50, *n.*
Hotham, 1
How, Dr., 58. 62
Howard family, 9
———, Hon. Charles, 9, *n.*
———, Mrs. Eliz., 9, *n.*
———, Mr. Wm., 9, *n.*
Humber, the, 18
Humes, Mr., 19, *n.*
Hunter, Mr. Joseph, F.S.A., 5, *n.*, 10, *n.*, 23, *n.*, *ped.*
Hurworth, 15, *n.*
Hutchins, Sir Geo., 44, *n.*
Hutton family, 19, *n.*
———, Mr. Thos., 63, *n.*, 68, *n.*
Hyndershelfe, 9, *n.*

Ianson, Sir Thomas, *ped.*
———, Dorothy, 66
Ipswich in Suffolk, 33, *n.*

James II., 47, *n.*
Jeffrys, Lord Chancellor, 49, *n.*
Jennings, Jonathan, 18, *n.*

Jenner, Baron, 49, *n.*
———, Serjeant, 49, *n.*

Kensington, 46
Kerke, Sir Anthony, 33, *n.*
King, Mr., 63, *n.*
Kingston on Thames, 46
Kirby, Chr., 71
Kirkbyknowle, 6, 7, *n.*, 14. 70. 71, *ped.*

Lanceston, Launceston, 60, *n.*, 63
Langham, Rebecca, *ped.*
———, Mr. Thos., her father, 13, *n.*, *ped.*
Lechmere, Baron, 33, *n.*, 43, *n.*, 49, *n.*
Leeds, 14, *ped.*
Legard, Chr., *ped.*
———, Sir John, 7, *n.*
———, Ned., 18
Limerick, 10, *n.*
Linwood, co. Lincoln, *ped.*
Lister, Lady, 5, *n.*
Loft, the carrier, 17. 21
Loggan (Mr.), 69
London, 9, *n.*, 13, *n.*, 14, *n.*, 15, 16. 32, 33. 39, *n.*, 40. 59, 60, *n.*, 61. 63, *n.*, 64, 64, *n.*, 70, *ped.*
———, Bishopsgate-street, 113, *n.*
———, Corporation of, 2
———, Covent Garden church, 54, *n.*
———, Gray's Inn, 3. 13, *n.*, 14, 16, *n.*, 18. 33, *n.*
———, Haberdashers' hall, 68
———, Lincoln's Inn, 2
———, Lincoln's Inn fields, 33, *n.*
———, St. Margaret's, Lothbury, 13, *n.*
———, St. James', Piccadilly, *ped.*
———, Powys house, 49, *n.*, 56
———, Queen's Bench prison, 4
———, Serjeants' Inn, Fleet-street, 11, *n.*, 33, *n.*, 48, *n.*, 49, *n.*, 51, *n.*, 53, *n.*, 54, *n.*, 66
———, Whitehall, 33, *n.*, 49
Lovell, Thos., 20, *n.*
Luttrell, Narcissus, 5, *n.*, 33, *n.*, 66, *ped.*
Lutwich, Justice, 49, *n.*
———, Serjeant, 49, *n.*
Lylly (Mr. W.), 9, *n.*

Manton, Dr., 64. 68
Mariott, Mr., 16
Marston, 4
Mary, Queen, 35. 66
Mason, Mr. John, *ped.*
Mawde, John, 60, *n.*
Maynard, Sir John, 33, *n.*
Mayor, Mr., 5
Milton, Mr., 39, *n.*
Montgomery, Alex., *ped.*
Morton, 19

Naward, Naworth, 9, *n.*
Nevill, Baron and Justice, 41, *n.*, 49, *n.*, 55. 60, 60, *n.*, 62
Newark, 18. 55, *n.*
Newbuilding, 6, 7, *n.*, 8, *n.*, 14, *n.*, 15. 19. 55, *n.*, 65, *n.*, 67. 69, 70, 71, *ped.*
Newton, Mr., 16
Newton upon Ouse, 65
Norfolk circuit, 53. 55. 62
Northallerton, 55, *n.*
Norton, Ralph, *ped.*

Oakington, 60, *n.*
Oakley, Rev. Mr., *ped.*
Oporto, *ped.*
Oxford circuit, 44. 50, *n.*, 51, *n.*, 59

Palmer (Mr.), 4, *n.*, 11, *n.*
Partridge, Mr., 56, *n.*
Paston, Captain, *ped.*
Peacock, Rachael, wife of Robert, 7, *n.*
Pell, Mr., 6, *n.*
Pickering, Eliz., dau. Mark, *ped.*
Plumer, Joseph, *ped.*
———, Thos., his father, *ped.*
Plymouth, 47
Pollexfen, Sir Henry, 33, *n.*
Poole, Matthew, 5, 5, *n.*
Powell, Sir John, 33, *n.*, 49, *n.*, 53, *n.*, 63
Powys, Judge, 59
Preston, Lord, 47, *n.*

Rainsford, Baron, 49, *n.*
Rawlinson, Sir Wm., 32, 33, 33, *n.*
Reading in Berkshire, 44
Robinson, Matthew, 5, *n.*
Rokeby, Alexander of Sandal, 22, *n.*, *ped.*
———, Alexander, his son, *ped.*
———, Alexander of Welton, *ped.*
———, Anne, the Judge's sister, *ped.*
———, Benjamin, the Judge's brother, 11. 13, 13, *n.*, 21, 21, *n.*, 63, *n.*, *ped.*
———, Bridget, *ped.*
———, Dorothy, dau. of Joseph, 23, 23, *n.*, 54, *n.*, 55, *n.*, 63, *n.*, 65, 65, *n.*, 66
———, Dorothy, dau. William, *ped.*
———, Eliz., the Judge's mother, 2

ROKEBY, Eliz., the Judge's sister, 18, *ped.*
———, Eliz. (Burton), dau. Joseph, *ped.*
———, Eliz., dau. Wm. of Ackworth, *ped.*
———, Eliz., dau. Wm. of Skiers, 2
———, Eliz., dau. Sir Wm. of Skiers, *ped.*
———, Emm (Weddell), the Judge's sister, 16, *n.*, *ped.*
———, Emm, dau. Wm. of Ackworth, *ped.*
———, Francis, s. Sir Wm. of Skiers, *ped.*
———, George, son of Wm. of Ackworth, 22, *n.*, *ped.*
———, Jane, dau. Wm. of Ackworth, *ped.*
———, John, the Judge's brother, 11. 16, 16, *n.*, 19, *ped.*
———, John, son of Wm. of Ackworth, 22, *n.*, 23, *ped.*
———, John, LL.D., 3
———, Joseph, the Judge's brother, 7, *n.*, 8, *n.*, 11. 13, *n.*, 14, 14, *n.*, 15, 15, *n.*, 22, *n.*, 23, *n.*, 65, *ped.*
———, Joseph, his son, 15, *n.*, 63, *n.*, 70, *ped.*
———, Joseph, Captain, of Hurworth, and his son, 15, *n.*
———, Joseph, son of Wm. of Hotham, *ped.*
———, Langham, 15, *n.*
———, Mary (Hall), the Judge's sister, *ped.*
———, Mary, wife of Chr. Legard, *ped.*
———, Mary, dau. John of Sandal, *ped.*
———, Mary, dau. Sir Wm. of Skiers, *ped.*
———, Mildred, dau. of the same, *ped.*
———, Mrs., of Sandal, 57, *n.*
———, Nathaniel, *ped.*
———, Philip, son of Wm. of Hotham, *ped.*
———, Philip, his son, *ped.*
———, Ralph, Sec. of the Council of the North, 2
———, Susanna, the Judge's sister, *ped.*
———, Susanna, dau. Wm. of Ackworth, 66, *ped.*
———, SIR THOMAS, THE JUDGE. Origin of his family, 1, 2. Birth and College education, 2. Becomes a student at Gray's Inn and settles at York, 3. His tendency to Presbyterianism, 3, 4. Letters to him from his sister-in-law, 8, *n.* Married life, 9. Kindness to his family, 11, 12. Extracts from his letters, 13. Made a Judge, 24. Journal, 25—64. Illness, 64. Will, 64. Death and burial, 66. Epitaph, 67. Character, &c., 68, 69, *ped.*
ROKEBY, Thomas of Mortham, 1, *ped.*
———, Thos., son of Benjamin, 18
———, Thos. of Hotham, *ped.*
———, Thos., the Judge's father, 2, *ped.*
———, Thomas, son of Wm. of Ackworth, 22, *n.*, 23, *n.*, 66, *ped.*
———, Ursula, the Judge's wife, 5, *n.*, 6, 6, *n.*, 7, *n.*, 8, *n.*, 10, *n.*, 11, *n.*, 12, *n.*, 16, *n.*, 17. 22, *n.*, 23, *n.*, 53, *n.*, 54, *n.*, 55, *n.*, 57, *n.*, 58, *n.*, 60, *n.*, 63, *n.*, 64, *n.*, 65, 66, 66, *n.*, 67, 67, *n.*, 70, 71, *ped.*
———, William, Archbishop of Dublin, 66
———, William of Ackworth, the Judge's brother, 11, 11, *n.*, 12, *n.*, 17, *n.*, 22, *n.*, 65, 65, *n.*, 66, *ped.*
———, his son, 22, *n.*, *ped.*
———, William, son of Alex. of Sandal, 4. 16, *n.*, 17, *n.*, *ped.*
———, his son, *ped.*
———, William of Hotham, 2, *ped.*
———, Sir William of Skiers, *ped.*, *bis*
———, William of Skiers, *bis*, *ped.*
———, Sir Willoughby, 16, *n.*, *ped.*
Russell, Admiral, 54, *n.*
———, Lord Robert, 54, *n.*

Salisbury, 60, *n.*, 63, *n.*
Sampson, Dr., 58
Sancroft, Dean, 4
Sandal, near Doncaster, 15, *n.*, 23, 23, *n.*, 57, *n.*, 66. 69, 70, 71, *ped.*
Sandford, Wm., *ped.*
Schalken, G., *ped.*
Scott, Dean, 4
——, Henry, *ped.*
——, Jane, 66
——, Rokeby, *ped.*
Sheriffhutton, 16, *n.*
Shrewsbury, 59
Sigston, *ped.*
Skellow, 22, *n.*, *ped.*
Skiers, *ped.*
Smith, Aaron, 39, *n.*
Smithson, Thos., 7, *n.*
Smyth, Francis, *ped.*
———, Francis, his son, *ped.*
———, Francis, an Oporto merchant, *ped.*
Snowden (Mr.), 7, *n.*

Sommers, Sir John, 44, *n.*
Sowerby, 17
Stamford, 17
Stanhope, Dor., *ped.*
Stanton, Mr., 68, *n.*
Stennett, Mr. Joseph, 15, *n.*, *ped.*
Stepney, 18
Stretton, Richard, 5, *n.*, 51, *n.*, 54, *n.*, 68

Tayler, Mr., 16, *n.*
Tees, the river, 1
Teignmouth, 47, *n.*
Tempest, Mr., 33, *n.*
Terrill, Justice, 49, *n.*
Thirsk, 23, *n.*, 65, *n.*, 70, *ped.*
Thompson, Sir Wm., 44, *n.*
Thoresby, Ralph, 68, 69
Thorp (Mr.), 70
Thorpbasset, 7, *n.*, 19, *n.*, 20, *n.*
Thunnock, co. Lincoln, *ped.*
Todd, Daniel, 7, *n.*, 70
Torrington, 47, *n.*
Tremain, Sir John, 44, *n.*, 49, *n.*
Trenchard, Sir John, 44, *n.*
Trevor, Lord Commr., 49, *n.*
Tunbridge Wells, 11, *n.*, 21, *ped.*
Turton, Sir John, 44, *n.*, 63, 64, 64, *n.*

Upsall Castle, 7, *n.*, 14

Ventris, Peyton, 33, *n.*, 44, *n.*
Vincent, Sarah, 16, *n.*

Wake, Dr., 4. 69
Wallingwells, 31, *n.*
Ward, Baron, 61, 62
——, Noah, 5, 6, *n.*, 11, *n.*
Warmsworth, *ped.*
Waterhouse, Ralph, 15, 16, *n.*, *ped.*
——————, Thomas, his son, 21, 21, *n.*, *ped.*
Watson, Lady, 5, *n.*, 10
Weddell, Leonard, 16, *n.*, 17, *ped.*
Wells, 64, *n.*
Welton, *ped.*
Wentworth, *ped.*
Westminster, 14. 32, 33, *n.*, 40, *ped.*
Wharton, Lord, 31, *n.*, 69
Whitaker, Dr., 1. 3
White, John, 31, *n.*, 53, *n.*, 54, *n.*, 55, *n.*, 58, *n.*, 63, *n.*
——, Miss, his daughter, 65, *n.*
Wigginton, *ped.*
Wilberforce, William, 25
William III., 24. 33, *n.*, 35. 43, *n.*, 46, 46, *n.*, 47, *n.*, 66. 68, 69, *ped.*
Williams, Peter, 5, 5, *n.*
Willoughby, Hon. Wm., *ped.*
Winchester, 60, *n.*, 63, *n.*
Windham, Baron, 49, *n.*
——————, Justice, 49, *n.*
Witty, Dr., 12, *n.*
Wogan, Sir Wm., 44, *n.*
Woodhouse, 2
Wormley, Susan, dau. Thos., *ped.*
Wortley, *alias* Wirkley, 66
Wyndlow, James, 23, *n.*, 65, *n.*, 70, *ped.*
——————, Dorothy (Rokeby), his wife, 70, 71, *ped.*
——————, Dorothy, their dau., 70, 71
——————, Richard, 71

York, city, *passim*
——————, All Saints, Pavement, 5, *n.*
——————, St. Michael-le-Belfrey, 6, 7, *n.*, *ped.*
——————, Buckingham house, 18, *n.*
——————, Lendal, 10
——————, Minster Yard, 12, *n.*

THE END.

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